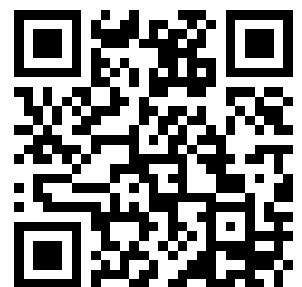


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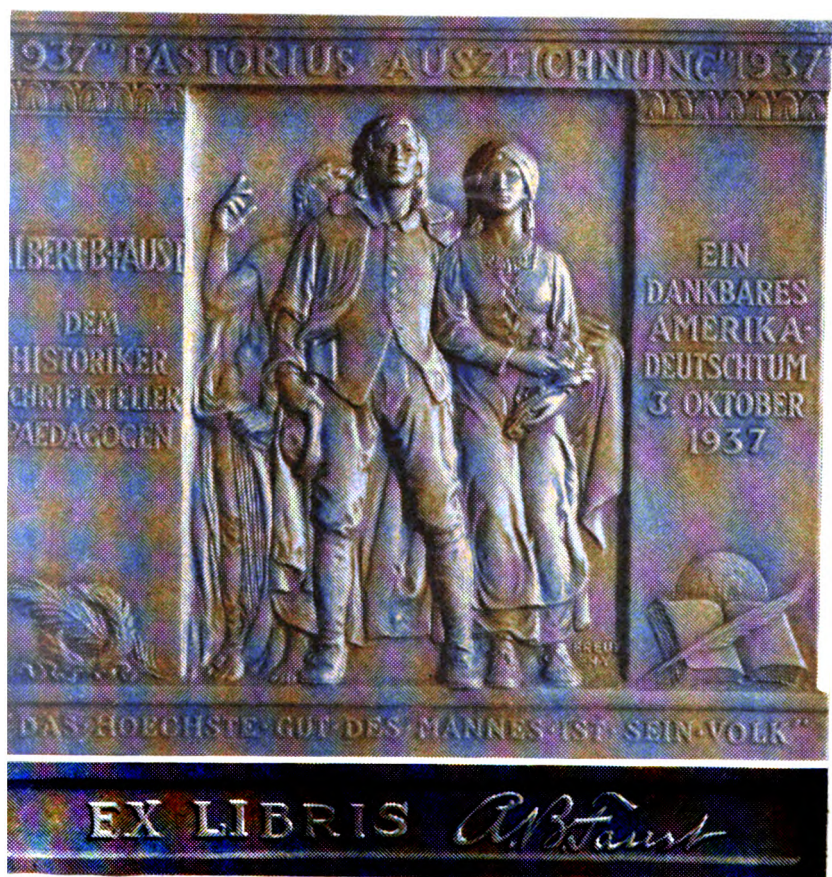
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NEW YORK, JANUARY 1, 1916

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## The New Year's Saturnalia

Those Who Have Grown Rich "Dancing With the War Brides" to Squander Their "Blood Money" in an Orgy Such as America Has Never Seen Before.

By RUTLEDGE RUTHERFORD.

**N**ATIONS have withstood the calamities of war and pestilence and grown great, but history has no record of one that has been able to survive the virulence of luxury and riotous living. In so diligently searching for dangers besetting our America, therefore, would it not be well to look to our protections against this enemy within, this most deadly of foes? Serenely we point to the revels that wrought the downfall of Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome, but do we look about to see if we are following like paths of destruction?

With new fortunes garnered through munitions plants from the blood that is staining Europe, New York is preparing for a period of unusual excesses this New Year. The restaurants and hotels are the main hoppers through which the new wealth will be turned into the bulging money vats of the Metropolis. From staid old New England it will come—New England so pious when she was poor, but now so rakish when she is rich; from Pennsylvania, the State of Brotherly Love and Shrapnel; from the cartridge companies of Connecticut; the mortar mills of Massachusetts, the powder plants of Pennsylvania, and all about where every pin and shuttle concern has been transformed into a munitions plant to tap the flow of gory gold streaming in from Europe. Chicago, too, will be a Cyprian isle for the temulently inclined thereabout, but this year the celebration will be far more extravagant in New York, for New York is the center of the munitions manufacturing district. Those grown suddenly rich from "dancing with the war brides" (making widows and orphans) already are beginning to crowd into the city. They and the professional gay-livers of the metropolis have joined in plans for a record booze fest. Already the town has taken on a festive air, and every wine cellar in anticipation of the event is stocked to bursting. Already nearly every table in every first class restaurant in New York and Chicago has been engaged, and on the evening of December 31 they will be filled with intrigant men and jewel-bedeked women who will revel throughout the night.

Scenes rivalling the Bacchanalia of Rome will be enacted in the restaurants of New York and Chicago on the last night of this month. Men and women with shameful abandon will plunge headlong into the mad revelry. Wine will flow in torrents, and the money that is spent on that one night's dissipation would feed the hungry of the nation. The preparations are on an unprecedented scale this year, munitions men have brought vast sums of money into the city preparatory to the celebration, and engaged quarters in the finest hotels and restaurants, the hostelry proprietors have taken off the lid and rolled it into the river, they are preparing for the squander of money such as America never saw before, although even under normal conditions,

New Year's orgies are becoming more shameful with each recurrence.

Dressed in their finest they come—women in décolleté gowns, cut a little lower than usual perhaps, and men in evening clothes—all resolved to steep themselves in drink and trust their safety to fate, for no one can tell what will be the outcome of such a wanton carnival.

Few of the gowns are fit to wear again, but costly as they may be they are willingly offered as the feminine share of the Saturnalian sacrifice to which the men contribute so willingly in ready cash.

The amazing thing is that among the feminine celebrators are women and girls whose conduct all the rest of the year is exemplary, but here, as if this were the one time and occasion when all the laws of propriety are suspended, they cast decorum to the winds and surrender themselves unconditionally to the titillations of the night.

No class, no caste, no distinction is there. All are of an equality and everything is permissible. Who can do the most daring stunt earns the loudest applause. A man will present a bouquet and note to some pretty miss with whom he has been flirting across the way. A young girl will walk across the floor and boldly kiss a man she has never seen before. Another, on a dare, will kiss all the men at a certain table. And so the gaiety goes on, one antic after another, and all the time the music is playing and there is singing and dancing and levity on every side.

Finally the clock strikes twelve. Then pandemonium is loosened. Then the Saturnalia begins in earnest. Then the really daring stunts are performed, and they grow more daring as the night advances and the wine more completely deadens all sense of shame. The orchestra plays and the drunken revelers join in the chorus, some singing in really beautiful strains, others drowning their voices with discords and groggy yells. Glasses clink and champagne bottles pop like the firing of musketry down where the blood flows in the French labyrinth that the wine may flow in the New York restaurant. Men pour wine down women's necks, and women kick the glasses out of the hands of men. In one part of the hall a woman will jump on the table and toast the crowd. Another will try to make a speech. A girl may do a pretty dance on a table. Another will try to imitate her and fall from over-indulgence. A couple will do the "red light" tango down the aisle to the plaudits of the pampered onlookers.

So the frantic orgy goes on all the night long, and the sun of the New Year rises on a city convulsed and blear-eyed from the affects of the awful dissipation. Often during the night women are lost from their escorts and families are separated. So with many the New Year's day is spent scouring the city for missing wives, husbands,



daughters, and sweethearts. Fortunes in purses and jewelry are lost. And the seeds that are sown that night grow a crop of divorces to be reaped in the trial courts of all the ensuing year.

Is it not disgraceful that a civilized city in a Christian nation should permit of a thing like this? Is it not

heartless to contemplate that the groans of dying men should provide the music and the wine for our revels? We wonder what the barbaric but abstemious Turks would think of it? Nero who played while a city burned would have made a befitting master of ceremonies in New York to-day.

## Appeals to "Woman's Majesty and Omnipotence"

**T**HE women of Belgium (1) have been insulted, imprisoned, flogged, violated, and outraged in a most inhuman and savage manner. Their homes and goods have been destroyed, their houses forcibly entered, the helpless and unresisting inmates murdered, and the fleeing overtaken and cut down by the savage soldiery of the Kaiser. (2) They are now glutting their hellish rage against the people they seek to destroy in inflicting every kind of torture, punishment, and misery that their fruitful minds can invent. \* \* \* The atrocities, cruelties, crimes, and outrages committed against the Belgians (3) in this war are without a parallel in the history of the world. \* \* \* In the name of suffering Belgium (4), civilization, justice, peace, liberty, humanity, Christianity, and a candid world, and by the highest considerations that can call men into action, we beg you to come forward to aid, contribute, and support a brave and valiant people that are fighting for their homes, firesides, birthright, lives, independence, sacred honor, and all that is dear to mankind. By all the sorrows, deprivations, bereavements, losses, hardships, and suffering that now engulf the Belgian (5) people, we appeal to you to rush to their aid with your pence, shillings, and pounds; give them your sympathy, countenance, and influence, to hurl the tyrants from their country. \* \* \* Fairest and best of the earth, for the sake of violated innocence, insulted virtue, and the honor of your sex, come in woman's majesty and omnipotence and give strength to a cause that has for its object the highest human aims, the amelioration and exaltation of humanity."

Appeals and accusations like the above are not uncommon at the present time; and, like this, they emanate from England chiefly. But, though written by a Briton and received throughout the British Empire (and in many of our States) as unquestionable truth, it is rather surprising that it was not written against the Germans at all, but against our own United States and her gallant soldiers of the Civil War. And, instead of the much commiserated Belgians, the appeal was made more than half a century ago on behalf of the ladies of the belligerent Confederacy. It is copied verbatim as it ap-

peared in C. C. Coffin's book, "The Boys of '61," with the exception of five words, "Belgium" (1), "Kaiser" (2), "Belgians" (3), "Belgium" (4), and "Belgian" (5), which have been substituted for the words "South," "North," "South," "Lancashire," and "Confederate," respectively, as the document originally appeared.

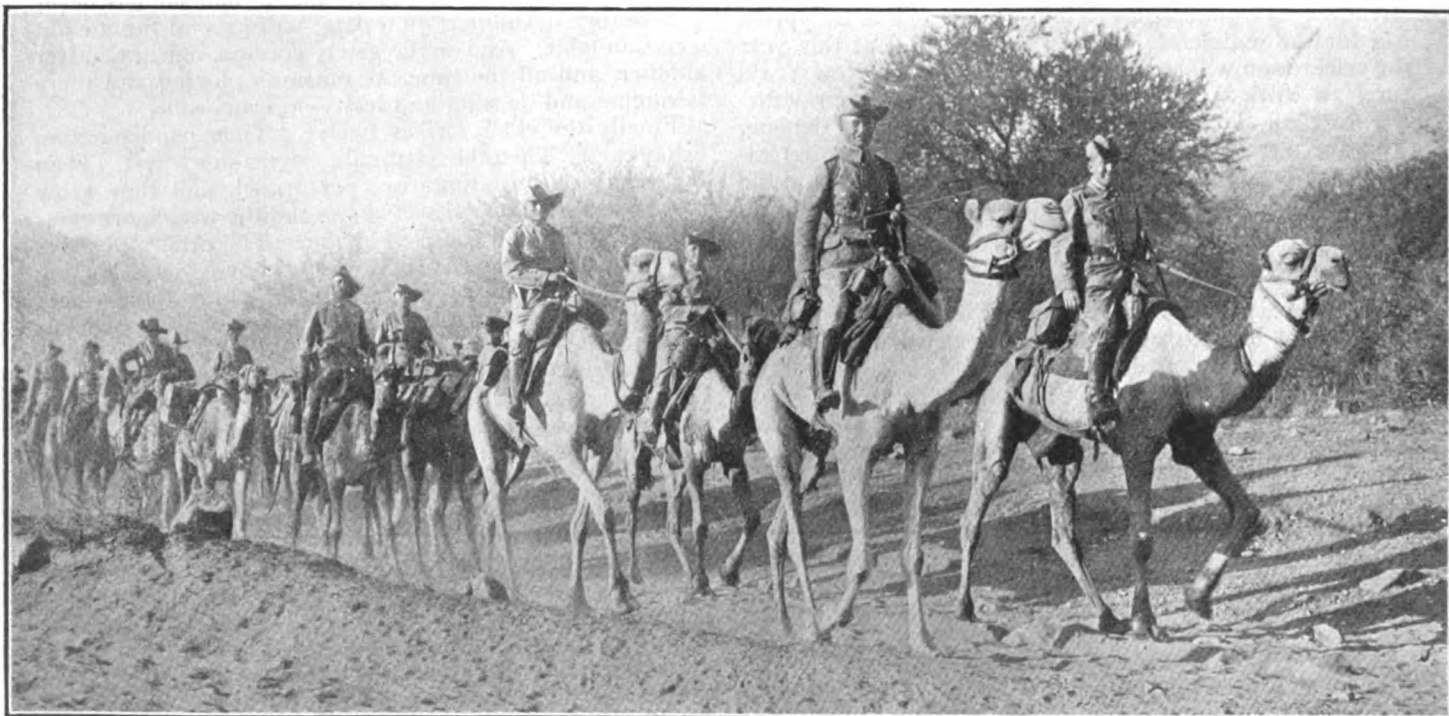
Yes, citizens of the United States of America, this is how an Englishman wrote, and what the greater part of the English-speaking world was made to believe, in 1861, of our nation and the noble volunteers, many of them our fathers, who offered their lives in sacrifice to save our country from disruption. It was circulated to alienate sympathy from the United States in its struggle to preserve intact our glorious Union; and its secondary object was to encourage the flotation of a Confederate loan of \$15,000,000. And so eager were the English, our friends, to take up the loan and so help destroy the unity of the great and growing Republic across the sea that application was made for stock aggregating three times the amount originally asked for—\$45,000,000.

And in view of the foregoing would not the American public display better judgment by receiving all reports of "German atrocities," originating from the same source, with a very large grain of salt?

German soldiers are perhaps no more perfect, though probably better disciplined, than the soldiers of any other civilized nation; and if they discovered Belgian women gouging out the eyes of their helplessly wounded comrades it would not be surprising that they, in the heat of their anger at such inhuman conduct, should inflict summary punishment. Nor can rash civilians who fire from ambush on victorious troops expect to be spared the confidence of their perfidy when discovered. Swift vengeance would certainly be meted out to them even by the best disciplined and most humane army in the world.

But as an American citizen and son of one of the soldiers of the Civil War so unjustly villified by England, I protest against this wholesale reception in our country, at this time, of calumnies equally untrue against the German army.

C. K.



German "Cavalry" of the East on Their Last Etappe from Berlin to Bagdad.

# The Adventure of Being an American Shipper

## The Story of the Hocking, the Genesee and the Kankakee—The Actual Value of the American Flag.

William Bayard Hale was the first of President Wilson's representatives in Mexico; in that capacity he is understood to have recommended a policy more vigorous than the Administration was willing to adopt. Since the beginning of the war Mr. Hale has devoted his time to the study of international maritime law.

By WILLIAM BAYARD HALE,

(Author of "American Rights and British Pretensions on the Seas")

UP to the present moment of writing it is believed such American vessels as are navigating the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River and the Hudson River are safe from capture or detention at the hands of British cruisers. The Long Island Sound lines also are running without interruption. Beyond this statement we have no certain assurance.

Between New York and Norfolk, Va., the voyage is dangerous. Within a few weeks at least two ships on that voyage have been chased by British men-of-war. The Vinland is not indeed an American, being of Danish registry. With a cargo out of New York November 11 for Norfolk she escaped by creeping, closely pursued, through the fog inside the three-mile line down the Jersey coast.

The Hocking was not so fortunate. The Hocking is an American vessel, flying the American flag, owned by Americans, and was steaming between two American ports. She had, and could have had, no contraband on board, for nothing can be contraband passing between two ports of a neutral country.

But, as a matter of fact, she was in ballast, without a pound of cargo in her. A British cruiser caught her on her way out of New York harbor, boarded her within sight of the Jersey shore, put her in charge of an armed prize crew, hauling down the American flag and running up the British Jack and took her, a prize, into Halifax, where she was put in charge of the Marshal of the Prize Court.

American ships voyaging to the Caribbean are likely (as was the Zealandia at Progreso on November 5) to be boarded by a British boarding crew within the shelter of a Mexican port. American ships bound for South America are likely to be captured, as was the Genesee out of Norfolk, October 14, carried, a prize, into a British West Indian port, St. Lucia.

The rights of American vessels or of American cargoes on vessels of other neutral nations, on the other side of the Atlantic being what they are—namely, non-existent, abandoned (for not a ship crosses the Atlantic to and from our ports without license of the British Admiralty), it may perhaps be worth while to inquire whether we have any privileges left us along our own coasts.

The cases of the Hocking, the Genesee and the Kankakee are dramatically illustrative of the attitude of the British Government toward our shipping:

Once the Hocking was a Dutch ship. Then her name was the Ameland. In course of time she passed under Danish registry and was known as the Gronland. On October 22, 1915, she became a registered American ship, having passed into the ownership of the American Transatlantic Steamship Company, incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware, and with its chief office at No. 17 Battery Place, New York City.

There was some hesitation on the part of the Washington authorities in according the Hocking registration as an American ship. In fact, protest against this action was made by representatives of the British Government, and three months were expended in an exhaustive investigation of the American Transatlantic Steamship Company, the character of its stockholders, the nationality of its officers and the good faith of the transfer of the vessel. It is alleged to be the ambition of the present Administration at Washington to build up an American merchant marine.

The Hocking was not indeed a gigantic addition to our shipping list, but the good faith of her transfer was so apparent the honorable commercial ambition which made her one of a growing fleet of American ships was so clear that, in spite of British opposition, she was, on the date above mentioned, impressed with the character of an American ship and given the right to fly the American flag and enjoy whatever protection that emblem affords.

What that protection amounted to was soon manifest. A week and a day after she had acquired American nationality the Hocking fell the prey of one of the British cruisers which blockade the entrance of New York harbor and was carried as a prize to Halifax.

There must, of course, have been, and there was a ground upon which Great Britain interfered with this modest attempt

of American enterprise to take care of its own shipping interests. It could not, of course, be alleged that the Hocking was an "enemy ship" transferred to American registry for the purpose of escaping the embarrassment of, say, German ownership.

Something over a year ago there was a good deal of talk about building up an American merchant marine. Under existing circumstances such a marine could be built up only by purchases of foreign ships and during a couple of months there were heard in the neighborhood of Washington many brave words about the right of a nation to provide for its necessities.

A Ship Purchase Bill was introduced into Congress calling for the organization of a steamship company, part of whose capital was to be contributed by the Government in order to secure available ships to carry our commerce. The Declaration of London, the most authoritative statement of international maritime law, expressly provides for the "transfer of an enemy vessel to a neutral flag after the outbreak of hostilities."

International law fully acknowledges the validity of such transfer made in good faith. But there was no such question in the case of the transfer of the Hocking. The Hocking had never been an "enemy" vessel. She was purchased by an American company from a Dane—purchased by one neutral from another neutral.

No belligerent has a right on any ground to object to the transfer to American registry of any neutral ship. It was, however, alleged the American Transatlantic Steamship Company was backed by money furnished by gentlemen whose nationality is offensive to Britons.

Let it be noted that, even if this were the case, it would afford no ground whatsoever upon which the Hocking might be made a British captive. It is not a crime for Germans to invest their money in an American enterprise. There is no Federal statute, there is probably no enactment in any State in the Union, which forbids the investment of foreign capital of any national denomination in American enterprises.

There is no international law that forbids citizens of one nation from investing in business in another nation. There is nothing harmful to the interests of the United States in having foreign money invested here; the investment of foreign capital in our enterprises is, on the contrary, beneficial.

There is, of course, nothing in the law that prohibits foreign ownership of stock in corporations owning and operating vessels under the American flag. It would be a very poor law if there were. Thibet, Hayti or Siam might deem it good policy to forbid the investment of foreign money in native enterprises; but enlightened policy invites foreign capital, assures it protection—and then fulfills the assurance.

The American Transatlantic Company is an American corporation, the members of which declare there is no German capital invested in it. Even if there were, the fact would give Great Britain no right to touch the ship; it is to the advantage of the United States to have German capital as well as British, French or any other kind of capital invested in American business enterprises.

There would be as much justice in Germany confiscating the Pennsylvania Railroad because a large amount of capital invested in that carrying concern is English, as there is in Great Britain's seizing the Hocking or the Genesee on the ground that German capital is invested in them.

It is a just complaint that the Mexican Government does not protect American capital invested in Mexico; is the United States Government prepared to sink to the Mexican level by refusing to protect foreign capital invested in legitimate business carried on under the American flag?

The registration statute under which the Hocking took its place as an American vessel was the Act of August 18, 1914. Under this act the American Transatlantic Steamship Company furnished the United States Government with a certificate of its organization, and the names of its president and managing directors, all of whom were citizens of the United States.

By the capture of the Hocking the British Government served notice upon the Government of the United States that upon its mere assumption, or its mere allegation, money

belonging to persons of a nationality disagreeable to Englishmen was invested in a ship, that ship might be made a prize by a British cruiser wherever caught, haled into a British port and thrown into a British prize court.

That was the situation up to a day or two ago. It was desperate enough, in all reason. But it has now become infinitely worse, for the Hocking, after having had nailed upon her mainmast in Halifax harbor an Admiralty notice giving her eight days in which to show cause why she should not be condemned as a "good and lawful prize," has been denied even that mercy.

There is to be no prize court; there is to be no hearing; the Hocking is declared confiscated—presumably under His British Majesty's Order in Council of October 20, 1915.

What is that Order in Council of October 20? Article 57 of the Declaration of London provided that the character of a vessel, namely, as to whether it is an enemy vessel or a neutral vessel, is determined by the flag which she is entitled to fly.

The Declaration of London, drawn up under the inspiration of the British Government, and signed by it February 26, 1909, was, at the beginning of the present war, namely, by an Order in Council of August 20, 1914, readopted and put in force by His Majesty's Government. However, on October 20, 1915, at the Court of Buckingham Palace, present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council, it was declared that it was no longer expedient to abide by the said Article 57.

That is to say, the British Government sets up a court of the high seas which arrogates to itself the right to go behind the decisions and the determinations of a Government like that of the United States and to decide on its own account, whether or not the acts of a branch of the United States Government, for instance, are legal or are illegal.

Papers emanating from the Government of the United States in Washington have no force or effect with a captain of an English cruiser. The certificate of the department of the Government of the United States is of no consequence to him. The "full faith and credit" between nations upon which all international amity rests and all hope of civilization abides does not exist today for any officer of the British Government.

The case is even worse. As it stands today, the British Government not only disregards the certificate of registration by a Government like that of the United States to the extent of requiring its possessor to prove before a solely British tribunal his right to possess the certificate, but it goes further; it does not give the possessor of the certificate a chance to prove his right to possess it.

The British Government does not only require the owners of a ship like the Hocking to prove that they are entitled to carry the American flag which the American Government has given them, but refuses to award them an opportunity to prove that right. Without taking the trouble to go through the form of condemning the Hocking she was confiscated by the British authorities at Halifax.

The case of the Hocking has a clear parallel in that of the Genesee—another humble vessel lately added to our merchant marine. The Genesee is likewise the property of the American Transatlantic Steamship Company. Like the Hocking, she is a recent acquisition of the company. The Genesee was built in England and sailed as a British ship under the name of *Avristam*. Her British owners sold her to L. N. Cordylis, of Andros, Greece. As a Greek ship she was known as the *Cordylis*. She was then acquired by the Finland Steamship Company of Copenhagen.

The American Transatlantic Steamship Company bought her from the Danish owners June, 1915, and rechristened her the Genesee. Soon after her acquisition by the American company she was chartered to C. G. Blake & Co., of Cincinnati, and loaded with a cargo of 3,800 tons of coal for Montevideo. She cleared from Norfolk October 15.

An American ship, plying between two neutral ports, she was captured in the Caribbean Sea by a British cruiser and carried into the harbor of St. Lucia. There she likewise has been confiscated without prize court proceedings by the British Government.

To these two cases is to be added that of the Kankakee, concerning which few particulars have as yet reached the United States. She was a member of the fleet to which the Hocking and the Genesee belonged and was on her way from a United States port to a South American port when off the mouth of the River Plate she was on October 31 captured by the British auxiliary cruiser *Macedonia*, carried a prize into Port Stanley, Falkland Islands, where orders for her confiscation will probably be sent.

There are seven other vessels in the American Transatlantic fleet which have been blacklisted by the British Admiralty and which will be captured and confiscated as soon as British cruisers are able to get hold of them.

Two of the blacklisted ships, the *Manitowoc* and the *Muskegon*, lie at Buenos Ayres, afraid to leave port; another, the *Allaguash*, lies at Rio under like intimidation. The *Winneconne* is in New York harbor awaiting a cargo which nobody dares put on board her. The *Ausable* is at Galveston in like case. The *Maumee* is held up at Copenhagen. The *Saginaw*, in Marseilles harbor, seized by the French.

Meanwhile, goods are accumulating at New York and other American ports to such an extent that railroads decline to carry further consignments to the docks.

And this is the answer to the American note of October 21. It took the United States Government seven months to make up its mind to write that note; it has taken the British Government one month to deliver its practical answer to it.

The Government of Great Britain has virtually set up in the midst of the busy seas an arbitrary court, claiming unheard-of powers, and exercising the most tyrannous police functions; seizing and haling into the dock, as suspects, all travellers upon the ocean highways, and visiting many of them with heavy penalties for unproven, and indeed unprovable, offenses.

This lawless assizes of the seas, contemptuous alike of its own precedent and of the rights to others, scarcely stoops to the pretense of citing authority for its actions, which are determined solely by its brutal will, and enforced, though indeed largely through intimidation, by the gigantic power of its naval police.

The extent of the earth's surface over which this extraordinary court is permitted to wield its self-arrogated jurisdiction, the magnitude of the interests which its actions vitally affect, and the supineness with which sovereign States submit to the erection, upon the ruins of their self-respect and the debacle of their highest commercial and political interests, of an island's municipal statutes into international formulas, unite to render this one of the spectacles of history.

A contemplation of that spectacle suggests the hour imposes upon the United States a duty of supreme historical importance.

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# Germany's Fight Against the Copper Blockade

American Correspondent Gives Vivid Pictures from the War Zone of Inventions. Old Copper and "Ersatz"—Liquid Air as an Explosive.

By GILBERT HIRSCH.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The letters from Berlin by Mr. Gilbert Hirsch, the correspondent of the New York Evening Post, belong, as that paper rightly remarks, to "THE BEST GERMAN NEWS OF THE YEAR." We are very glad of being able, by courtesy of the EVENING POST, to print the following most interesting and fair-minded descriptions of the conditions in Germany

"France rules the earth, England rules the water, and Germany—well, Germany has the air."—Old European saying.

THERE IS NO COPPER FAMINE in Germany; there is not going to be one. England, to be sure, has decreed that no American copper shall go to Germany, and no American copper goes there. Some copper did get through by way of Holland and Scandinavia in September of last year; but England put an end to that by bringing pressure to bear on Holland and the Scandinavian countries, and finally by adding copper to the already swollen list of articles declared by England, after the war had begun, to be contraband of war. The result interfered with the business of Scandinavia and Holland; prevented Italy from getting some of the copper which she needed to arm herself for participation in the war; cut down the output of the American copper mines, and caused a boom in the German copper industry. As to the ultimate object—a shortage in the German ammunition supply—it does not exist and is not in prospect.

The cutting off, to be sure, of the 35,000,000 pounds of copper which Germany was accustomed to get from America every month has had an appreciable effect. In times of peace Germany, the second largest copper manufacturing country in the world, makes articles containing 225,000 tons of copper. This year it makes none of these articles, devoting its entire copper supply to military purposes. No copper money is minted, and the resulting shortage in small change is already making itself visible in the requests posted up in many retail stores, that customers give the exact change in payment. You hear of how carefully the copper from used ammunition is being saved; of the rounding up of all the available copper in every position captured from the enemy. You see women walking through the streets carrying between them copper kettles, or gramophone horns, to sell to the authorities. If you are a householder, you are invited to fill out long detailed forms describing everything you have made out of copper or brass, and specifying whether or not the artistic or historical value of each piece is double the value of the raw material contained in it; for the German Government has determined not to melt down anything that might be considered a work of art.

## Precautions Against Shortage.

From all these symptoms one might conclude, if not acquainted with German psychology, that Germany is face to face with a real copper famine. But all these measures, like the use of the bread-card, and the prospective milk-card, are precautions against a shortage, and not the confession of one.

At the outbreak of the war Germany had more than 75,000 tons of raw copper—much of it American copper—on hand in factories and warehouses. Measures were at once taken to increase the output from the German mines. In normal times they produce some 50,000 tons yearly. Since the war began many of them have increased their production more than 50 per cent. But the chief recourse of the military, in case of pressing need, will be the old copper. It is impossible to estimate exactly how much there is in a country which, like Germany, has been mining copper for a thousand years. Yet no doubt the German lust for statistics will be satisfied here as it is everywhere else. A few days ago the householders sent in to the proper municipal centres their blank forms all "regelmässig" filled out, and the necessary computations will be very quickly made.

The government has announced that it will begin buying up these articles, if it finds such a course necessary, by the 16th of November. It is not believed that these compulsory sales will actually take place in November, nor in six months from November, for the amount of copper which the government has already received through voluntary sales is said to be enormous. The price paid is an extremely good one—one mark seventy pfennig per kilo—that is, about 37 cents for 21½ pounds. The German Government which is, just now, poor in so many things, is, thanks to the unexpected success of its war loans, very rich in money. And its liberal payments for copper within the past year have enabled many a poor family to live for months on the proceeds of its own kitchen utensils.

## That Brass Wash-Tub.

One hears the hope frequently expressed on the part of housewives, and with a great deal of fervor, that these voluntary sales will make a later confiscation unnecessary. I have heard a woman discuss, with tears in her eyes, the possible loss of copper and brass wash-tub which had cost her no end of time and trouble to keep clean, just as she might discuss the possible loss of a troublesome but dearly loved son on the field of battle. There is, in the German woman's love of her copper things, an intensity that is peculiarly racial. One feels as if, in some mysterious way, the Germans must belong to those races, like the ancient Persians and Egyptians, among whom copper, and not gold, was the royal metal.

As the German production of copper wares for home consumption has amounted in recent years to an average of 125,000 tons per annum, there is no question that the supply on hand is enormous. Not all of it, of course, is in private possession. There are hundreds of thousands of tons in street-railway wiring. And when, a couple of days ago, I put the copper problem to one of the persons most intimately concerned with the stretching of all Germany's resources, the answer was:

"Our roofs. Take a city like Dresden, where so many of the roofs are of copper. If we get hard up, we just have to go down there and take the roofs off a few Rathhauser [municipal buildings] and we are saved." And there are many roofs in Belgium and in northern France which can also be used, if need be, for the same purpose.

## "Invent"—By Order.

And if the worst comes to the worst, a substitute can be used. To those who are familiar with copper and its peculiar qualities, this sounds like an impossibility. But the German chemists and physicists during this war have obeyed the order "invent" in much the same spirit in which the German soldiers have obeyed the order "fire" or "charge." When a substitute for a thing has to be invented, it is invented. There have been inventions since the outbreak of the war substitutes for rubber, for eggs, for wool, for meat, for leather, for string, for coal, for gas. In Germany the same word is used to indicate a substitute for a thing and a reserve regiment for the army—"Ersatz."

It is said that the substitute for copper has been found in a soft steel, invented at the heart of Germany's munition industry, the Krupp works at Essen.

That it is not expected that a substitute for copper will be needed for a long time to come, however, is sufficiently proved by the fact that the copper mines of Germany are not being worked nearly as intensively as they might be, if the situation were considered serious. I visited the other day the Rammelsberg mine in the Harz Mountains, which belongs to the state. I found that it has had its working force materially reduced since the outbreak of the war, and that there are only one and a half shifts a day, of eight hours each. The fact that, in spite of this, it now produces considerably more than before the war is due to a concentrating on the production of copper, and cutting down materially on the mining of lead, of which, in peace times, four thousand tons were annually produced from ores taken from this mine.

## Romance of an Old Mine.

The story of this oldest copper mine in Germany is full of romance. History has it that the mine was discovered and worked by the Franks in those distant days before the Germans understood the art of fashioning copper. But the tradition is that it was one of the knights of Emperor Otto First—the Ritter Ramm—whose horse laid bare some ore with a beat of his hoof. Traditions die hard in the Harz Mountains. The very price fixed by Emperor Otto for the carting of a wagonload of ore—nine pfennig—holds today. And the miners of these days are said to be the direct descendants of the miners then. They cling to their peculiar superstitions, to their bizarre costume, to their custom of assembling in church every Monday morning before going into the mine, to pray for their safety while in the bowels



of the earth, and to their ancient form of salutation. "Gluck-auf!" which is a pious hope that you may return safely to the surface of the earth.

In the market-place of Goslar, half a mile from the mine, and itself a thousand years old, is a great bell, on which the citizens used to beat whenever there was danger of attack, to call the miners out of the depths of the Rammelsberg mine to help in the defence. The bell is no longer rung. But the same obligation to give up their work at a moment's notice to help in the national defence is still on the men who work in this mine. Nor does the fact that this mine belongs to the state—a three-sevenths share belongs to the province of Brunswick, the remaining four-sevenths to Prussia—nor that these men are doing work essential to the defence of Germany make any difference. When the war broke out, every miner of the specified age, who could pass the physical examination, had to go. And only the fact that this mine happened, at the time, to be employing a large number of men past fighting age, saved it from serious embarrassment. I have been told that the miners are well thought of in the field. Most of them are assigned to pioneer regiments; but I have heard of one who—no doubt for variety's sake—joined the flying corps.

#### Goslar—Once a Capital.

To speak of Goslar as a mining town might give a wrong impression, since it reminds one of a scene from "Meistersinger" or "Faust" rather than of the grimy streets of Butte, or the abandoned shacks of Virginia City. But the city has lived for a thousand years from the steady flow of metal from this one mine; its history has largely consisted of battles between rival nobles for the possession of the mine; its fine old monasteries and churches were due less to a particularly religious spirit in the town itself than to the desire of the clergy to make quite sure of receiving their full tithe from the mine, by being on the spot. In the Middle Ages it was one of the most strongly fortified towns in Germany, completely walled, and defended by 180 towers (of which three are still standing) which could not have been built but for the wealth that the Rammelsberg mine brought into the coffers of the city. And the defence was carried on by nobles who had made the city their residence in order to seize some of the precious metals from the mine and—in a literal sense—make money out of them. For the mine still turns out as much as 75 kilos of gold, and a hundred times that quantity of silver every year.

The story of this German mining town is a sufficient answer to those Americans who claim that it is our "commercialism" that keeps us from being as "picturesque" as Europe. Goslar has attained its present distinguished appearance through the fact that it has been doggedly commercial for ten centuries. The very Kaiserhaus on the hill above the town, of which the Germans are so proud, would not have been built there had it not been for the mine, whose riches were the determining factor with Henry II. (despite his sobriquet, "the Saintly") in fixing on Goslar as the capital of the "Holy Roman Empire" in the eleventh century. A picture of that Capitol of that earlier German Empire hangs today in the large reception room of the Foreign Office in Berlin, as if to remind the diplomats of the Wilhelmstrasse that the German diplomacy is far from being the parvenu that its enemies declare it.

I went into the mine itself, 450 yards below the surface. No horses are used in the interior to carry out the ore—and no boys under nineteen, the German law fixing this age as the minimum for underground employment being strictly observed even in war time. [Some lines here have been cut out by the censor.] We went through miles of passages roofed by ore containing lead—which looked like flashes of silver—copper—which looked like streaks of gold—and zinc—which looked like deposits of copper—past men boring into the sheer rock with compressed air drills, past elevator shafts and emergency shafts.

As we were down below the very center of the mountain one of the men from another mine who accompanied us asked the manager of the mine whether he believed in the "Wünschelrute" (the divining rods by which, according to an old belief, it is supposed that one can tell where the rich deposits are). He himself, he said, was absolutely convinced that it has properties that are as good as magical. But the manager laughed.

"I believe only in my Bible," he said.

"Your Bible?" I asked.

#### The Mine Manager's Bible.

"I mean the American Mining Journal," he said, smiling. "We all read it religiously. For years the rates cited in it, rather than the prices listed in the German journals, have been the basis of the German mining trade. Since the outbreak of the war, the English have kept all other American mining products from us."

#### In London After a Zeppelin Attack.



Policeman—Please do report: "No material damage. Three children killed."—Simplicissimus.

The shoot of ore in this mine is wider than anywhere else in the world, is extremely rich in copper, in some cases yielding as much as 22 per cent. metal. But it is a comparatively small mine, employing, together with the Oker Smelteries, with which it is affiliated, only about 2,000 men. This is far less than the Klausthal mine, in the Upper Harz, to say nothing of the mine at Mansfield, the largest copper mine in Germany, and the one at Eisleben, in Halle, which also produces an enormous quantity of zinc, and employs 10,000 men.

When we came up to the surface the "Mr. Mountain Inspector" (as the manager of a mine is quaintly called), after showing me the various safety devices, insisted upon by the German Government took me into a building where there was an apparatus which had been insisted upon—more or less indirectly—by the British Government. It was a plant, just completed, for the manufacture of liquid air, which, as I learned, is being substituted for dynamite in all the principal mines of Germany, now that the supply of Chili salt-petre has been cut off.

The use of liquid air as an explosive has been known ever since the famous Professor Linde took out the first patent in 1895. It was used in the building of the Simplon Tunnel, and now has been tried in a number of countries, notably France. But until very recently it was regarded as still in the experimental stage. But the old explosives were never regarded as entirely satisfactory, partly because of the danger in handling them, partly because of the poisonous gases that accompany them. The same searching for an improvement along this line has recently led the Anaconda mine, in America, to introduce "Sabulit" (the Belgian invention which has been used for some time in Australia and New Zealand) kept the German chemists working upon liquid air.

Immediately upon the outbreak of the war it was put into practical operation throughout the German mining industry. The results have proved so successful that it is now certain that it will continue to be used in place of dynamite, even after the war.

In the first place, it is peculiarly safe. You can take a cartridge—as they call the little black mouselike bags—put it into the bucket of liquid air which, literally, steams with cold, until the cartridge has soaked up 90 grams of it, and then, with the assurance that you are dealing with an explosive more than half again as powerful as the ordinary charge of dynamite, you can put it down and step on it, and the only result is a fizz as of so much steam. I saw five of these cartridges jammed with a stick into holes drilled in the rock, just as if they had been so many wet rags. And then I saw the men running like mad when the electric current was turned on, and the pieces of rock began to fly.

The cheapness is another advantage. Over against 20 pfennig, the approximate cost of a dynamite cartridge, one cartridge saturated with liquid air costs, at this Rammelsberg mine, only 12 pfennig. And where it is made in larger quantities the cost is even less. A whole new industry is in the process of development in Germany to manufacture

and handle liquid air; and the principal firm, the Marsit Corporation, declares the cost of liquid air to be just one-half that of dynamite.

It is impossible not to see something symbolic in the fact that this oldest mine in Germany is being worked by the newest method in the world. A little over a century ago, when the Germans were being laughed at as poets and dreamers, it used to be said that "France rules the earth, England

rules the water, and Germany—well, Germany has the air." The literalness with which this has fulfilled itself is borne out not merely in the darkened streets of London at night, but by the fact that, cut off from their supply of explosives by England's control of the sea, Germany has called the winds of the heavens to her service, and is gathering from the bowels of the earth the material for her weapons by means of great blasts of imprisoned air

## Letters From Edinburgh

### IV.

November, 1915.

Dear Sir:

I am again inflicting myself upon you in order to bring under your notice two replies from the papers to which I submitted a certain letter. I am not surprised, for in my last to you I foreshadowed failure. I have not yet got any answer from the Manchester Guardian, but it will probably be in the same strain as those already at hand. It shows you under what asinine conditions we exist. "Smooth things" are only doled out to us. Selbourne's speech herewith sent is a bitter and true commentary on the situation. The great loan has been duly floated, it would have been surprising had it not, Morgan and his fellow buccaneers found it an easy job seeing that they had in their possession the bank deposits. The "dough" being now handed out, remains to be seen how it will bake. The loaf may turn out short weight. A good many here "ha'e their doots" and feel anything but jubilant. Permit me to say that I greatly appreciate your poem which appeared in the last issue of G. L. V.'s weekly journal. Your work shows real poetic feeling; it's not a tawdry jingle of words such as passes muster here for poetry. London was again visited by Zeppelins last night, 50 killed and wounded in addition to the destruction of the usual dog and flower pots. Naturally much destruction of houses must have ensued.

"I want to have the pride of feeling that America, if nobody else, has her self possession and stands ready with calmness of thought and steadiness of purpose to help the rest of the World."

Thus your noble President on the 3rd, 8, 1915, to a deputation of newspaper men.

How queerly after all that has happened in your country, do these high sounding words now seem. "Calmness of thought" has suffered a sea change into mental hysteria and "Steadiness of Purpose" been applied to a fixed determination to pocket the dollars, however filthily they may be earned.

Does your congress ever meet, and when it does, will it have anything to say against the vile traffic now dishonoring and debasing your country, a country which we here once fondly thought stood for righteousness and nobility of thought, word and deed? Your President is indeed a shadow of a man; he dreams of noble deeds, but letting "I dare not wait upon I will" he dreams on, consoling his pedagogue soul with the thought that tomorrow will repay. Unless your Congress can right this wrong, America will depose Judas from his infamous pre-eminence. The British lion being now refilling his carcass with sawdust to replace that lost in his last great victory, and Jean Crakand spending his time photographing guns which he said he captured, the war on the West front is at a standstill. The Russians are making a last despairing desperate stand at Dvinsk, where they must have the bulk of their best available troops, their resistance will be overcome and then events will happen more rapidly.

The whole thing is horrible "Quousque adspicies nihil est mortis imago." I take my hat off to the Germans. For 15 months they have fought and defeated the physical and financial forces of the World—Marathon's glory pales before the Germanic resistance. Would you mind checking off the undermentioned letters and letting me know if you have received them. Your mail I fear is being tampered with.

With best wishes.



# Issues & Events

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## WHAT OF THE NEW YEAR.

As the world passes another milestone in its life journey all people are wont to gaze into the future with hopeful expectancy. Mistakes and sins of the past become responsible for multitudinous New Year's resolutions for individual and world betterment—while not a few acutely realize their approach to eternity.

Millions that trod the earth in 1915 have gone to the "Great Beyond," thousands of whom had strong hopes of longevity, and for whose passing some one is terribly responsible. Victims of warfare, they have left a heritage of broken hearts, shattered homes—and the world sorrows in overwhelming sympathy.

In the confusion of recrimination it is hard for mortal man to fix that "responsibility" with complete, satisfactory definiteness—every agency involved disclaims and shirks it. Future history may never accurately define it, but that there can be escape from the infallible judgment of Divinity no Christian will say.

Retribution will surely come—a great multitude cries out for the expiation of this catastrophe and, as sure as night follows days, the Almighty Hand of infallible condemnation will fall on the guilty—for, we are told, "vengeance is Mine, I will repay," saith the Lord."

So, as the nation takes account of itself, there can be little pride in a prosperity through munitions and war supplies. What the New Year has in store, as a result of this deplorable traffic, no man can tell. To what degree we are responsible for world conditions God alone knows; but every True American **does** know that, morally at least, we have made a vital mistake in our interpretation of neutrality.

May the New Year bring forth its rectification!

## THE STORY OF THE ANGLO-FRENCH LOAN.

The "Success" of the Loan and the Failure of the Syndicate.

By Granville A. L. Storney.

(Written for "Issues and Events.")

The man in the street is undoubtedly greatly puzzled as to the outcome of the Anglo-French loan in this country. For the last two months his newspapers have told him continuously that the great loan has been a complete success; he will find it difficult to reconcile with these statements the fact that the other day the bonds sold on the Stock Exchange as low as 94½, or nearly 4 per cent. below the official offer price.

Far be it from us to gainsay the editorial utterances made in this matter by our contemporaries—they are quite right in calling the loan a great success, but we must not forget that in this matter, as in many others, **they speak from the standpoint of the English and not of the American people.** Indeed the loan was a great success for the English and French governments. They have received \$480,000,000 good American money at terms which must be considered very easy, considering the magnitude of the amount borrowed and considering the desperate political and military situation of the Allies.

If we view the matter, however, from the standpoint of the American people the picture is quite a different one. A syndicate was formed early in October for the purpose of buying half a billion dollars of Anglo-French loans and to resell them to investors. A syndicate is never formed for the purpose of investing in securities, but they always endeavor to sell their securities as expeditiously as possible, so that the members of the syndicate can turn over their money very often. In this respect they are like a wholesale merchant who buys from the manufacturer and sells to the retailer, or in some instances to the ultimate consumer. **If a wholesale house would have at the end of a season on its shelves 40 per cent. of the goods purchased at the beginning of the season it would not only not be a successful concern, but it might be in very serious financial difficulties.** And this is just what happened in the case of the Anglo-French Syndicate.

When the syndicate was being formed it was announced that even very small investors could become members of the syndicate, an honor which is otherwise only within reach of banks, large brokerage firms or influential corporation managers. But in this case everybody was welcome. Pessimists suggested then that it was not likely to be a very profitable syndicate, otherwise the common herd would not be allowed to graze on the sacred precincts. What the total of the participations of individual investors was has never been announced, but it was stated at the time that over \$250,000,000 bonds were withdrawn from the syndicate, and some people concluded therefrom that actual investors had taken this amount. It seems, however, that a very large part of this sum was contributed by corporations and individuals who had received war orders through J. P. Morgan & Co., and who felt either morally obligated to subscribe to the bonds or believed that it was wise to do so in view of the expectation of further war orders. After the syndicate was finally formed an advertising campaign began the like of which was hardly ever seen in this country. First the official offering of the syndicate managers was advertised through the entire country in dailies as well as in magazines that had never seen a financial ad before. The result was apparently very disappointing, but the

Morgan firm realized that more advertising on their part would only increase the suspicion that things were going badly. Thus after a while advertisements of the loan began to appear that were signed by various brokers who recommended the purchase of Anglo-French bonds, as if they had no connection with the syndicate; but we are informed that these advertisements were paid by the syndicate managers just the same. Even this did apparently not induce many investors to exchange their U. S. coins into Anglo-French I. O. U.'s. As far as we can gather, the result of the entire advertising campaign, as well as of the efforts of a small army of bond salesmen who were sent all over the country, was that only \$25,000,000 bonds were taken by real investors. The members of the syndicate who had not withdrawn their bonds and who undoubtedly hoped to receive a check of about 1¾ per cent. profit on their participation received instead a cordial but firm request to take up about 90 per cent. of their participation. The rumor that this would be the outcome of the transaction caused heavy selling of the bonds, with the result that this security, which some enthusiastic members of the syndicate had described as the best bond ever offered, was selling at a price where it yielded a return of over 6¾ per cent.—a rather high return for a security which was ardently recommended for the investment of the funds of widows and orphans.

The mobilization of American securities held in England which the English government is now trying to bring about is an indication that English financiers realize that during the course of this war it will not be possible to float again a similar loan. Next time JOHN BULL asks for a loan of his cousins it will have to be done in a strictly business-like way, and he will have to offer some mighty good collateral, as any bank would require from a man whose credit has suffered from reckless management.

#### COLLIER'S EDITORIAL INTELLECT.

In the current issue of Collier's Weekly the patient readers of this once "national" magazine will find the following editorial:

##### Letter from an Honest Man.

Since this paper is not markedly pro-German we feel under all the more obligation to give the German side. In that connection, we have had recently a personal letter from a man whose mind we have often compared to a camera, an unemotional man who is without prejudice. Recently he went through Germany as a correspondent for us. In a personal letter he says:

"More and more I am impressed, as all Americans who have come in since the war are impressed, with the intense vitality, conscientiousness, and imaginative fervor of these people—and with the naivete, not to say vulgar ignorance, of the general run of American opinion during the first few months. At home a sentiment has been created, and it is hard to change a sentiment with facts. Indeed, it sometimes seems as if the average American and the race of American editorial writers could be moved only by sentiment—and not honest sentiment at that, but something arranged to fit their peculiarly insular prejudices and ignorance of actual European conditions. Don't fancy that I am pro-this or pro-that, but I do stand for such a thing as fair play and honest statement of facts—not only material happenings, but facts of temperament and intention."

The same editorial column offers, to the other side apparently, this gem:

##### Is He Burrowing Here?

Jules Claes, editor of "La Metropole" of Antwerp, studied the growth of German influence in Belgium for some years before the war. His book, "The German Mole," shows how Belgium was undermined. Harmless-looking German clerks, backed by such bodies as the Hamburg Association for Business Clerks, took jobs with Belgian concerns at little or no pay, worked up,

## To Our Readers

With pleasure do we seize the opportunity at the beginning of the New Year to thank all of our friends and sympathizers for the support and encouragement they have given us in our endeavor to spread the truth and in our fight for justice.

At the same time we wish all a Joyous, Prosperous and Happy New Year.

got hold, and slanted everything toward Germany. Paid German agitators stirred up quarrels between the Flemings and Walloons. German schools and newspapers were planted to make public opinion Teutonic. Belgium is not alone in this, for the same thing was done in Russia, and the present war is popular in Russia because it means the rooting out of German influences. We Americans are altogether too simple and easy about these things, and we would do well to ponder the conclusion proved by Belgium's bitter experience:

No country can with impunity grant to Germans the same advantages it grants to other foreigners, since Germans employ the advantages derived from hospitality for ends that are hostile to the country that grants them shelter.

It is quite clear that that "honest man" that "unemotional man without prejudice," whose mind has so often been compared to a camera by the editor of Collier's Weekly, has not impressed his employer this time. It is to be doubted if his work as a correspondent in Germany will ever be published. But his judicial mind will understand, and he will not call the irresponsible writer of the last six lines in the second editorial a criminal, because he knows that Germanophobia is just as incurable as any other mental disease.

## At Last Our Rights Are Being Protected

Since our own Government seems to be either unable or unwilling to protect American mails in transit to foreign countries, we should perhaps be glad that one of these countries has the courage to protect our mails for us.

British cruisers having overhauled, searched and taken from Swedish ships American mail matter intended for Sweden, that brave little country has promptly retaliated by stopping British mails in transit across Sweden to Russia. Sweden has also notified England that British mails will be held up until American mails are given free voyage to Sweden.

It is humiliating to think that the sea rights of a nation of 100,000,000 population have to be maintained by a nation of 5,000,000 population. But we are getting used to humiliations at the hands of the British Admiralty. And we suppose that we ought to be thankful that the Swedish Government affords our postal communications the protection which our own Department of State does not.

Take it all in all, we certainly have cut a contemptible figure in the world under the pusillanimous and partisan foreign policy of the present Administration.

# Facts and News that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

### THE SACCHARINE SOLDIER OR WILSON AT THE GRIDIRON CLUB.

The following report from Washington shows the intellectual pleasures which help the President to carry the burden of his office:

Washington, Dec. 11.—The opponents of Preparedness, especially William J. Bryan, were thoroughly "roasted"—or broiled—by the famous Gridiron Club to-night.

President Wilson was there. So were the members of the Cabinet, high officials of the army and navy, Democratic and Republican statesmen and famous men from all over the country.

The fun reached its height when the club put on a musical skit, "The Saccharine Soldier."

The cast was made up of Mr. Bryan, General Gumdrop, Colonel Caramel, Major Marshmallow, Captain Candy, Lieut. Licorice Drop, Sergeant Sugar Plum, Private Peppermint and a few "apostles of melody and sobriety."

All were impersonated by members of the club.

As they entered the announcement was made:

"This is merely a demonstration that the millenium has come. Under our noble leader here (indicating Bryan) we have determined that there will be no more war, no more fighting and no more gobbling up of little fishes by the big ones. Everybody is to be sweet and nice to everybody else."

The President of the Club—But you seem to have some soldiers?

Bryan—They are simply exhibits of a barbarian age. They are not fighters. They are too proud to fight! General Gumdrop, have you issued the orders for the day?

General Gumdrop: Yes, sir. When we see the enemy we are to shake hands with him and say, "God bless you!"

Bryan: That's right. Lieutenant Licorice Drop, how is the ammunition?

Lieutenant Licorice Drop: We have three rounds of chocolate creams, fourteen wagon loads of peppermint sticks, two barrels of cocoanut taffy, six pea-shooters and one dough-mixer.

Bryan: Colonel Caramel, will you give us the song of the regiment?

Colonel Caramel sang. The chorus of his ditty follows:

"If you like our kind of a soldier man,  
We'll give you songs and kisses,  
We care no more for fighting than  
Some eighteen-year-old misses.  
We are just little peaceful soldier men,  
We'd give up home or nation,  
Or any right, before we'd fight,  
For fighting is damnation."

Bryan: You are men after my own heart. I have never led anybody to victory and it's too late to begin now.

First Soldier: We have suffered a great loss. All our chewing gum has been captured by a girls' school.

Second Soldier: I have to report that two wagonloads of Chautauqua contracts have been destroyed.

Bryan: War certainly is h—! . . . and so it went on for the rest of the evening.

### Desertion in the Regular Army.

It would seem that there was some

objection on the part of the "preparedist" press to the publication of certain information, for I have submitted the following official figures to a number of prominent New York papers and none of them have seemed disposed to print. I am curious to know the reason for side-stepping figures so unpalatable to the manufacturers of munitions and others eager to spend the half billion or so prospective appropriations for "defense."

During the civil war the regular army possessed 28,830 soldiers. On page 67, Phisterer's Statistical Record, will be found the experience of a "prepared" army.

Killed in battle, 1,800; honorably discharged, 1,201; discharged for disability, 5,088; deserted and dishonorably discharged, 16,635, or almost 60 per cent., nearly three times the same kind of "losses" in the volunteer service, which included drafted men, professional bounty jumpers, and those who yearned for the comforts of home in preference to the tented field.

New York, Dec. 10, 1915. T. R. A.

\* \* \*

### MAX VON BADEN, APPONYI AND MARKOSOFF.

The following report from Stockholm gives a most interesting account of certain peace negotiations which are still going on between the Central Powers and Russia:

"At present in Stockholm is sitting a Russo-Austro-German conference, with the aim of better providing for prisoners and better arranging for invalid prisoners' exchange. The conference is the first direct meeting between representatives of belligerents, apart from meetings with parlementaires on the battlefield. The Swedish press proclaims that the conference has no peace-making functions; but asks: If Russians can meet Austrians and Germans for one purpose, why should they not meet for other purposes?"

The delegates' personalities cause speculation. The chief German is Prince Max of Baden, a soldier and jurist, a cousin of Queen Victoria of Sweden, and a friend of the Kaiser. It was Prince Max and his wife who, three years ago, concluded peace between the Hohenzollerns and the Cumberlands, and brought about the marriage of the Kaiser's daughter to the present Duke of Brunswick. The Swedish press assumes that Prince Max has been sent to talk peace privately with the Russian delegates.

In fact the Prince, through his relationship to the Queen of Sweden, is the chief link between Germany and the Swedish pro-war Activists; and his one known ambition is not to make peace, but to involve Sweden in the war.

A stir has been created by the arrival of Count Albert Apponyi as representative of Austria. Count Apponyi is the former Hungarian Minister of Education and Speaker of the Chamber; he is known all over Europe for his pacifism, and his activity in the Pacifist Inter-Parliamentary Peace Congresses. Austria's second delegate, Baron von Spiegelfeld, is also a known pacifist.

Of the two Russian delegates, the pacifist is M. Markosoff. He was badly wounded in the war with Japan, and in the present war he commanded a Red Cross train which fell into German hands. Till lately he was a prisoner in Germany. Dutch newspapers assert that Markosoff was released by the Kaiser and sent home with a letter to the Czar, expressing Germany's desire to come to terms. Probably the story is untrue. But the presence here of both Apponyi and Markosoff has set going the story that feelers are being made for peace.

Prince Carl of Sweden was the originator of the conference. The delegates make a great parade of enmity. Prince Carl entertained and King Gustav received the Austro-Germans separately from the Russians. A day later Count Apponyi and the second Russian delegate, Senator Arbusoff, lunched together in a private room in the Opera Cellar Restaurant. This encourages the peace speculators. The truth is that neither side had any authority to discuss peace; but the direct negotiations had the conscious aim of raising a "peace atmosphere," in which belligerents on both sides see the condition precedent of a speedy peace.

\* \* \*

### REMEMBER THE ARMENIANS.

Macon, Ga., Dec. 21.—Residents of East-Kan, a village near here, awoke today to find bullet-riddled bodies of two negroes, William Stewart and Samuel Bland, swinging from nooses, the victims of a lynching bee during the night.

A confession was said to have been obtained by members of a mob from the negroes that they robbed and killed A. M. Batchellor, a merchant, Sunday night. The mob strung up the negroes near the scene of the robbery.

\* \* \*

### BULGARIA'S LISSAUER.

Everybody knew that Bulgarian atrocities would play a prominent part in American newspapers should Ferdinand join the Teutons. Had Bulgaria acted according to the strong advice given to her by American editors and war experts she would have attained, like Serbia, the dignity of a heroic saint. "Es hat nicht sollen sein," as the Germans sing. Here is one of the advance guards of "Bulgarian atrocities":

A fight between Greek and Bulgarian troops is reported to have occurred in Albanian Epirus. The Bulgarian soldiers of Kultur are waiting on the border. Will they or won't they be allowed to cross the frontier? The Greeks are not entirely convinced that only German forces will invade the soil of Hellas, seeking the Franco-British lines. A Greek force has been interposed between the Bulgarians and the Allies. The Bulgarians may be fit soldiers of Kultur, but their enthusiasm must be more than a little dreaded. Ivan Arkudoff, the Bulgarian poet, a Court favorite, it is said, expressed not long ago the tender exhilaration of Bulgarian patriotism in a song which Paul Nirvana, a Greek poet, translated into Greek, and which is Englished thus in Prof. Sloane's "The Balkans":



"Before the day star marks the seventh degree above the horizon, shall the sea of blood, which thy sword unseals, flow seven fathoms higher. Behold the aged cripple, who drags along his wretched senile life to escape death and thy fury. Trample him under foot with iron feet, gouge out his dimming eyes, unworthy ever to mirror Bulgaria's grandeur.

"Why linger, young Bulgaria? Forward, ever forward! Softer than flowery meads of Spring is the carpet woven from the corpses of murdered women and boys. Refresh thy soul in the perfume of their youth, and then, tipsy with passion and heroism, strew flowers upon the earth, and march forth as if you were treading the velvet rugs of a palace."

\* \* \*

#### FROM A HIDDEN CORNER IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

Berlin, Dec. 20 (by wireless to Sayville, L. I.)—"It is stated on competent German authority," says the Overseas News Agency, "that since the beginning of the war to the end of November last, 734 enemy ships, with a tonnage of 1,447,628, were destroyed. Of these 568, with 1,079,492 tons, were destroyed by submarines, and 93, with 94,709 tons, by mines.

"Of the ships destroyed 624, with 1,231,944 tons, were British, which means a loss of 5.9 per cent. of the total British tonnage."

\* \* \*

#### TWO "HYPHENATED" AMERICANS (OF 1628) ASK A QUESTION.

My ancestors came to this country in 1628 with John Winthrop, first governor of Massachusetts. I have two sons, one a lawyer, one in business. My lawyer son is in sympathy with Germany, and my commercial son with the allies. I also am on the German side.

What I want to know is: For the political purposes of the present administration are my lawyer son and myself hyphenated, and is my commercial son a true blue American? J. P. C.

\* \* \*

#### "THOUGH IT COSTS ME MY LIFE."

Chicago, Dec. 18.—Roused by a recent wave of crime, which has resulted in several murders and numerous robberies and holdups, Mayor William Hale Thompson today charged the Chicago Police Department with shielding criminals, grafting, and contributing to the orgy of crime.

"I know the Police Department is absolutely rotten," the Mayor said. "It is honeycombed with grafters. I know criminals, hold-up men, murderers, pickpockets, and thieves of all description, known to the police, are walking the streets every day, and are not arrested.

"This is a terrible thing to say, but I would not be surprised to learn that in the department are

men who have planned murder."

Mayor Thompson said he would immediately start a wholesale cleaning up of the Police Department and rid it of crooks, "even though it costs me my life."

Nice state of affairs in the municipality of the second biggest city of our strangely civilized country.

\* \* \*

#### RUSSIAN HUMORISTS BEAT EVEN OURS.

The New York Yiddish daily, "The Forward," reprints from the Stockholm "Daily Dageblad" extracts from Russian papers which go to show how well the Russians are informed about the war.

The Russian paper, "Petrowsky Wjedemosty," of Petrowskin, in the government of Saratow, says with regard to the war situation:

"Austria-Hungary has asked the Russian government to enter into peace negotiations and Kaiser Francis Joseph has declared himself ready to conclude peace with Russia unconditionally. The German kaiser fled to Sweden, taking his whole family with him. The German General Field Marshal von Hindenburg was killed in a battle in the month of August. The German Socialists have established a republic in Germany and are now negotiating peace with our allies."

The Russian newspaper, "Sokol," published in Atatir, in the government of Sibirsk, commented editorially on the war as follows:

"The war will terminate sooner than was expected. Austria-Hungary is not participating any more in the war, because she is completely broken and the Turks cannot give any help to Germany. Germany alone is still fighting, but she is also already crushed, because our armies have occupied the whole east of Germany, while our allies have occupied the west of Germany, having crossed the Rhine a few weeks ago. It is true the czar has called for more recruits, but these recruits will not be sent to the battleground, they are needed only for police work in the territories of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, which we have occupied."

Another Russian paper, published in the government of Kasan, writes as follows on the 15th of October, 1915:

"Our victorious armies continue their march into Germany. The provinces of East and West Prussia, Posen and Silesia are already in our possession. His majesty, the czar, has now ordered the commanders of our army to launch an attack on the forts of Berlin. The English army has occupied the city of Essen and the Germans are no longer in possession of their huge gun factories. The Austro-Hungarian army has been destroyed completely, and the Austrian government implores the czar to conclude peace."

\* \* \*

#### HENRI BOURASSA AND SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

Ottawa.—A sensation has been caused in military and political circles here by a report that the Government has warned Henri Bourassa, the Quebec Nationalist leader, that a repetition of anti-recruiting and anti-

British statements as uttered by him in a speech in Montreal recently will lead to his arrest and trial for treason.

Bourassa's latest speech surpassed all his previous efforts. He was listened to by upward of 10,000 who crowded the Monument National in Montreal, where only a week ago an equally great crowd had heard Sir Wilfrid Laurier appeal for recruits. Bourassa's address was intended as an answer to his distinguished compatriot and in it he gave vent to some of the most bitterly anti-British statements of his career. He declared that French Canadians in Ontario were treated worse than the French in Alsace and Lorraine, advised against recruiting and attacked the English nation as despoilers of small nationalities.

"There is no principle," he declared, "whereby Canada should be held to participate actively in the empire's wars except for the defence of her own soil, and until the South African war no one pretended there was such duty. There is no public man in Canada today who can truthfully contend that it is our duty to aid Britain in this war."

"There are many people today who accuse French Canadians for not running to arms to shed their blood for England—for not being martyrs. We have not to keep together with our blood the empire which Britain has not the force nor ability to keep herself."

"To maintain that we are obliged to participate in this war is the work of the opportunists in both political parties in this country; it is to fool the people. I will tell you this: the British empire would sacrifice all its colonies to save India."

"The militarists of England do not differ from the militarists of Germany, of Russia or of other people. They are for the acquisition of the greatest amount of land, the most people, the most nationalities, the greatest spoliation, all for the benefit of the dominant race. They are not using brute force to accomplish their ends today; they are handing out flattery and favors to colonial Ministers and the results are the same—the glory and riches of the dominant race."

"We hear the remark made that no force is used to make us go to the war. True, but it is the servility of our representatives."

"We are given many reasons why we should enlist. We are told to save French civilization. That is well, but French civilization extends wherever a French word is spoken, and we have a portion of it to save in this country, and when we have done so, we can cross the ocean and help to save that in France. French civilization, does it need England to save it? England, whose armies devastated France time after time, and who carried more ruin and destroyed more churches in France than the Germans could do in ten years. They talk of little countries, the rights of little countries. Think of Russia and Britain which have seized everything, despoiled everything."

"We are told that we must enlist for the cause of religion. Can we believe that the cause of our religion is dependent on Protestant England, which for ever so long has been the bar to the spread of Catholicism?"

## A Glimpse Into the State of Mind of a High English Official.

"Great Britain was never in a more critical condition than at the present moment."

### "WHAT I THINK ABOUT THE WAR."

By Major-Gen. Sir Alfred Turner.

"Dr. Dillon long since warned us that the Allies must look to themselves and that Bulgaria would go against us. I really think that any one but a dreamer must have seen that that corrupt and treacherous German King of Bulgaria, who turned upon his own ally and whom Germany has planted upon a kingdom, as she has done in many other cases with her consummate foresight, would side with his 'Vaterland,' unless we and our allies offered him better terms. He doubtless knows the value of German promises, and also feels that Germany intends to hold Constantinople for herself, not for him. But he probably thinks that it is better to be Czar of the Balkans under the Kaiser than to get nothing from the enemies of Germany.

"German diplomacy, in a word, has walked round ours; she has turned with infinite cunning to the Balkans and Constantinople and threatens the roadways and seaways to the East.

"Whether this is, as some optimists think, the last throw of a gambler, carried out in despair owing to her gigantic losses in the East and West, remains to be seen. I shall not venture to prophesy; but it is safe to conclude that by means of German, Austrian, Bulgarian and Turkish armies Germany designs to obtain complete possession of the Balkans and afterward to attempt to realize her great dream of pushing eastward and forming a mighty German Oriental empire.

"The Kaiser of God; styled himself the Vice-Regent of God; it was not without the cunning of a lunatic that he proclaimed himself lately the Envoy of Allah! Coming events, he thinks, cast their shadows before.

"We are in the grip of a life and death struggle with a mighty and utterly unprincipled Power which compasses our destruction and which displays to the astounded world almost unthinkable resources in plottings, in men and munitions, while our 'wise men of Gotham' spend time, every moment of which should be given to the war and to the eventful and fateful crisis which is hanging over our heads, in planning grandmotherly legislation, such as the closing of clubs at an early hour and making it criminal for a man to offer alcoholic beverages to a pal.

"It is high time that undue optimism, bragging, threats and predictions of what we are going to do with Germany and her allies after the war should cease, and that we should calmly and bravely face the situation that threatens the liberty of the civilized world, which may fall under the dominion of a brutal reactionary and merciless Power, ruled by a modern Caligula.

### GERMANS AND THE FLAG IN THE CIVIL WAR.

**T**HERE were a few Union men in the city (Charleston) who through the long struggle had been true to the old flag. They were mostly Germans. Many Union officers escaping from prison had been kindly cared for by these faithful friends, who had been subjected to such close surveillance that secretiveness had become a marked trait of character.

I saw a small flag waving from a window and, wishing to find out what sort of a union man resided there, rang the bell. A man came to the door, of middle age, light hair, and an honest German face.

"I saw the stars and stripes thrown out from your window,



"Fire on the left, on the right water, advance impossible, strong forces in the rear; I shall have to surrender—but to whom?"—Simplicissimus.

and I have called to shake hands with a Union man, for I am a Yankee."

He grasped my proffered hand and shook it till it ached.

"Come in, sir. God bless you, sir!"

Then suddenly checking himself, he lowered his voice, looked into the adjoining rooms, peeped behind doors, to see if there were a listener near.

"We have to be careful; spies all about us," said he, not fully realizing that the soldiers of the Union had possession of the city. He showed me a large flag.

"Since the fall of Sumter," said he, "my wife and I have slept on it every night. We have had it sewed into a feather bed."

He gazed upon it as if it were the most blessed thing in the world.

He had aided several soldiers in escaping from prison; and on one occasion had kept two officers secreted several weeks, till an opportunity offered to send them out to the blockading fleet.

(From "The Boys of '61," by Charles Carleton Coffin, published by Estes and Lauriat, Boston. 1884.)

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# Issues & Events

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## Papers of the Clark University Historical Conference

### I. The Influence of the Red Cross for Peace

By MABEL T. BOARDMAN

Chairman National Relief Board of the American Red Cross

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—Dr. George H. Blakeslee, of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., has been called the author of that most important historical conference which took place recently under the auspices of Clark University. We are very glad of being able to print some of the most prominent addresses delivered on that occasion. The purposes of the Conference could not be stated better than in the following words of Dr. Blakeslee:

"A university should stand unflinchingly to its true ideals and discuss such situations as that of the war on the basis of reason and intelligence and not of emotion and prejudice. What should be sought is the truth and the exact truth, no matter what it turns out to be. The same spirit of fairness and the same absence of passion should prevail at the conference now begun as should prevail at an historical conference on the war one hundred years from now."

It is a curious fact that the moral code of man the individual in his relations to his fellow men is far superior to the code that governs nations in their relationship to their fellow nations. Man the individual centuries ago left the stone age far behind him, but nations still cling to the primitive ethics of this early period. International law fails as yet to embody the principles of the ancient decalogue in its provisions. "Thou shalt not steal" makes the man who breaks the law a criminal, but nations plunder each other without a seeming blot upon the escutcheon of their national honor. "Thou shalt not kill" makes the man who slays his fellow man a murderer, yet nations destroy their tens of thousands, chanting after every victory their triumphant Te Deums to the author of the old Mosaic law.

To speak of the present titanic conflict as a lapse into barbarism is hardly just. Within the last fifty years everyone of the chief nations involved has been engaged in other wars. Three times during the life of the man not yet three score years and ten our own nation has resorted to arms to settle foreign or domestic difficulties. **Wars are not a return to barbarism, but a perpetuation of barbarism.**

Amidst the horrors of death, desolation and indescribable suffering are there no signs of better things? Must we stand helplessly appalled before the triumph of man's brutal nature, hopeless as to the ability of nations to rise above this bestial plane?

#### The Evolution of War

All evolution is so slow that at close range it becomes hardly visible, and only by the long perspective of history can any progress be discerned. I doubt myself if on the active field of battle any real advancement can be found. Warfare, like everything else with which man has to do, has reaped the benefits of scientific skill. The scope and the power of modern inventions for the destruction of human life have so increased within a few decades that a single battle of today would have wiped out of existence entire armies of a century ago. Man himself, under the horrible excitement of strife, becomes mad with blood lust and hardly a more responsible being than his ancestors of the caves. Picture a single scene of this modern warfare. An onslaught is to be made upon the enemy's lines. With the earliest dawn above the waiting men begins the deafening roar of the huge guns of the artillery in the rear, pounding the enemy's trenches with a hail of shot and shell. Clutching their guns, the men lie side by side, with faces white and tense in the early dawn. One strokes another's arm. One turns to kiss his comrade's cheek. The sergeant clutches the foot of his commanding officer, who, bending towards him, hears his hoarse whisper, "With you, my Captain, with you." Not a man but knows that death may claim him as its own before the sun now rising sinks into the west. Not a man but knows that if he falls, and his comrades retreat, he must be left to die without aid or succor where he lies. On the signal, out of their earth burrows dash the long lines of nerve-strained and wildly excited men. Leaping into the enemy's trenches, a hand-to-hand conflict ensues. No quarter is given or taken. Above ground there is no protection for prisoner's convoys, and if the second trench is to be attacked no living man can be left behind to endanger those who must advance. Hand grenades put an end to any who may have hidden in the shelter of the caves they have constructed, and finally, as the forces spring forward to the next attack, a few detailed for

trench cleaning duty make an end of any wounded men who may prove dangerous. A thousand years ago men fought with no greater fury or barbarity. Prisoners are taken only when the armies are cut off, or some of their detachments surrounded, or fortified places captured. For my part, I do not find any particular virtue or advancement in the efforts to make war humane by treaty prohibition of certain kinds of ammunition like dumdum bullets. War cannot and never will be a humane institution, and shrapnel wounds are quite as horrible as those caused by the prohibited missiles. It is well, however, that public opinion takes cognizance of the atrocities of war and burns with indignation over these horrors, for atrocities are a part and parcel of all wars, past and present, and will be such as long as wars occur. These minor atrocities go to make up the great sum of atrocity, **War Itself.**

#### Growing Consciousness of Nations

Hopeful signs for humane progress are, therefore, not to be found in the midst of shot and shell, of bullet and bayonet, of aeroplane and submarine, but in the still, small voice of the people's conscience.

The fact that the nations involved in today's mighty conflict seek in books and pamphlets as many-hued as the rainbow to justify to the world their action for entering into the war, gives a note of promise that the awful deluge of blood now flooding the battlefields of Europe will not occur again. The people of the world are becoming ashamed of war and, conscious of their shame, strive most diligently to find its justification.

There is today another sign of moral growth that not only stands as a milestone on the road of national progress towards a higher ethical plane, but which I believe possesses possibilities as yet undreamed of.

Witness of the awful sufferings after the battle of Solferino, in 1859, a Swiss, Henry Dunant, issued a pamphlet graphically depicting the conditions and experiences of the wounded. This little pamphlet marked an era in history and led to the Treaty of Geneva, which provided for the mitigation of the sufferings of war. This is probably the only treaty in the world devoted wholly to humanitarian provisions. The Treaty of the Hague, which extends its obligations to naval warfare and embraces the question of the treatment of prisoners of war, embodies also other matters.

#### The First Conference and Treaty of Geneva

In opening the first Conference of Geneva, previous to the drafting of the Treaty, Monsieur Moynier, the presiding officer, said:

"It has been stated that instead of seeking expedients to render war less murderous, we should do better to attack the evil at its root and to work toward universal and perpetual pacification of the world. To hear our critics it would really seem that we are attempting to do nothing less than take part in legitimate warfare by regarding it as a necessary evil.

"Is this criticism serious? I cannot believe so. We certainly desire as much as, and more than, anyone, that men shall cease to butcher one another and that they shall repudiate this remnant of barbarism which they have inherited from their forefathers. With the aid of Christianity, they will succeed in doing this sooner or later, and we applaud the efforts of those who work to bring about better relations. However, we are convinced that it will be necessary for a long time yet to reckon with human pas-

sions and endure their baleful consequences. Why, then, if we cannot absolutely and immediately do away with them, should we not seek to lessen them? Charity commends this course, and it is because we have listened to the voice of charity that we are here. I cannot understand wherein our attempts would seem to be calculated to retard the dawn of the era of peace, of which we see a glimpse. Moreover, I am convinced that in organizing assistance for the wounded, in addressing earnest appeals to the inhabitants in behalf of their misery, and in describing, for the needs of our cause, the lamentable spectacle of a battlefield, unveiling the terrible realities of war and proclaiming them in the name of charity, a thing which it is too often the interest of politics to keep hidden, we shall do more for the disarmament of peoples than those who resort to the economy arguments or declarations of sterile sentimentality."

#### Example of Our Civil War Decides Treaty

There is an interesting fact connected with the adoption of the Treaty of Geneva not generally known. A large majority of the conferees were military men and humane men, but fearing from the professional point of view the privileges it sought to grant. Mr. Charles Bowles, one of the American delegates, when the Treaty's fate hung in the balance, arose in the convention and explained the similar orders issued during our Civil War to the armies, their success; and the work of the Sanitary Commission. This practical illustration of the treaty provisions undoubtedly was a potent factor in bringing about its adoption. It was not ratified, however, by the United States Government until 1882.

By means of the Treaty not only were the sick and wounded to be respected, and cared for, without distinction of nationality, by the belligerents in whose power they are; but another humanitarian measure secured for the alleviation of the mental suffering of the families of the sick and wounded prisoners by the provision that the belligerents shall keep each other mutually informed of the conditions of these men, for transmission to their families and friends.

Such provisions as these, together with the requirements for the humane treatment of prisoners of war embodied in the Treaty of The Hague, led to influences for peace little realized. Consider for a moment the long resentment felt in the north after the Civil War, because of the treatment of the Federal prisoners at Andersonville. Watch today the bitterness of reprisals when reports of the ill-treatment of wounded or prisoners arise. Look on the other side of the picture. During the Russo-Japanese war the devoted care given both by the Government and the Red Cross of Japan to the sick and wounded Russian prisoners, sent back to Russia, when the war was over, thousands of little centers that could not fail to radiate a subtle influence for peace and the re-establishment of friendly relationship between the two countries.

#### The Only Bond Unbroken

At the Eighth International Conference of the Red Cross, held in London in 1907, a well-known authority on international law, Professor Martens, head of the Russian Red Cross Prisoners' Bureau, reported:

"As under the Red Cross flag there can be no bitterness, and that justice should be rendered to all, I feel it my duty to inform this conference that the states at war gave all necessary aid in furnishing the desired information; and a fact extraordinary in the annals of international relations, in spite of the conflict the relations between the Red Cross of the two countries at enmity never ceased to be most correct and amiable during the entire war."

This work of mercy had alone made such relationship possible. War had broken every bond—that of diplomacy, of commerce, and of the postal service; but stronger than the force of war was the bond of the Red Cross. As the occupation in the destruction of human life drags man downward towards the brute, that of the merciful work of the Red Cross in the conservation of human life has its elevating influence. It lifts man above the condition of the savage onto the higher plane of human brotherhood.

That the spirit of the Red Cross is twice blessed is well known to those who have had much to do with our own share in the present European war. Wherever groups of persons have banded themselves together to aid one belligerent or one group of belligerents, their marked and intense sympathy with that particular side in the controversy becomes very evident, and they but reflect the spirit that makes war possible. Realizing that it is far wiser to recognize human nature as it is, the Red Cross has welcomed all within its sphere of helpfulness and opened wide its medium of usefulness to any who may desire to send their aid to the Allies only, or to the Central Powers; and by such recognition brings those whose hearts are really warm for human suffering into close contact with the broader spirit of universal humanity.

Turning back to the position of governments in war, we cannot fail to recognize the difficult position of the neutral state in maintaining its neutrality. The present conflict is so vast, embracing eight powers on the one side and four on the other, and including, save the United States and China, the most important nations of the world,—that each of the countries involved dares not lose any advantage. As a consequence, the rights of neutral nations are frequently disregarded. Ever since the war began we, as a neutral nation, have been forced diplomatically to fight for our rights. Each time these rights have been disregarded there has arisen a feeling of resentment among our own people; and each demand made upon a foreign power for the recognition of such abuse, its discontinuance, and reparation for the wrong committed, arouses resentment on the part of the people of the nation concerned. On the other hand, the neutrality of the Red Cross is of an entirely different nature, and produces an entirely different attitude. It is, if I may use the term, a **positive neutrality**. It makes no attacks, it demands no rights; it asks simply that it may give to those who suffer, and to give its aid to all. It sets in judgment upon no cause, and by no criticisms closes the open doors of opportunity before it. More blind than justice, it questions not the suffering that it aids, and finds a welcome everywhere.

Nearly four hundred of our Red Cross surgeons, nurses and sanitary experts have cared for the sick and wounded in Europe. Hospital supplies and garments by millions of pounds have been sent. Hundreds of thousands of dollars have gone for the maintenance of hospitals, the health of refugees, the aid of prisoners, and many other humanitarian institutions—all pitiful needs the war has produced. Not a nation but has poured out its gratitude for our sympathy and our help for their suffering people.

#### A Red Cross Farewell

As a group of our surgeons and nurses were leaving Vienna one of the officers of the Austrian Red Cross in his words of farewell said to them:

"Enormous material losses have befallen us. Towns have been destroyed and countries have been devastated. Precious human life has been slaughtered. But far greater than any material losses, those ideals—carefully guarded—of humanity, the fruit of centuries of civilization, have been destroyed. In these terrible events we can see one ray of sunshine in the truly neutral love you bestowed upon your fellow creatures, not inquiring whether friend or enemy. The farmer, looking over his ravaged field after a terrible tempest, sees in the midst of the destruction a single flower, which means to him a happy outlook, and hope for the future. This flower is the true Samaritan whose apostolic messenger came to us in you. This true Samaritan work gives consolation and hope for a better future. Not only for this do we thank you—that you came over here to heal our wounded—but much more do we thank you that through your work of true Samaritan love, unconcerned whether friend or foe, you have kept alive the conviction that these ideals of neighborly love have not died out."

It is in such deeds of mercy that the Red Cross sows the seeds of brotherly sympathy that make for peace. When the day dawns wherein the nations shall learn, as men have learned, that there exists something more than international treaties of rights, and that that something is a positive command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor," the foundations of lasting peace will have been laid.

In the meantime, we must deal with the results of hatred and strife and, unnecessary as it should be, must continue to occupy ourselves in mitigating the sufferings caused by "man's inhumanity to man."

May I turn now, for a moment, to another field of Red Cross service, its labors for the relief of suffering after disaster in foreign lands, and mention only one of the many cases that I might cite.

#### The American Red Cross and the Huai River Basin

The central part of China, the Huai River basin, sometimes called the "granary of the Empire," from times before recorded history begins has suffered from great floods and their resulting famines whereby millions of people have been brought to greater misery than any other calamity can cause except that of war alone. For the relief of the starving people of this valley the American Red Cross has expended nearly \$600,000. Among the people of China some ten years ago, angered by the exclusion law, there had arisen a deep feeling of resentment against America. The help given to the starving population, together with the remission of the indemnity, Mr. Root, then Secretary of State, believed changed completely the attitude both of the Chinese Government and the people towards our country, from that of antagonism to one of friendly relations. Today China looks to us as her best and most unselfish friend.

Not content with rendering relief after the famines were

created, our Red Cross, with the consent of the Chinese Government, sent a board of eminent engineers to study flood and famine prevention in the Huai valley. The report of this board of engineers shows that by modern and scientific drainage, at a reasonable cost, flood prevention is feasible, the land reclaimed and improved fully repaying the expense of the work. China turned to the American Red Cross to aid her in obtaining the necessary loan and to secure the engineer to be placed in charge of the construction by her Government. When a tentative draft for the loan was submitted to the Chinese Minister in Washington, with the provision that in case of the disability of this engineer the Chinese Government and the contractors should select his successor, the Minister declared his Government would not be satisfied unless in such a case the successor was selected by the American Red Cross.

The Red Cross had represented to the people of China the disinterested, helpful friendship of the people of America, above suspicion and above reproach. Back of it lay no ulterior motive that threatened the integrity of their empire, and no selfish purpose that endangered their welfare. Unfortunately, the financial world had been so seriously affected by the European war that the bankers were not willing to take up this loan at that time. I am glad to say that at present serious consideration is being given to the matter by our most important financiers.

#### A Letter from Dr. Reinsch.

Dr. Reinsch, the American Minister at Peking, writes of the proposed works:

"I may state to you, as I have said to the Department of State and to the President, that there is no undertaking at present proposed in China which equals in importance and significance the Huai River improvement. It is not only that millions of acres of the most fertile agricultural land of China will be reclaimed to usefulness, affording assured means of livelihood to twenty million human beings, but the character of the work itself is of such a nature that its execution would have a profound influence on the future of China. The work would be a model for scientific method and organization as applied throughout Chinese life. More especially, however, it would be the beginning of reclaiming the waste lands of China and utilizing the forces of nature, as represented in the rain-swollen streams, with the result that, according to the computations of competent experts, the agricultural productivity of China could be increased by nearly one hundred per cent. This is the starting point of all reform, leading to the betterment of conditions of

life in this country. That these opportunities exist is recognized by the leading representatives of all nations; the American project has therefore been given generous commendation and support in the press throughout the world, such as has never fallen to any other foreign enterprise in China, without exception.

"I have written so fully to you about this matter because I realize that in this enterprise lies the finest opportunity which America has ever had of bringing a great liberating influence to bear in China—liberating millions of people, and eventually the entire population, from the dominance of unfavorable natural conditions. All Americans in China realize the importance of this work. Having put our hands to the improvement of famine conditions in central China, it has become a matter of justifiable national pride that this great work should be carried to the successful issue which is now in sight."

The Red Cross is new to China, but is there something of a vision in the powers some of her people attribute to it?

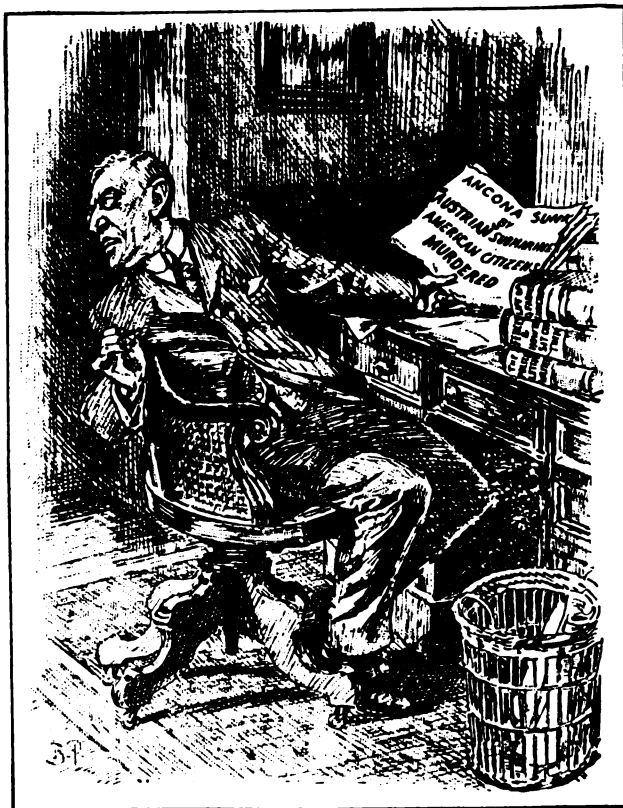
During the revolutionary wars men sought to buy its protection, or brought their treasures to the hospitals to place them under the safety of its folds. In a certain inland city where the fighting was severe a teacher moved a little group of scholars from the school to the station to take them to a safer place, marching them forth under a Red Cross flag, both the fighting factions respecting the emblem which safeguarded the children.

The observance of its sanctity, the prevention of its abuse, cannot be too strongly emphasized. The nation, the physician, or the nurse that utilized its sacred privileges for any purpose whatsoever save that for which it was created, commits a crime against humanity. It has proven to the world that one flag may command the respect and the protection of all nations. This is not possible for any other emblem the world has ever known. No symbol of religion, no insignia of peace—even the flag of truth—ever possessed this world-wide recognition. What, then, is the secret of this Red Cross power? I believe it is because in its mission is found the best there is in man's nature. There is no room in its true service of humanity for selfishness, for hatred, or for strife. It disarms suspicion, and builds up confidence. I believe through the medium of the Red Cross a new era may dawn upon this war-weary world—an era not of national right, but an era of international duties and international service. Leagues of peace and courts of arbitration will never do away with the arbitrament of arms until the foundations of international relationships are built upon the rock of international friendship and good will.



Uncle Samuels.

"It pays to be neutral."—"Passing Show" (London).



A Matter of Routine.

President Wilson—"This calls for a note—Mr. Secretary, just bring me in a copy of our usual No. 1 Note to Germany—'Humanity' Series."—"Punch" (London).

## The "Victory Loan"—A Defeat

By GRANVILLE A. L. STORNEY.

Two weeks have passed since the subscription books for the French Loan have been closed—but the American public is not yet allowed to know the exact results. There is no doubt that financial circles in Paris and London are thoroughly informed on the outcome of this financial venture, and it even seems that the French Premier, Mr. Ribot, made a fairly complete statement about it in the French Parliament on December 24. American newspapers, however, gratefully remembering how handsomely they were treated by the Anglo-French Loan Syndicate and solicitous of the health of American investors, have apparently decided that the truth about the so-called Victory Loan must not be told to their readers at this time. The newspaper which prints "all the news that's fit to print," published on Christmas morning a cable from Paris, which bore the inspiring headline. "**Victory Loan Obtains \$2,900,000,000 in Paris.**" It must have been quite a satisfaction to some of the head-line readers of the "Times" to learn that France had succeeded in raising a sum only slightly lower than that obtained for Germany by its third war loan. But the reader who ventured into the article itself, found there statements attributed to Mr. Ribot, which were quite at variance with the head-line, but they were arranged in such a way that only after repeated reading their meaning became clear. It appears, for instance, that Mr. Ribot said that the total subscriptions amounted to about  $14\frac{1}{2}$  billion francs capital; capital in this connection meaning of course the same as par value, but our leading newspaper inserts two quite inconspicuous words and states that  $14\frac{1}{2}$  billions were subscribed in the capital (viz.: Paris) alone. Somewhere in the article the careful reader will also find the statement that the cash subscriptions amounted to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  billion francs and that  $2\frac{1}{2}$  billions were subscribed in treasury bonds. In what form the remaining 6 billion francs were subscribed that is left to the imagination. Some light is thrown on this hidden treasure by an item in The Commercial and Financial Chronicle of December 25, which states to have obtained the following figures from New York correspondents of Paris bankers:

Total subscriptions,  $14\frac{1}{2}$  billion francs, of which in cash  $2\text{--}2\frac{1}{2}$  billions, in treasury notes 7 billions, in converted rentes 2 billions, leaving about 3 billions unaccounted for.

It is evident that it is of minor importance how many billions of bonds of earlier issues were exchanged into the new war loan which carries a higher rate of interest than the previous loans. The success or failure of the loan depends of course on the amount of new money which the Government obtains in order to be able to continue the war. And this item of cash subscriptions varies in the two statements mentioned from 2 billion to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  billion francs. Why there should be so large a difference in the two statements we cannot explain, until the French newspapers containing the speech of Mr. Ribot arrive. In any event, these sums, large as they may seem to the layman, are astonishingly small, especially if one considers that this loan was the first great popular loan floated in France since the beginning of the war, the military expenditures having been largely financed so far by the issue of

notes of the Banque de France and of Treasury notes. The above figures of 2 to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  billion francs represent undoubtedly the par value of bonds paid for in cash, and as the issue price was  $87\frac{1}{4}$ , the amount realized was—taking the normal exchange rate of 5.20—from \$335,000,000 to \$923,000,000. At the present rate of war expenditures of France these sums would furnish the sinews of war for from 3 to 9 weeks. As it is out of question for France to float another loan in two months, recourse will again have to be taken to the printing presses of the Banque de France, or another appeal will have to be made to the generosity of the ally across the Channel! In this connection it is interesting to read in the English financial press that the 600 million francs of French Loan subscribed in England do not represent new money; it appears that the English Government allowed the public offering of the "Victory Loan" in England only under the condition that the amounts subscribed for be applied towards the repayment of French treasury notes held in England. As according to the Economist of December 4, over one billion francs of these Treasury bills were held in Great Britain, the new bonds placed there take care only of 60 per cent of the notes in English possession and not one cent of new English money reaches the coffers of the French Government.

Our readers will remember that after the failure of the great offensive of last September the English newspapers tried to make the world believe that no great operations had been attempted and no far-reaching results been expected. But the orders of General Joffre and of some English generals bearing on the September battles, which were found and published by the Germans, showed clearly that a victory which would decide the war had been expected by the leaders of the Allies.

The very same tactics are being used in respect to the "Victory Loan." In English financial papers we read now statements to the effect that the loan was primarily a "funding operation" and the securing of new money was only secondary. For the benefit of those readers not familiar with the technical terms of finance we want to explain that a funding operation involves the issue of long-term bonds in order to retire a floating debt or short-term bonds; in most cases this means a reduction of interest charges, as a floating debt usually commands a higher interest rate than a long-term bond issue. But in the case of the "Victory Loan" the opposite is taking place; the interest on the new bonds amount to  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent more than the interest on the old bonds, which were exchanged into new bonds. If, therefore, the "Victory Loan" was mainly a funding operation it was decidedly bad business. But we have ample evidence that the purpose of the loan was to raise a vast amount of new money. The name "Victory Loan" itself indicates that it was intended to be the great offensive in the realm of finance, for not even the readers of the Providence Journal would believe that a funding operation would bring about the final victory. Furthermore, the day after the subscription books were opened in Paris, American newspaper readers were gravely informed that the loan was a huge success, as on the first day in Paris alone 25 billion francs were subscribed and Leroy Beaulieu, the well-known economist, was quoted in American papers as having estimated the subscription to reach the 20 billion (francs) mark, including 10 billion francs in cash. *Pauvre homme, ou est la neige d'antan?*



# The Charge—and After

## A War Story

By Mary M. Colum.

The buttons were nearly all off his shirt, and he had not been able to get a pin to fasten it across his chest. Why, in heaven's name, couldn't the authorities understand that what the regiment really wanted was fresh shirts? They seemed to be perpetually getting socks. Three hours previously more socks had been distributed, and there had fallen to Larcenet a fancy knitted pair with a sentimental note from some far-off knitter pinned to the leg. When they had all squatted down to put on the socks, displaying to each other their poor, unkempt, unwashed feet—feet that were gradually becoming like the hoofs of wild animals—they had not known they were so near action again.

The charge had now sounded twice, and he with the others had twice advanced and retreated with bayonets fixed. Nothing in particular, so far as Larcenet could see, seemed to be happening. After each retreat the wounded were hastily carried to the rear and the charge charge sounded again. Through each charge he kept wishing for the fresh shirt—the one on his back was sticky, clammy, and, he felt sure, verminous—it irritated him so that he could hardly hold his bayonet in position. Altogether he felt desperately uncomfortable. He had to keep his mouth wide open for breathing, because up his nose he had stuffed cotton wool soaked in eucalyptus. He was extraordinarily sensitive to smells, and he could not stand the stench of the trenches, and of the human beings in them. He began to get dazed as they charged and retreated. The yelling grew stranger and more unearthly—men pierced with the cold steel shrieked and danced in pain; through the tortured cries rose exultant cries. Mingling with it all, from somewhere down the line in the enemy's ranks, came the pitiful crying of horses.

After his regiment had retreated the seventh time Larcenet vaguely comprehended that some of the men were angrily refusing to advance again. A commanding officer rode up the lines and in a few terse words announced that if they refused to charge he would give their comrades behind the order to shoot them down. At the back the men were singing in chorus the words of a disgusting song. The bugle sounded and the regiment advanced again, Larcenet with them. He began hazily to speculate about which of the enemy's regiments they were charging. Could it be Ernst Schiller's? Might it be that what Ernst had jokingly said to him in their studio in New York, when he had received the call to the colors, had really come true, and that here they were on the battle field, facing each other in their respective regiments. Larcenet's brain was growing more and more dazed; he began to believe that he was surely dreaming, and that Ernst would come in from the next room and shake him up. Then he had a moment's clear thinking when he knew he assuredly was not dreaming. He tried to keep a firm hold on his momentary clarity of brain, but he imagined he felt a sharp pain somewhere in his body, and his brain slipped from his control again. He pulled the wadding out of his nose, for he could no longer breathe through his mouth. His companions seemed to him at one moment to be wildly dancing a war dance, at the next, all of them seemed to have vanished. After a few minutes' wrestling to understand things, he became sure that a Council of the chief men in the opposing armies decreed that the fate of the war should be decided on the result of a single combat between him and Ernst Schiller. Then he saw the battlefield and the trenches rapidly transform themselves into a broad, level plain. Ernst was advancing from a distance. He was clad in shining armor, looking exactly as he had looked when Larcenet had used him as a model for the Archangel Michael in his prize picture. It seemed to Larcenet that there was betting on the result of the combat—red, leering demons were backing him—shining angels were backing Ernst Schiller. He saw Ernst stalking towards him, clanking his armor and brandishing a fiery sword, while he, Larcenet, had only on his awful, sticky, verminous shirt. Fear overcame him. "Ernst," he shouted. "Dear, dear Ernst—don't kill me—it is I—Larcenet."

Then Larcenet thought he was dead. In a moment he stood before the Eternal Judge, was questioned and sentenced to hell. Hell was a thick, viscous pool which pressed heavily on his head and eyelids. It was queer that there was just his head left. He had no arms, or legs or body. He had carried over to Hades just his head. Why hadn't the priests told him that his head was the only immortal part of him? After his head had swum about for an endless age, it seemed to him that at length hell was beginning to dry up.

This viscous liquid did not press so heavily on his eyelids, and after a series of mighty efforts he was able to open his eyes. Devils, bearing dancing, fiery crosses, hovered near him, and poured burning liquids down his throat. Then they all faded away for a long time, and when next his eyes opened he saw, steadily but dimly, white clad figures, men and women, with red crosses on their arms and breasts, walking about. Comprehension came slowly, but after a long struggle with the heavy weights that pressed on his brain he at last vaguely knew that he was in a hospital. He had been horribly wounded; when the first consciousness came to him he thought he had lost both arms and legs. Then he lost count of time; he spent his days and nights in a doze. At length the day came when he knew he was in possession of all his limbs except his right arm; all that remained of it was a bandaged stump. He was lying in a bed in a long room, where depressed, maimed men lay silently recovering in stretchers like his own. Some of them read, some of them smoked, some of them gazed straight in front of them. They had no curiosity about each other; they had all been too seriously wounded for further service, and were to be returned to their families. After a good many happenings, in which he took little interest beyond the fact that they had to do with his return home. He found himself, dressed in clothes of a color he had never before worn, on the steerage deck of a ship that was bound for New York. Home to him meant the studio-apartment which he and Ernst Schiller had shared together. Pinned on his coat were the decorations he had been awarded for distinguished courage. They had been pinned to the temperature-chart above his bed in the hospital. To avoid the questionings of his fellow passengers he fixed them to a tape and hung them round his neck. For the most part his steerage companions were silent people like himself. He hardly noticed the days passing. In the mornings he struggled painfully into his clothes with his one hand; at dinner he left unanswered the curious questionings of the steward who cut his meat for him. The voyage somewhat refreshed his exhausted body.

There was beginning to return to him some interest in the fact that, after all, he was alive. He leaned over the railings of the deck and watched the Statue of Liberty as the boat steamed into New York harbor. He observed with a certain eagerness the preparations for landing the passengers. He wondered how the familiar city would look, and the men and women he used to know. He was watching the lowering of the gangway when a uniformed official roared something in his ears and ordered him to stand back. Larcenet paused, puzzled, as he found himself confronted with a pitiless officialdom. Since he was a steerage passenger, and was not an American citizen, he was officially an emigrant, and so was not at liberty to leave the ship. He was marched in to a waiting ferry with other puzzled, pathetic figures, some clad in strange Southern European garments, and sent to the emigration authorities in Ellis Island. The cold, the waiting, the long standing took from his small supply of strength; his bag dragged at his arm, but he stumbled along past the line of examining officials. A doctor twisted his eyelids until the tears came from his eyes; an official chalked him on the shoulder and shoved him along; another loudly demanded his trade. "I am an artist," said Larcenet.

"Do you dance on a tightrope? Or are you one of the twin one-armed pugilists?"

"You'll be sent back to Europe if you can't give a better account of yourself."

The mocking voices and suspicious eyes shook Larcenet's nerves. He stammered out: "I am a reservist returning from the war."

He was directed to a room where he underwent further cross-examination. Thoroughly exhausted, he felt himself making rambling answers. Suddenly, grasping the fact that the officials might certify him as insane if his answers did not satisfy them, he made a desperate attempt to straighten himself up. He opened his coat to show his cross and convince his questioners that his answers were correct. It was at this moment that from somewhere outside he heard what he took to be the crying of a horse—all his life long the one clear memory he brought out of the battlefield was the memory of the pitiful crying of wounded horses and of drowning horses. Now the cry that he heard played the devil with Larcenet's nerves. He sank on the seat in exhaustion, the tears raining down his cheeks. Gaping officials gathered round him, and he was detained for the night.

In the morning, after endless journeyings from one official to another, he was released. Cold and depressed, the vigor that the voyage had given him now all gone, he stumbled from the ferry to a surface car. He hardly believed himself of the same species as the placid, well-dressed men and women in the car who somehow looked terribly unreal. Mechanically he made for the studio-apartment in the old house on the East River where he and Ernst had lived together. He got the keys from the janitor, groped his way up the dark staircase, and opened the studio door. The

sunshine from the river lit up the tangle of dusty old rugs, chairs and tables. Everything was exactly as it used to be—the unrelated furniture, the stacks of canvasses against the wall. His easel was standing, the canvas on it covered with a cloth. Ernst's easel was lying on the floor. Pinned conspicuously over the mantelpiece was a large sheet of paper with something written on it in blue pencil. Larcenet read: "Dear Paul:—If you're back first, note I've borrowed your black leather bag and taken the walking-stick with the duck's head. The rent is paid till the end of June, 1915. Auf wiedersehen. Ernst."

He read the note over and over. To Ernst and him the return to the call of arms had seemed like going on an adventurous vacation, where one might or might not be killed. Now he knew that being killed was the least terrible thing about it. He walked over to his easel and drew aside the cloth from the picture he had been painting before he had gone to the war. He looked at it in horrified amazement, hardly believing himself capable of such purity and unreality. He searched for a studio knife and hacked the picture to pieces. Then he sat for long, wondering how he could piece together the broken fabric of his life. His watch showed three o'clock—the hour at which, every day, Ernst and he used to change their clothes and go for a walk. He went to his wardrobe, picked out a suit and slowly got into it. It, like all other things in the world, had changed relation to him; it sagged and hung loosely on his thin figure. During his dressing he made up his mind that he would go out and see a woman for whom he used to believe he had a strong feeling—perhaps he would cut an heroic figure in her eyes. He ostentatiously pinned up the empty sleeve of his coat. With a certain expectancy he walked to her house.

She came down to him immediately. Painfully and conventionally they conducted a conversation. A shocked disgust she vainly tried to conceal appeared on her face at the sight of the maimed man. She had always disliked sick and maimed things—it was something he used to admire in her. His exhausted physical condition seemed to give him a power of bitter, satirical observation, and he noted every detail of the trickery of her costume and general makeup, the attempt to feature her good points.

"Yes," she said, in answer to his question. She had heard that Ernst Schiller had been fatally wounded. Larcenet soon left her and began again what he knew now to be his dreadful hunt for some related thing. He supposed Ernst was really dead. He walked about all the evening until he found himself quite worn out in the Bowery.

He entered a saloon and had drunk down the whiskey he ordered before he noticed the other occupants—three or four flashy young women and a group of men. Larcenet continued drinking, feeling his blood grow warm. One of the men, failing to draw Larcenet into conversation, began to make satirical remarks, at which the women laughed. Larcenet listened for some time, and at length, finding the man's gibes intolerable, he suddenly turned, and with his clenched fist gave the man a blow in the face. The women prevented a scrimmage. One of them shook Larcenet by the hand, shouting: "By heaven, you're a man. You'll have to drink with me for that." She rolled down her stocking and took from that receptacle a bundle of dirty bills and flinging one on the counter gave an order to the barman.

Larcenet sat down beside her on the bench, the others gathering around them. As he drank he told his story to the half-drunken men and women—outcasts of the city, who, like himself, had lost their moorings. They told Larcenet that he could get a job in the movies, or, failing that, he could sing "It's a Long Way to Tipperary" in a vaudeville. Tired out, Larcenet fell asleep on the bench towards the small hours. He awoke cold and stiff and found that his erstwhile drinking companions, now disappeared, had relieved him of his watch and a roll of bills. In the dim cold of the morning he went back towards the studio. There were many things more pitiful than being killed on the battlefield, and one was to have come back, alone, maimed, and haunted by memories of experiences which he shared with nobody in the world. If he could but get back to the field of battle and be killed he would have wept for joy—but there was no hope. He saw no hope before him in life. What hope could there be for that most lonely and desolate of beings—a maimed and derelict soldier.

He resolved that he would, on going back to the studio, finish what the enemy had half done, and put an end to his life. He hastened his steps. Entering the house he paused for a moment on the stairs, his mind wondering where the cartridges were. Suddenly he heard a sound which made him grip the bannisters with fear. There seemed to come from the studio a cry which froze the marrow in his bones—he thought he heard again the pitiful crying of horses. Dragging himself onwards, up the stairs, he opened the studio door. The lights were fully on and in the armchair opposite he saw the bent figure of a man shaken with sobs. Master-

## THE KING AND THE POET.



"Enough, enough, of thy beauteous words, Gabriele. And, by the way, stop being chummy."

(Simplicissimus)

ing his fear, Larcenet asked: "Who are you?" With a cry of horror the sobbing figure rose and backed towards the wall, facing Larcenet. The figure had a strange scarred face; he could only see by one eye, for over the other was a black patch. A conviction that the other was a ghost was in the minds of both as they stared at each other in silence. At last the figure facing Larcenet held out an arm. "Speak. Say something," he commanded. A cry burst from Larcenet as he heard that voice.

"Ernst! Dear, dear Ernst!"

"Paul!"

They rushed towards each other, unable, in their weakened strength and shattered nerves, to restrain their sobs.

They clasped each other, gladder than any two beings on earth that they had found each other again.

"I came back yesterday morning."

"I came back last night."

"I lost my eye at the battle of the Marne."

"I lost my arm. It was in a bayonet-charge, I think. It was at the Marne, too."

"The same battle. Did we fight each other, eh Paul, did we?"

"Ernst, I got the Cross of the Legion."

"I got nothing, Paul, though I was damn brave, mind you. I'm sure I killed lots. I got nothing. But maybe when the war is over—I might get recommended, you know—do you remember the horses, Paul?"

"I think of them night and day, Ernst—the poor, poor horses."

THE END.

\* \* \*

## KRAUSE HAD TO PAY FIVE GUINEAS.

A naturalized German named Krause, manager of an hotel in Hull, was summoned for failing to comply with lighting instructions. He volunteered the explanation that a servant lighted a lantern to enable her to go into a dressing-room. We are afraid we cannot accept that story; it is too thin. For the lights in the hotel had attracted a crowd, an angry crowd that tried to get into the place, and the simple passing of a servant from one room to another would excite a crowd to that extreme. There was nearly a riot; the man's wife said she never expected to see him alive again, and the police took both him and her to the station "more for their protection than for anything else." There was a fine of five guineas, and Krause can congratulate himself on his escape and on the fact that he is not, so far, in an internment camp. That he should be the manager of a British hotel in Hull is more than passing strange—in fact, the only comforting part of the story is the proof it offers that the people of Hull are alive to the dangers in their midst, and are quick to move to correct abuses that would not exist if the authorities were not so slow.

(From "John Bull")

# Peace Loving England in 1912 TO THE DAY!

(Leading editorial in the London weekly, "John Bull," of August 3, 1912. The circulation of this precious contemporary exceeds by far the millionmark. Further comment would be superfluous.)

## No More Talk—Down With the German Fleet

In the Chancelleries of Europe, as they are called, we suppose JOHN BULL is regarded as a negligible journalistic quantity. It is not the organ of either of the recognized Parties, and its Editor is an unfashionable, irresponsible and discredited politician. So be it. But JOHN BULL is read by a million people every week, and that million not the least thoughtful and intelligent section of the community, and, somehow or other, they believe in their Editor. They believe in his cry for the abolition of the musty, rusty, idiotic and corrupt system of Party, and the substitution of a Business Government for a Business Nation; they even believe that it may be his destiny to take an active part, some day, in bringing that great change about. But be that as it may, they read JOHN BULL—and they **think** about what they read.

Now, one of the things which they have been frequently told in these columns is this:

### Germany Means Mischief.

They have been told, and we tell them again to-day, that Germany has no kind of justification for the mighty navy she is building. Neither the protection of her shores, nor the interests of her commerce, nor the extent of her over sea dominions, constitutes any need for such a fleet. She can have but one objective—and that is to force a way into our markets, and, at the same time, to solve the problem of expansion rendered necessary by the growth of her population and the development of her trade. There is but one difficulty in her way—and that is the strip of water which separates her from our eastern shores. Whilst her Emperor palavers of peace, her shipyards are reverberating with the clamour of iron and steel tongues; four-fifths of her navy is manned, in full commission and ready for action, and her officers go to their pillows every night to sleep fitfully and dream of the toast which, audibly or silently, they have honored in the messroom—"To The Day!" Grin and snigger as you will, but what we write is **truth**, and

We say that deliberately. We know that Mr. Churchill said last week after he became First Lord—not what he said in public, although, in Heaven's name, that is serious enough—when we remember how diplomacy demands a curb upon his lips. Still, he speaks of the German naval policy as "formidable." Lord Charles Beresford does not mince his words, and Lord Roberts speaks of "the certainty of the struggle in front of us." And, as we say, the Government, as a whole, knows all about it. That is the meaning of all these spy prosecutions, in both countries; that is why Lord Haldane went to Germany; that is why Mr. Asquith went to Malta; that is why Lord Kitchener has come upon the scene; that is why Mr. Borden is here; **that is why the six million surplus of last year was hung up.**

### War Inevitable.

Yes, we may as well face it. **War with Germany is inevitable**, and the only question is—shall we consult her convenience as to its date? Shall we wait till the aged Austrian Emperor is dead, and Germany and Austria—with or without Hungary—join forces, bringing in the battleships which the Austrians are now building? Shall we wait till Germany's present naval programme, which is every year reducing our advantage, is complete? Shall we wait till the smouldering industrial revolution, of which all these strikes are

warnings, has broken into flame? Shall we wait till Consols are 65 and our national credit is gone? Shall we wait till the Income Tax is 1s. 6d. in the pound? **OR SHALL WE STRIKE NOW—finding every out-of-work a job in connection with the guardianship of our shores**, and, with our mighty fleet, either sinking every Germany ship or towing it in triumph into a British port? Why should we do it? **Because the command of the seas is ever ours**; because our island position, our international trade and our world-wide dominions **demand no other nation shall dare to challenge our supremacy**. That is why. Oh yes, the cost would be great, but we could raise it to-day all right, **and we should get it back.**

We realize that the policy we advocate is a grave one. But it is a counsel of self-preservation. There is one alternative, and only one. Let Sir Edward Grey, as Foreign Minister, address a polite but firm request, on behalf of the British Government, for an explanation of the necessity on the part of Germany for so large a navy. Let him point out that in the opinion of Great Britain that navy has already exceeded its legitimate dimensions. And let him declare in the emphatic phraseology of diplomatic parlance that the addition of a single ship, for at any rate the next ten years, will be regarded by this country as an "unfriendly act." Failing satisfactory assurance, unleash the dogs of war, let all else be forgotten in a final struggle for the life of the British Empire. If the struggle comes to-day, we shall win—and after it is over, there will be abounding prosperity in the land, and no more labor unrest.

Yes, we have no fear of Germany to-day. The only enemy we fear is the crack-brained fanatic of the Ramsay—and Murray-MacDonald and Ponsonby type, who prate about peace and good will whilst foreign **Dreadnaughts** are gradually closing in upon us. As Mr. Balfour said at the Eugenic Conference the other day, man is a wild animal, and there is no room, in present circumstances, for any tame ones. What is the use of talking about "English and German Socialists combining to stop the growth of armaments?" Let Ramsay MacDonald go to Germany and try to stop the building of her warships; he'll soon be clapped into gaol, and good riddance of him!

### Canadian Help.

Nor have we as much faith as we should like to possess in the offer of Canadian help. We will believe in it when we find the Dominion building a few **Dreadnaughts** and **placing them unreservedly at our service**,—not, mark you, keeping them under Canadian control, to be "placed at our disposal in case of necessity." We want to see them part and parcel of our own war-fleet, and subject in all things to the control of our Admiralty. But if we should turn out to be wrong—if Mr. Borden can promise us an unconditional contribution to our naval power, and if the promises be fulfilled—we will raise our hats to him.

To sum up. War is upon us. All the prayers and churches and preachers will not avail to stop it. It is ordered in the cruel scheme of human evolution. We are still wild animals, and brute force rules the world. Before it is much older the struggle will be between the yellow man and the white. China and Japan are looking westward, and you might as well try to divert the course of the stars as to stop their march. But that is the trouble of those who will follow us.

To The Day!

# Issues & Events

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ready to help all who fight for

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## THE AUSTRIAN ANCONA NOTE.

Even the most rabid Anglomaniacs and the blindest adherents of the Administration are surprised at the polite tone of the Austrian answer to the rough and raw language of Secretary Lansing's Ancona note. The wind has been taken out of their sails. Their conscience must have troubled them, because all reports from Washington indicated that they themselves feared a mistake had been made and the matter had been carried too far, that a declining answer was expected and that a break between this government and Austria was near. Even the House and Senate were ready to take such matters out of the hands of the Administration.

He, who thought that the Teutons are no diplomats may soon have to change his opinion. The Austrian note is a clever piece of work. It may not satisfy the rabid pro-Germans, who feel that the English have had enough favors, yes, protection, at the hands of an administration which has made a farce of the spirit of neutrality, but after a second thought it will occur to them that the note was written by statesmen, not by dilettantes and blunderers; by men who seek international relations, not friction; by men who look ahead rather than to satisfy their selfish ambitions by joining the chorus of jingoes.

Baron Burian is a "Man." There must have been a stronger demand for a refusal in Austria than there was a demand for uncivilized language in Anglomaniac circles. Mr. Lansing did not use his own head, he merely followed the artificial public opinion, as printed in reckless newspapers. Burian, on the other hand, shows his wisdom. Why should he on account of the unfortunate loss of the lives of a few American citizens bring additional trouble on his country. So he sent a note which will forever be an example of simple, direct, courteous, open, frank statements. It is magnanimity itself. It proves that the reckless captain and the cowardly crew of the Ancona are the real culprits, and yet it nobly offers compensation; not even proofs are asked from the American Government to substantiate its claim. Considering the fact that America is responsible for the slaughter of thousands of Teutons, and the present immense difficulties of the Central powers, the note is a magnificent example of resignation, wisdom and generosity. It ought to put some men to shame.

The Anglomaniacs have heralded the note as a victory for themselves, stating that every demand of President Wilson had been granted. A close inspection of the note will disclose no such thing. It distinctly states that "ships, in so far as they do not flee or offer resistance, may not be destroyed without the persons aboard being brought into safety." This is International Law. In future the burden of responsibility will be on the captains of these fleeing ships. Soon the Wilson Administration will be forced into a dilemma. Will it send notes of "wanton slaughter" to the Governments of England and Italy, because the captains of the Orduna and the Ancona did not stop?

In our opinion, the attitude of the Washington Adminis-

tration has been both unfair and imprudent. And as unfair arrangements are never lasting, we fear that the submarine controversy is far from settled. This is indicated by the closing words of the Austrian note, whereby the Austrian Government "reserves to itself the right to bring up for discussion at a later period the difficult questions of international law connected with submarine warfare."

## THE SINKING OF THE PERSIA.

That the Persia should be sunk so soon after the Ancona note is remarkable. It will doubtless stir up the emotions of the jingoes. They will howl louder than ever about brutality, bestiality, etc. But like in all past acts of the Teutons they will have been guided by a proper and a high (but not a hypocritical) regard for humanity. Three explanations are probable: 1st That the boat did not stop; 2nd that the commanders of undersea boats did not yet have the new instructions of the Austrian Admiralty, or, 3rd, that it was very proper that the Persia should have been sunk because she carried a gun or guns. This is the advice sent by the American Consul at Alexandria, Egypt.

The interpretation by Washington of the word or spirit of neutrality is so peculiar and for month after month has been so increasingly favorable to the English, that we should not be a bit surprised if a certain set of men will be bold enough and cajole the American people into the belief that it is perfectly neutral to protest against the sinking of an English Man of War.

Some officials in Washington and some financiers don't know the old and simple proverb which every farmer knows: "Don't put all your eggs in one basket." That would be a policy of common sense and neutrality combined. But common sense is rare and the situation is very grave, indeed, if its place is taken by hypocrisy.

## THAT NOTE TO ENGLAND

Ten weeks are gone—and there is no sign of any answer to our NOTE TO ENGLAND. Austria has not waited so many days, nay, not so many hours to make up her mind and to comply with our demands. How long is our commerce to stay paralyzed?

## A NATIONAL INSULT.

Systematic violation of the confidential character of all official communications between Berlin and Washington—through the scrutiny of the British censor—particularly in periods of grave crisis—is not only a mortal insult to national dignity, a practice of wholly unjustifiable arrogance, but a thrust at the very vitals of the Country—and a justifiable cause for war.

The engulfing avalanche of insult, disdain, and utter contempt that has swept down upon the Nation at England's hands is fittingly climaxed by this disgusting breach of international courtesy, confidence and honor, and amounts to the same thing as the criminal act of tampering with the mail—it is, in fact—criminal.

Such a condition makes frankness impossible, at least, so far as Germany is concerned, and tends toward international friction through a necessary lack of complete candor.

Hence, it is highly gratifying to observe the effort of the American Chamber of Commerce and Trade in Berlin to eliminate this evil. These American business men, in the German capital, have sent a wireless message to the speaker of the House of Representatives and to the American Chamber of Commerce at Washington, pointing out the importance of restoration of direct contact "on account of the vital issues involved" between the two countries—urging the re-establishment of cable communications between Washington and Berlin under control of the United States.

It is high time we demanded relief, in no uncertain

terms, of the rigid control which Great Britain has established over the Atlantic cable.

### THE MASK IS OFF!

A recent utterance of the President to the effect that it would pay this country to foster England's friendship and that by so doing the United States after the war would be in a position to divide the world's trade with England, truly reveals what many people long suspected—that Wilson's profession of "neutrality" was not sincere.

Those who believed Wilson in the face of his note to Austria, the "strict accountability" note to Germany, the unpardonable leniency in the notes to England, and the apparent blindness to recent crimes committed on the high seas by French cruisers in searching neutral vessels plying between neutral ports—an offence for which we went to war with England in 1812—can now no longer be deceived by the administration hypocritical cant about being "neutral."

The mask is off, the cat is out of the bag. Wilson's solicitude about England's friendship and his anxiety about America's share in the world's markets stamps him as the servant of Wall Street, as the lackey of the class that by its sale of munitions is feeding fat on European carnage.

His plan is one full of danger, and the result will probably be the opposite of his calculation, just like his Mexico policy has been a fiasco. He has succeeded only in the ruination of trade and in making enemies for the United States. International affairs cannot be handled from a professor's lecturing desk. To be hypocritical besides, is dangerous to the interests of the country.

### GRATIFYING ACCOMPLISHMENT.

Usually, there are two sides to all questions and, as a rule, some degree of merit can be found in the advocacy of both. However, predominance of "Right" always rests on one side of the "Scales of Justice"—and, it has been with these axioms in mind that **Issues and Events** has carried forward its propaganda of "Truth and Justice" with such marked success.

In principle, the work has been highly meritorious—in experience, gratifying and elevating—while the healthy, joyouse, enthusiasm encompassing the endeavor is a natural result of conviction of Honesty of Purpose in pursuing ambitions of the Great Work of righting "wrong," and disseminating "Truth" among all the people.

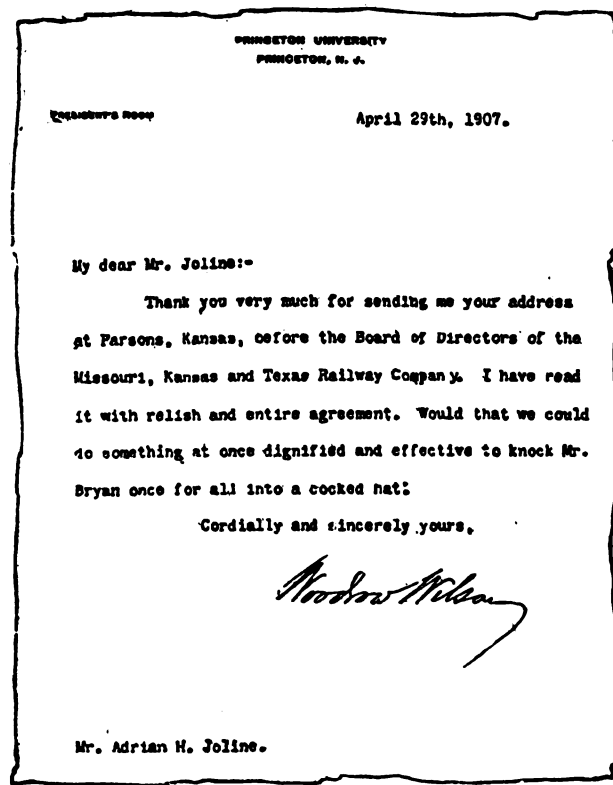
In the beginning, **Issues and Events** was laughed at, ridiculed, scorned—charged with rabid partisanship and bias—created with malignant influences and supports—even its Patriotism was questioned—while its motives were ascribed to ulterior purposes.

But—**Issues and Events** has fought it way to the front—established the justice and honorableness of its purpose—has become a "real" factor in the life of the Nation—its voice is seriously heard throughout the land—while its Honesty, Motives, Patriotism, etc., stand—to-day—unimpeachable.

In its accomplishments there is none more gratifying than the causing of a full sense of realization of the danger and injustice of a perfidiously biased "Press." Already, there is strong indication of a squelching of this evil—for which all fair-minded citizens can largely thank the now notable publication of the special "Ananias" edition, December 11, 1915.

It was a powerful, masterful, journalistic indictment—born of the facts—and an arraignment of newspaperdom long to be remembered—and finally establishes the fact that "Yellow," misleading Journalism is a menace to the nation. The exposure of perfidy and duplicity

### What Is Friendship Between Politicians?



Don't Write Letters; One Never Can Tell!

was complete, and a fitting climax to a long string of successes scored during the year 1915.

Now—at the beginning of 1916—our purpose is stronger than ever—ambition for the future—determination, unfaltering—in the hope that a worthy work may continue to prosper to the betterment of the world.

**Issues and Events** has well earned its right to the deserved recognition, in the field of Journalism, already so gratifyingly accorded it, and no small credit can be given its loyal army of friends and readers. And, as it continues in its difficult task, it seeks continued and increased support—as well as Divine approval and direction, that it may not err in the weakness of mortal man.

Of the special work done by **Issues and Events** the past year we mention the Independence Number, which in expressing the immortal Jefferson's doctrines, voiced the sentiments of all true lovers of this country. In various articles, **Issues and Events** has bravely fought against insidious ammunition makers, who, whilst glorying in American neutrality for the mere sake of enriching themselves, and the savage slaughter on the European battlefields. One of the most discussed topics in connection with the ammunition manufacturers was the advertisement of the Cleveland Automatic Machine Co., in the American Machinist of May 6th, entitled, "Worth Knowing," which ad. even called forth a reprimand from the government.

**Issues and Events** has courageously espoused the fight for the Freedom of the Seas for all nations, but ever and anon denounced the shipment of war material to belligerents. In this, its fight **Issues and Events** has found unquestionable support by such leading men as Senator John D. Works, Senator Hoke Smith, Prof. William Burgess, Prof. Yardell Henderson, Prof. Scott Nearing, ex-Governor Colquitt of Texas, Simon N. Patten, Congressman Vollmer of Iowa, Representative Mann, and others, who only too willingly and gladly lent their able and masterly pen for the propagation of Truth for the fight of Principles, Ideals, Truth and Honor, which are the slogans of **Issues and Events**.



# Facts and News that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

### PAUL POIRET LEADS BIG DRIVE AGAINST FIFTH AVENUE.

Paris.—Paul Poiret has just issued a long document, signed "Le Syndicat de Defense de la Grande Couture Francaise," which he designates as the new organization's "profession of faith." Without alluding to the war, which is the real reason for reducing the couture market to a minimum, the profession of faith proceeds in amazing fashion to blame all of its troubles on America.

The document, if it represents the syndicate's future program, will doubtless go far to antagonize the only market left it on account of the war. It says:

"Our situation is intolerable owing to the procedure of certain clients. We feel sick, but that doesn't mean we should allow ourselves to perish. On the contrary, we will submit ourselves to a severe regime whereof we have applied first treatment. We will take the most radical measures to attack the evil at its root."

Then follows a diatribe against the attitude and methods of certain buyers and the insertion of the phrase, "When they go back to New York," shows the attack is directed solely against Americans. The syndicate makes no distinctions. All classes of American buyers are overwhelmed with universal condemnation. Big stores and specialty houses who buy lavishly are accused of "vulgarizing our models" because they hold exhibitions or issue free large editions of albums of models.

Fifth avenue couturiers who sell Paris models direct are charged with "setting themselves up to dictate fashions to us," or with stealing individual clients who would have crossed the Atlantic to buy—irrespective of submarines—or with beating down prices or getting models of copies illicitly in "dens where spy tailors smoke their German pipes." Even commissionnaires established in Paris—who act as bankers, brokers, packers and shippers for buyers and who accompany and advise visiting buyers or act as purchasing agents for buyers at a distance—are not exempt from criticism.

The syndicate asserts: First, they omit to warn us against houses that copy our models abroad; second, they haggle and cheapen prices; third, they make notes of our models, even stealing buttons or fragments of material in order to have them copied in small houses to which they introduce clients with the statement, "Don't buy that gown for 800 francs. I will take you where you can get it at half price;" fourth, for a similar purpose they "invite our premieres to lunch and do not hesitate to debauch our workers."

\* \* \*

### LORD REDESDALE ON KING LEOPOLD.

In his very interesting "Memories," which have been just published in England, Lord Redesdale makes the following telling comment on the late King's political attitude. The conclusions which History will draw will however be opposite to His Lordship's judgment:

"It was a fortunate thing for the

world that he died when he did. Had he lived till now, Belgium would hardly have played the heroic part which she did in August and September, 1914. It is whispered—indeed, it is an open secret—that documentary evidence exists to show that King Leopold was deeply engaged to Germany, and that he was prepared, not without reward, to allow Germany to invade France through Belgium. \* \* \*

Happily, at the critical moment of her direst need, Belgium has been blessed with direct need, Belgium has been blessed with a King worthy of her own heroism, a King indeed of the Belgians, primus inter pares."

There is no doubt that Belgium would prefer to have been "blessed" with King Leopold at the "moment of her direst need." She would have escaped the ravages of war just as happily as Greece has.

\* \* \*

### GOOD NIGHT, COTTON!

BREMEN, Germany, Dec. 29.—Germany's experiments with substitutes for cotton in the manufacture of explosives have been so successful, it was announced here today, that for eight months no cotton has been used for this purpose. This statement was made by the President of the Bremen Chamber of Commerce, in an address to a convention of merchants of this city. After referring to the designation of cotton as contraband by Great Britain, he said:

"I have had the opportunity to establish officially that for eight months not a kilogram of cotton has been used for making powder. Thanks to the work of German science and industry, we have succeeded in winning from the immeasurable supply of German forests a new cellular material which is cheaper and better suited for powder making than cotton. Even after the war German ammunition factories will not buy another bale of cotton from America."

"The second important ingredient—saltpetre—of the entire Chilean output of which we formerly took two-thirds, is now manufactured exclusively in Germany from the air. Our factories already are so advanced that in the coming Spring they will be able to cover the entire requirements for nitrogen, including the amount used in agriculture, and if the war lasts longer they will even be able to export this product."

The speaker also asserted that camphor, which for seven years has been produced synthetically from American turpentine, was now obtained more cheaply and in better quality by chemical means from turpentine. Even after the war, he said, there would be no more importation of camphor from Japan or turpentine from America.

\* \* \*

### "IF ENGLAND SHOULD BE BEATEN....."

"If England should be beaten, and that is not impossible, although the English sing themselves to sleep with a song to the effect that it IS impossible, Lloyd George might be more than Prime Minister."

"The French went into their fight with Germany in 1870 with an Emperor leading them.

"They were beaten—NO MORE EMPEROR.

"If the English lose, they may decide that they want a different system and that Lloyd George is the man to give it to them.

"A King, however gentle and estimable, who talks about 'My army' and 'My fleet,' goes to the front for a few minutes, falls off his horse, and then falls off the water wagon, will not appeal very strongly to the British, if they are beaten.

"Of course, the British will not be beaten permanently. Russians, French, Germans will not be beaten permanently.

"No RACE is ever permanently beaten. One race cannot swallow another just as one horse cannot swallow another—the thing isn't possible."

—New York Journal.

\* \* \*

### CAPT. KARL BOY-ED'S FAREWELL STATEMENT.

"Before this terrific war broke out I had the great fortune of having served almost two and a half years for my Emperor as naval attache to the German embassy at Washington. Those years belong not only to the most interesting, but also to the most pleasant, in my life. I am particularly thankful for the rare comradeship of the American navy that I have been permitted to enjoy, due to the kindness of its gallant and amiable officers.

"The great and cordial hospitality which is so proverbial for Americans, and which was extended also to me from the very first day of my arrival in the United States, I can never forget.

"Of course I refrain at the hour of my departure from again refuting all the stories which were told about me in the American papers, and which mostly—like the silly Huerta tale—were invented by the 'Providence Journal.'

"This paper, with its British-born Mr. Rathom, has done its utmost to create an almost hysterical suspicion of spies throughout the country, in order to prejudice public opinion against Germany.

"We Germans do not understand what you call 'free press.' Our laws allow the fullest personal liberty consistent with the welfare of the state. But we do not permit the diplomatic representatives of friendly governments to be insulted ad libitum or our Government to be embarrassed in its dealings with other nations, nor men's reputations to be wantonly sacrificed by the wild and reckless utterances of an irresponsible press like the Providence Journal. And I venture to predict that, in sheer self-defense, you will be forced to take like measures, notwithstanding the dangerous power of your press.

"While our enemies have been and are being supplied from this country with all the forms of death-dealing munitions of war, without which they would have long since been overcome, I have been denounced, from one end of the country to the other, for having been concerned at the outset of the war in chartering ships to supply our cruisers at sea with coal and food, as though it were a crime instead of being, as it is, and has been considered by your court to be, a strictly lawful act. The ships that brought coal, provisions

and supplies from Hong Kong to Admiral Dewey's fleet during the Spanish-American War in 1898 were cleared for Macao and not for the American warships at sea, and in their clearance papers it was stated that the cargo consisted of scrap iron.

"In this connection I may cite one of the leading American newspapers which said, on December 5, in regard to the recall of my colleague, Captain von Pappen, and myself: 'It would be worth considerable to us if we keep our sense of proportion working and do not permit prejudice to shut out our perspective.'

"It is my heartfelt hope that the United States and Germany, which have so many common interests, will always maintain their friendly relations, that peace will come soon and that the abatement of passion will enable all Americans to have for Germany and Germans the same good will as formerly.

"I say goodbye to all my personal friends in this country, thanking them for the innumerable evidences of friendship I have received at their hands, and express my gratitude to those who have remained impartial and unbiased in a war, the bloodshed and misery of which the world has never seen the like before."

\* \* \*

#### MISS MABEL BOARDMAN'S BRAVE STAND.

"This latest decree of the British Privy Council, in prohibiting the dispatch of relief supplies of any sort to Germany and her allies, is the most inhuman act of war. It is a crime against humanity.

"We shall appeal to the Chief Executive and the State Department to have this order rescinded. Ever since the beginning of the war we have had trouble in regard to sending relief supplies, not only to Germany, but to other countries—some of them Great Britain's allies.

"Great Britain's decree prohibiting the sending of rubber goods to Germany prevents the supplying of the field and emergency hospitals with rubber gloves and rubber materials, so essential in hospital work. 'Hundreds have died of infection. Some have been physicians and nurses. The latter included some volunteer Red Cross workers from America.

"We are acting for humanity, but God knows what the English are acting for.

"We shall continue to send relief material to Great Britain."—MISS MABEL BOARDMAN, President of the American Red Cross, in an interview.

\* \* \*

#### WILLIAM BAYARD HALE ON "SISTER EMMA."

"Papa," said one of my young sons to me today, as he counted up his Christmas treasures and missed one familiar name among those who had remembered him; "Papa, why did the English kill Sister Emma?"

"Sister Emma," as she is known—was known—in her beautiful work of help and comfort (Emma Duensing, to give her the name under which she moved in the ordinary world), was for a number of years one of the best known and most beloved of New York's trained nurses. My own house is one of scores of homes in which her presence has many times shed healing sympathy; homes where, through

long night hours of unwearying vigil, her voice has calmed and her hand has soothed.

When, in 1900, there was a call for nurses for the American army in the Philippines, Sister Emma responded. I have been told that her services among our men there were invaluable. I have deduced from her own modest recitals that they were heroic.

When the present war broke out, Sister Emma felt that her experience laid upon her the duty of again volunteering for work among the wounded. In September she sailed for Europe, under the direction of the American Physicians' Expedition Committee as head nurse of a relief unit. Before the month was up, on duty in the town of Oppeln, Silesia, she had contracted infection from the wounds of one of the soldiers she was attending, and on November 5 she died.

Her death was directly due to the fact that she was obliged to work without rubber gloves, which the British Government refused and which it still refuses to allow the American Red Cross to supply to its workers in German lands—rubber being contraband of war.

For months Miss Mabel Boardman, President of the American Red Cross Society, had in vain endeavored to persuade the British Government to adopt a humane course. Mr. Gerard, our Ambassador at Berlin, has offered himself to receive and distribute rubber gloves to American nurses in Germany. This offer had been declined.

The English position (let us do it justice!) is that every pair of rubber gloves that goes into Germany releases a corresponding quantity of rubber for automobile tires and other military necessities. "Rubber," said a statement issued by the British Embassy at Washington on Christmas Eve, "is an article of great importance from a military point of view." Two or three hundred pairs of rubber gloves, such as those the lack of which killed Emma Duensing, would make an automobile tire.

I should be loath to pass any judgment upon the fate of Miss Edith Cavell, the English nurse who was sentenced to death because, under cover of her profession, she assisted English prisoners to escape. No doubt her heart was in her questionable enterprise. Perhaps the rigor with which the military law which she defied was applied to her case was excessive; she did not herself complain that it was unjust. Let the English lament her as a heroine.

As for us Americans, we have our own to lament—an American woman of strong and gentle spirit, whose compassionate ministry has blessed our homes, whose hands have been on the fevered brows of our soldiers, and who gave up her life, while absorbed solely in the work of healing, which was her merciful profession, because the Government of Great Britain refused to her, as it refuses to all American Red Cross nurses, the ordinary surgical appliances necessary to their humane labors.

"Military necessity" is a plea which we have learned to admit as a reason, or an excuse, for many sins against humanity. Whether it can be extended to cover the heartless condemnation to death of nurses in the enemy's territory, I doubt. Whether American public sentiment, disposed though it be to condone almost any English act, will go so far, I question.

If it were possible to understand the savage inhumanity of the British Gov-

ernment, one thing would still remain impossible to understand, namely, the acquiescence of the United States Government in the barbarity. For we have a perfect, complete and legally unquestionable right to send hospital supplies anywhere in the world. It was on May 11 that Great Britain warned Mr. Wilson's administration not to attempt to exercise this right. For the greater part of a year Mr. Wilson's administration has—I do not know whether to say meekly submitted or cheerfully consented.

"Why did the English kill Sister Emma?" asked my boy.

The answer one was tempted to give him was:

"Because the presently existing Government of the United States allowed the English to kill her."

\* \* \*

#### GLASGOW, THE SCOTTISH THISTLE, BEGINS TO STING.

The war has once more shifted the political balance. Glasgow has never yet exerted the influence that might be expected from her position as the second city, in population, in the British Empire. The war has given her the opportunity. She is taking it in a manner that gives fresh significance to the selection of the thistle as the Scottish national emblem and of "Nemo me impune lacessit" as the Scottish national motto. It would be premature to say that she has yet gained such a position that what Glasgow thinks today England thinks tomorrow, but at any rate she has acquired the lead in the industrial movements that are the most serious domestic outcome of the war.

It will be remembered that the first rumblings of industrial unrest—months before the trouble in the South Wales coalfields—were heard in the shipyards of the Clyde. It was from this district that Lloyd George drew the evidence to support his abortive proposals for drink prohibition and to prove the need for the Munitions act. While discontent with the working of the act has been widespread, it is in the Glasgow area that it has become most acute, and it is the pressure of the Glasgow situation that has been most effectual in making the amendment of that measure an urgent necessity.

The most sensational incident was the case of the three Govan shipwrights who were sent to jail for thirty days for refusing to pay fines of \$50 imposed by a Municipal Tribunal. The trade unionists in several of the munitions works in the Clyde area thereupon sent an ultimatum to the Ministry of Munitions, demanding the release of these men by a certain date, on a threat of a general strike. Within a few hours of the time fixed in this ultimatum, the men were released. In answer to a question in the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George stated that they were released because their fines had been paid. But these fines were not paid by the shipwrights themselves, nor by their associates, nor did they sanction their payment.

The only conclusion is that the payment was made by interested parties in order to provide the Minister of Munitions with an excuse for allowing the release. As regards the amendment of the Munitions act, the present situation is that the draft of an amending bill has been submitted by Lloyd George to a meeting of trade union representatives and rejected by them. He is now engaged in the preparation of a revised draft.

The New York Evening Post.

## IF THE COLONEL HAD BEEN THE KAISER.

MR. ROOSEVELT, in his latest Metropolitan Magazine article, finds the whole world more out of joint than he usually does. But what could be expected, since the one man born to set it right is out of office? President Wilson, is, of course, thoroughly incompetent. If proof of this were lacking it could be found in the fact that he is heartily supported by Mr. Taft. And Mr. Roosevelt can find no hope even in the fact that the President is borrowing ideas from the Colonel—though always about a year too late. "Over a year ago I pointed out that it was the duty of the United States to champion the integrity of the neutral rights of Belgium, against the lawless conduct of belligerent Germany."

This statement, which in substance Mr. Roosevelt has made repeatedly, raises an interesting question. Many have asked what Mr. Roosevelt would have done if he had been President in August, 1914. The answer just made by his old friend and psychological analyzer, Professor Munsterberg, is that "in the White House he would have been the leader of the anti-Allies." This is an inference from the fundamental German sympathies which the professor discovers in the Colonel. And here comes the really interesting question. It is not, what would Roosevelt have done had he been President, but what would he have done if he had been the Kaiser? In other words, in his violent and iterated condemnation of the German Government for violating the treaty with Belgium, is he not condemning himself? Have we not evidence, in what he did and in the views which he has expressed, that if he had been in the Kaiser's place he would have invaded Belgium without scruple, and, instead of apologizing for it half-heartedly, as the German Chancellor did, would have glorified it as an act of the highest international righteousness?

The essence of the charge against Germany is that she broke her treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium and the inviolability of her territory. Well, the United States had a treaty binding this country just as strongly, yet President Roosevelt broke it without a moment's hesitation. The treaty of 1846 between Colombia and this country solemnly recited that "as an especial compensation for the said advantages, and for the favors they have acquired by the fourth, fifth, and sixth articles of this treaty, the United States guarantee, positively and efficaciously, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned isthmus (Panama) \* \* \* and the United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada (Colombia) has and possesses over the said territory." But we all know what happened. When Roosevelt "took" the isthmus, far from paying any regard to our promise to guarantee Colombia sovereignty over it, he gave orders to prevent Colombia from even attempting to assert her own sovereignty. And as if to leave no doubt in any one's mind concerning his notions of international morality, Mr. Roosevelt flatly declared later that if he had not been able to seize the isthmus by means of a fraudulent revolution, he would have resorted to direct force. In a letter to W. R. Thayer, printed in the latter's

Life of John Hay, Vol. II, p. 328, he wrote: "If they (the Panamanians) had not revolted, I should have recommended to Congress to take possession of the isthmus by force of arms." The Kaiser would be hard put to beat that.

In the same Life of Hay there is another letter by Mr. Roosevelt which indicates how much weight he would have given, had he been Kaiser, to the Prussian treaty of 1839 guaranteeing Belgian neutrality. This letter was written to John Hay himself, at the time of the negotiation of the Hay-Pauncefote Canal treaty, in 1900. It contains a phrase which might well be thought a Roosevelt variant of Bethmann-Hollweg's "scrap of paper." Here it is:

**As for existing treaties—I do not admit the "dead hand" of the treaty-making power in the past.**

Of course, being Mr. Roosevelt, he hedged and went on to speak of the need of having treaties "honorably abrogated," but who can doubt that the sentence we have quoted speaks the instinctive attitude of the Colonel towards a treaty that gets in his way? By so much, the Harvard psychologist is right in finding a right Prussian quality in the American whom he has so intimately studied.

Going back, then, to the question what the Colonel would have done if he had been the Kaiser, we are forced to conclude that he would have struck at France through Belgium with even less reluctance than Wilhelm II displayed. And such talk as he now indulges in about Belgium he would have scorned as merely so much chatter. We do take patriotic pride, however, in the belief that the Colonel would have far outdone the Kaiser in one respect. The latter represented the attack on Belgium as a disagreeable military necessity, and his heart bled over Louvain. But if Mr. Roosevelt had had the job to do, he would have set about it in the blithest spirit, would have put joyous zest into the violation of a treaty, and would have lectured all and sundry with a kind of holy unction on the exalted regard for righteousness which he had exhibited."

(From the New York Evening Post.)

## THE HISTORY OF THE HYPHEN.

Mr. Rudolf Cronau, the author of many valuable books on historical subjects, has just now published an excellent pamphlet called "Our Hyphenated Citizens."\* After rendering a short account of the harmless hyphen and how it was misused, the author proceeds to give a splendid record of the cultural achievements of the German-Americans. Anyone who is not in a position to study the voluminous histories of the Germans in America ought to absorb this vividly written booklet with its great amount of surprising facts and data. The final appeal of the author against the spreading of race prejudice and hatred and his memento of our motto: "E Pluribus Unum," ought to be taken to heart by every true American, hyphenated or not.

\*"Our Hyphenated Citizens," by Rudolf Cronau. Single copies 10 cents. For larger orders inquire Book Department, "Issues and Events."



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# Issues & Events

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## Mr. Kitchin's Colossal Folly

A Strong Answer to Mr. Kitchin's Anti-Armament Plea in Issues and Events

BY HUDSON MAXIM.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The agitation for national preparedness is of such vital importance and uppermost in the minds of the citizens of the United States that having published an anti-armament plea by Representative Claude Kitchin, we deem it but fair to present to our readers also the other side of the question. Mr. Hudson Maxim has favored "Issues and Events" with an article setting forth the arguments why we should be prepared "not only for probabilities, but also for reasonable possibilities."

**T**HE EDITOR OF "ISSUES AND EVENTS" has asked me to define my position for preparedness following Mr. Claude Kitchin's recent article in this magazine (December 4th, 1915) which extensively explained the attitude of the anti-armament or pacifist section of our people.

To my mind, the editor of "Issues and Events" is doing a very desirable thing in presenting to his readers the discussion of the great problem of national preparedness, by giving a fair and full hearing to both sides. It is an example well worthy of emulation by other publications.

In the editorial note captioning Mr. Kitchin's article, the statement is made that the views Mr. Kitchin expresses are his own. What is the intended meaning of this statement? Surely the ideas he expresses did not originate with him. I have seen them all expressed many a time before he ever posed as their author. Are we to understand the meaning to be merely that Mr. Kitchin means what he says? I have not the least doubt but that Mr. Kitchin is possessed of sufficient unwisdom to believe what he says, for all the remarks that he has ever made upon preparedness are to my mind unimpeachable evidence that he is sufficiently ignorant of the subject to warrant my belief in his sincerity. Even if he is actuated by ulterior motives, as he accuses the munition makers of being actuated, he is still doubtless sincere in his endeavors to serve his self-interest.

### Mr. Kitchin, Robert Browning and That Bull in Maine.

Most persons believe that when a man is sincere in what he says, it is somehow a warrant for its merit. Mr. Kitchin's main idea is to take a fall out of the manufacturers of munitions of war. He has not succeeded in his aim. He has, however, without intention, succeeded in taking a number of falls out of the English language. Of all the parenthesized, cart-before-the-horse manner of expression, his linguistic effusions beat anything that I have ever read except Browning's "Sordello"—and that nobody ever read far—and yet, just as in Browning, there is somehow a sort of fascination about his sophistical palaver. The way he is able to obfuscate the reader's perception of the most vivid verities compels my admiration, from the mere prestidigitatorial cuteness of the stunt.

Mr. Kitchin, in his opposition to preparedness, reminds me of a little bull down in Maine who faced a locomotive coming down the track, and in spite of warnings whistled by the engineer, locked horns with the locomotive. The engineer said, "I admire your pluck, but damn your judgment."

In Mr. Kitchin's own opinion he is possessed of the potentiality of Joshua, who held up the sun in its transit of the heavens. Consequently, like Appolyon in "Pilgrim's Progress," he straddles himself over the whole breadth of the way, and says to the preparedness pilgrim, "Thou shalt go no further, here will I spill thy soul."

Unreason is one of the bravest things in the world. Courage of convictions has made many a martyr enjoy being burned at the stake. There is a paraphrase of a popular hymn in which these two lines occur:

"Hark, the Herald Angels sing,  
Beecham's pills are just the thing."

Mr. Kitchin has the courage of his convictions the chief one of which convictions, as evidenced by the surplusage of his verbal outpourings, is that he, like Beecham's pills, "is just the thing." He takes himself so seriously as to emulate a funeral procession going to the grave.

### English Navy Not to Be Ignored.

After a somewhat lengthy preamble to mobilize the reader's mentality, Mr. Kitchin opens fire with the following statement:

"All the talk and writings by the press and the so-called 'Patriotic Societies' about our 'utter helplessness,' our 'dangerous weakness,' our 'defenseless condition,' and 'our growing weakness,' our 'having fallen to the third or fourth grade of inferiority in naval strength,' etc., is pure tommyrot, based not on a single fact."

In spite of Mr. Kitchin's ponderous rhetoric, I gather from his next paragraph that in any program of naval preparedness all considerations of the English navy are to be eliminated, and he mentions the names of some friends and admirers of Great Britain to back up this statement.

I hardly think that the Editor of Issues and Events will agree that it would be quite safe for the United States to ignore the English navy in its preparedness program. I am also a friend and admirer of Great Britain. But I do not believe that the United States of America would be safe under the towering preponderance of the British navy after the European War is over, especially if Germany should be crushed and the balance of power in Europe broken. It is all very well to talk about blood being thicker than water, but on several occasions when Englishmen and Americans have had a blood-letting encounter, the fraternal Anglo-American blood has not been too thick to flow.

Cassius said of Caesar—though not in exactly these words—that should he become king, he might become a different Caesar and a tyrannical one. Similarly, England, endowed with supreme power, might make us mighty uncomfortable with her larger navy.

The General Board of the Navy believes that our Navy should be second to none. That Board very strongly maintains that we must take the navy of England into consideration.

As Hon. George von Lengerke Meyer, ex-Secretary of the Navy, has said, "We are the richest country in the world,

and as a matter of insurance, we can well afford to match dollars with England or any other nation."

I quote the following reference to Great Britain from the same number of "Issues and Events" in which Mr. Kitchin's article appeared:

"The so-called ties of blood do not now exist as in the early days of the United States, as statistics show that there is a far greater Teutonic than Anglo-Saxon strain in the blood of the population of the United States.

"The present sympathy manufactured by the newspapers in favor of England will in time come to be relegated to the same position that is now occupied by the once existing sympathy for Japan."

Also there is a cartoon taken from *Le Rire* in 1899, showing English soldiers spearing wounded Boers after a battle. Therefore, I am convinced that the Editor of "Issues and Events" does not believe that if the Allies should win the European War the United States would be safe without a navy as large as or larger than that of England.

#### Where "Issues and Events" and Mr. Kitchin Disagree.

One thing is certain that the Editor of "Issues and Events," at least, is in agreement with me that Mr. Kitchin is wrong in his first and most important premise—that the English navy is to be eliminated in any program for preparedness. On the other hand, should Germany and Austria win, the combined Austrian and German navies, even Mr. Kitchin I think will admit, would be larger and more powerful than our navy, and it would be that combined navy with which we should have to reckon.

England and France and Russia will not make peace with Germany unless or until they either crush Germany or are themselves crushed. Should Germany and Austria win, there will be no England, and no France, and no Russia to help the United States. It is true that there would be a Japan—an ally of England—but there has been quite a lot of talk in Japan lately about an alliance with Germany, unless persistent newspaper reports are greatly to be discredited.

Mr. Kitchin's statement that our navy is stronger than that of Germany, or stronger than Germany's navy was before the present war, and that such is the opinion of our highest naval authorities will not, I think, bear scrutiny. Surely there must have been some qualifying words said by any high naval authority who made any such statement as that. The United States navy is not stronger than that of Germany, but much weaker.

Even should some high naval authority make the statement that our navy is stronger than that of Great Britain, it would not make it so.

The opponents of Galileo were supported by the most expert testimony of the time that the earth is flat, but their testimony did not make it flat. Galileo knew that the earth is round.

A rabbit in the wood that should decide to substitute the quills of the porcupine for its protection in place of high speed to escape its enemies, would have to be armed with quills long enough, numerous enough and sharp enough to make the cost of getting at its flesh more than its flesh would be worth, even to its hungriest and most fiercely-fanged enemies.

Similarly, it is not the relative size of the fleet of Germany, or of any other nation, that should determine the size of our fleet, for always there is a possibility that the fleets of other nations may double up against us. What we need, and all we need, is a fleet big enough, together with an army big enough, to make the cost of whipping us more than the plunder would be worth—in short, to make the cost of getting at our flesh more than our flesh would be worth.

#### If Germany Wins.

Even should we leave England out of consideration, we have not merely the fleet of Germany to consider, but also that of Austria, and should the great central Empires win the present war there will be other warships captured from the Allies, which will be added to the joint Austro-German navy.

This country must prepare, not only for probabilities, but also for reasonable possibilities.

It may not be probable, but it certainly will be admitted as a possibility that we may have Germany and Austria and Japan to fight at one and the same time. It is for such contingencies that we must be prepared. I do not mean by this that we must have a navy bigger than all of the navies that may combine against us, but only that we shall have a navy and an army sufficiently large and powerful as to make it too expensive to fight us—that is to say, to make the cost exceed the plunder.

I quote again from Mr. Kitchin:

"The heretofore large and growing expenditures for our Navy had aroused the people of the country into asking 'where shall it end?' Secretary Daniels,

in his report to the last session of Congress, December, 1914, said (and he was but substantially repeating what had been said in the British Parliament, the German Reichstag, the French Assembly, and by prominent statesmen the world over relative to the armament expenditures of their respective countries for the last several years): 'The naval appropriations in our own country have doubled in a dozen years, and have gone up by leaps and bounds in other countries. If this mad rivalry in construction goes on the burden will become too heavy for any nation to bear.'"

The pre-eminent inference filterable from the above ponderously parenthetical statements of Mr. Kitchin is that when one nation prepares all other nations must also go on preparing, until the tax-payers will be so heavily burdened that they will fall from utter exhaustion.

Mr. Kitchin is wrong in his premises. It will not be the thing he thinks that will limit naval and military preparations. They will not be limited by the ability of the tax-payers, for they will never reach the limit of that ability in peaceful preparations, although the burdens of actual war may readily exceed the ability of the tax-payers.

The cost of the present war has been many times as great as would have been the cost to prepare the belligerent nations so adequately that there would have been absolutely no danger of war between them.

#### The Unpreparedness of the Entente.

Germany and Austria were well prepared, but the Entente Powers were pitifully unprepared. Had England, France, Italy and Russia spent one-half, even one-tenth, of what this war has already cost them, in preparedness against such a conflict, then the conflict would never have come, because Germany would have easily perceived that there would be no possibility of making the war profitable, while the Entente Powers, by devoting themselves to the subject, would have acquainted themselves with the wonderful potentiality of Germany, and would have learned that were Germany thrice as wealthy as she was before the outbreak of the war, regardless of the preparedness of the Entente Powers, it would cost very much more to crush Germany than the advantage would be worth.

During the past year and a half Germany has been so fortifying herself with porcupine quills in the shape of barbed wire entanglements, and with bayonet and gun-guarded trenches, that if the Allies finally succeed in forcing Germany back within her original frontiers it will be at a cost in men and money to make the world stagger.

The English know now that they greatly underrated German efficiency and German preparedness before the outbreak of the war, and at the end of each month since that time they have learned a new lesson—that up to that time they had been under-rating the Germans in similar respects.

Is it not likely that this procedure of underrating may continue for some time to come? Had the English fully appreciated the difficulties confronting them is it likely that nearly a year after the war began the English would be able to produce less than a tenth the number of high explosive shells per day that Germany was producing? Yet we have the word of Lloyd George that this condition did prevail last May.

Even now the English labor unions will not let the Government employ unskilled labor in the production of war munitions. Does any one in the world who appreciates the serious proposition that confronts England believe for one moment that the English workmen would hamper their government if they appreciated their danger—if they appreciated the fact that it is a very likely contingency, in the face of what has happened and what is happening, that the spiked helmet will be seen in London, and that their homes are likely to be at the mercy of a foreign foe?

#### America and the Victor.

I have not at any time believed that Germany could be starved out. It may be possible, however, that raw-boned famine may stalk the streets of the German capital. If this be true, then the Teutons are a mighty lively lot of living skeletons.

When this war is over we Americans are doomed to fight the victor. I made this statement soon after the war began. The English papers at that time attributed the statement to me that after the war was over we should have to fight England, because, naturally, they believed that the Allies would win. Recently the *Staats Zeitung* of Chicago attributed to me the statement that we shall have Germany to fight after this war is over, because the editor of that paper believes that Germany will win.

I now hold the same opinion that I held when the war broke out—that there will be a stronger tendency toward a deadlock than there will be toward victory for either side, and that the war is very likely to end in a draw or a compromise.

## British Rule and Indian Superstition.

### Ominous Auguries

By A Voice from India

As dreams and omens play a considerable part in Eastern affairs—though in a lessening degree—even in these days, it may be of interest to hear what are the expectations raised in the Indian popular mind by the happenings within the last three or four years.

The Loyalty to the British Rule so much talked of is specially manufactured by the English officials for "home" consumption and for engendering belief in that myth, for obvious reasons, among Americans and European countries so that all may see how beneficent the British Empire must be to be so popular among those very races over whom England is pleased to rule. But this loyalty is not believed in any longer by these English officials, and still less by those few Indian sycophants who find it to their advantage to assure the English officials about it.

There is an undercurrent of feeling against the English running all the while and making little eddies and whirls around any out of the way happening which would be passed by unnoticed in Europe and other more matter-of-fact countries.

### The Fire in His Majesty's Tent

Of such incidents one may mention one or two as having a special bearing on the British Empire in India. When the present King of England was in Delhi for his coronation as Emperor of India, His Majesty's big tent took fire from the shortcircuiting of electric light wires. The English people took it, of course, merely as a regrettable happening, but a wave of surprise and awe ran through the Indian population, who took the accident as a sign of the downfall of the British Empire. The English may have felt the whisper of the crowd, but they seemed hardly aware of it, for even their myriad informers of the Intelligence Department must have felt reluctant to disturb the sense of tranquil security and Imperial rejoicings at the Coronation by dishing up the thing for official consumption as they are generally wont to do. But every Indian experienced the feeling and a glow of hopeful warmth ran through the breasts of those who had been dreaming of freeing their country one day from the yoke of Britain. Soon after in the Coronation Week came the royal announcement that the capital of India was to be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. The reason given out was, of course, that the growth of the Empire needed a more central capital and so the ancient seat of the Mongol emperors and some earlier Hindu rulers was chosen for Viceregal residence. The rumors among the people, however, were to the effect that the Viceroy needed a station away from Calcutta, the centre of revolutionary activity, safer from the indigenous cocoanut bombs of the Bengali nationalists, or "anarchists," as the English preferred to call them. It may be noted, by the way, that the Viceroy was, after all, not so very safe elsewhere, for not very long after he was the object of a bomb attack in the streets of Delhi itself and escaped narrowly with a wound on his shoulder and a dead attendant who was sitting behind him on the elephant. The police failed to trace the assassins for almost three years, and one hears only now of their being found out and tried for the attempt. Whether the real offenders have been actually apprehended or some innocent persons have been chosen by the police as victims for the altar of their inefficiency, God only knows. But to return to the feeling concerning the change of imperial seat. Everybody was whispering about the signs of fate in the transferring of the capital to a place which had seen the downfall and vanishing of many dynasties in the past. One of the popular poets in India has very cautiously hinted at this feeling in one of his verses in which he says: "The English are stepping from Calcutta into Delhi. They have traded well; let us see how they carry on the Empire now." In another of his verses he hints at the hopes and despair of the Indian political situation: "My heart says, Depart from India now. But my reason counsels, Wait a year or two and see." "He who laughs will have ceased laughing, he who weeps will have ceased weeping. With an undisturbed heart think on God, what is happening will have happened. Let the revolving heaven walk in the ways of tyranny; let it promote the darkness of injustice as it pleases, Time shall turn on his side, at last the Fortune of the helpless shall awake from sleep. He is the foe of our Goal, he ruins our pathways, but some natural blossoms

will bloom when he has finished sowing his thorns." The last verse evidently refers to the Englishman's attempts at sowing discord among the Indian peoples and scheming to make freedom impossible.

### "The Fall of King George"

And now at last, during this world war, goes forth the news of the falling of King George from his horse while inspecting his troops. It appears that even enlightened Europe, including matter-of-fact England, seems to be somewhat touched by the incident in the same way as India would be, for while the newspapers hostile to England are speaking of it as the "fall of King George," England herself seems anxious to make light of the accident, and I feel almost sure they are trying their best in England to keep this insignificant seeming news from reaching the Indian peninsula, where they are sure the ignorant population will take it as a sign from heaven of the downfall of England, and the nationalists will make use of it for India's freedom. But such things travel more surely and swiftly than more important seeming news and must have already spread all over the country and helped to determine to a serious extent the people's attitude, in spite of the strict censorship that prevails there more than anywhere else.

About four years ago I heard in India that the astrologers were forecasting the speedy fall of British power, and some months ago one of the items of news concerning India in European papers was the imprisonment or deportation of a Brahmin astrologer of Benares for openly making similar forecasts which brought him under the sweep of the sedition laws which Mighty England has passed for the purpose of paternally fostering loyalty to her rule in India. These most ruthless laws are powerful levers for the uplifting of India, and if the people cannot rise to face measures intended to put them down with a harsh and cruel hand, why, then, they are not fit for liberty. In past persecutions the Indians have shown a distinct power of resisting growth, and there is no reason why they should not show the same spirit when the English have begun to uncover their iron hand, hitherto covered by a "velvet glove." So let the iron fist of England bruise the flesh of India as her cunning and cruel methods of silently bleeding the country have brought it near unto death, for we may feel the blow where we failed to perceive the long applied suckers of the leech.

As to the popular superstition of omens and signs of the times, let them be what they may—mere froth on the ocean of human ignorance—but I hail them as symbolic images of the undoing of the oppressive and malignant nation which a resistless Nemesis is NOW in the course of accomplishing.

(The Continental Times.)

### Christian Science



Simplicissimus.

Often have we prayed a man back to life. The Lord help us this time with our sister Servia. Digitized by Google



# The Truth About the Zeppelins

**T. R. Macmechin, Head of Aeronautical Society, Explains Relative Values of Aerial Craft**

**Zeppelins, Aeroplanes and Destroyers—Disadvantage of High Speed at Night—Raids, Damages and Lies—Offensive and Defensive.**

To meet the attack of Zeppelins successfully the present British method of defense must be changed, in the opinion of T. R. Macmechin, who, besides being the President of the Aeronautical Society is building a Zeppelin destroyer in England after his own model. The model was planned after getting the methods and results of such attacks at first hand. Mr. Macmechin says he is not alone in his opinions, for Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Admiralty, has admitted that the aeroplane is no longer regarded as an adequate defense against overhead attack.

"It has not been so long ago that Winston Churchill referred to a 'swarm of hornets' ready to repel Zeppelin attacks. There are many who believe that the swarm of hornets he had in mind were aeroplanes and that he expected the hornets to operate in the dark. They evidently forget that the best hornets make it a practice of returning to their homes at night.

"Dr. Hugo Eckener, chief technical expert of the Zeppelin Company, asserted four years ago that the German Admiralty and General Staff thoroughly understood the reasons why no aeroplanes would ever prove a serious menace to a Zeppelin. Mr. Eckener was referring, not only to the darkness as the time of the Zeppelins' operations, but to German foresight in pre-war manoeuvres with both airships and aeroplanes opposed to each other. The soundness of this understanding is now exposed by actual war practice. We now know that the very element in the aeroplane, on which many have depended to annihilate the airship, has been proved to be the aeroplane's greatest weakness.

## High Speed at Night.

"High speed, instead of making the aeroplane the formidable foe predicted, acts reversely at night. British aviators have invariably lost the Zeppelins over London. The rapidity of the aeroplane's flight, its inability to remain in one spot, defeats the leisurely inspection demanded for sighting and gauging the Zeppelin. In the dark, all a Zeppelin must do to escape the pursuing aeroplane is to stop its engines and rise vertically. I defy any aviator to get around this surprising disappearance. One British aviator, flying eighty miles an hour, actually reported that a Zeppelin out-paced him. At any rate, he lost the monstrous shape. High-angle gun fire has prevented the British aeroplane from approaching anywhere near the zone of fire which enveloped the Zeppelins, but failed to bring one down, while the falling shrapnel has killed many persons. In the end, the deeply significant fact remains that during thirty-one air raids upon England not one Zeppelin has been brought down.

"The reason aeroplanes have invariably failed is because of their inherent high speed, which makes them worthless at night. What picket, what vidette, what scout, could ever be depended on to sight an enemy if he wandered about his post? And, I propose to show, for this very reason, why the airship has an incomparable advantage, as the ideal scout for the fleet at sea. But before doing this, I invite attention to this far-reaching question:

"Is the airship best adapted for the offensive or the defensive?

"If you reply for the offensive, I will take issue with you. Airships will never fly at high speed into the midst of aeroplanes. The airship is at its very best

when acting on the defensive—when motionless and awaiting the attack—picking out its foes deliberately with its long-range guns. Or, it rises higher and forces the aeroplane to exhaust its fuel. Meanwhile, the airship takes the offensive with dominating fire, even though it might carry no more powerful guns than the battle-plane. Motionless, it has better aim at the moving battle-plane than the vibrating and rocking plane can bring to bear on the motionless airship.

## Question of Aiming Bombs.

"Now, if it is difficult for a Zeppelin, even while standing still, to score a direct hit with bombs, how can you believe the statement that an aeroplane, which must fly at least forty miles an hour, drops bombs with half the accuracy?

"The war has already furnished significant indications that the serious offensive action by larger airships will not be confined to night time, after its armament has been improved; i. e., the launching tube and aerial torpedo. During the attack by the British squadron on the German base in the Bight of Heligoland, two Zeppelins manoeuvred directly above the concentrated-high-angle gun fire of the cruisers; and though the bombs dropped did not strike a mark, the fire of the squadron failed to bring down either Zeppelin. At the present rate of increase in speed and ascensional power, quite apart from clearly seen development of superior armament, it is impossible to conceive the battle-plane as any better foe of the airship than the present aeroplane.

"The hitherto too rapidly fluctuating buoyancy of the airship is now controlled through the use of the graduated motor exhaust, which is evenly distributed by ducts throughout the entire air-jacket between the outer and inner hulls, and the same system enables the passing of hot and cold currents through the air-jacket, at the will of the operator. These alternate hot and cool currents expand or contract the gas, producing rapid ascent or descent. This device has assured a static gas, which maintains the airship for long periods at normal buoyancy. It explains the modern Zeppelin's ability to transport its load of death over the greatest distances.

"If the air-jacket contains a charge of nitrogen gas, this not only insulates the hydrogen from atmospheric effects, but acts as a sure preventive of fire risk. Both of these methods have proved easy of accomplishment. I have discharged the motor exhaust freely into a balloon containing hydrogen, without setting it afire. My experiments with the nitrogen jacket demonstrated the complete success of this method, which explains the story about the Germans using non-inflammable gas.

## Speed Lines Improved.

"Refinement of the airship's speed lines has reduced the hull's actual cross-sectional resistance against the air, first at a ratio of 21 to 1 and later 16 to 1. This has almost doubled the original fuel endurance. It means less increase of horse power for relatively larger sizes. It results in relatively greater fuel load, which is a great economic gain in operation. The straining of the oil used in the motors and reusing of the oil have again lengthened the radius of action.

"The resulting margin of gain over dead weight has permitted the competent engineer to divert further in-

crease of horse power to effect quite another purpose—that of greatly increasing the airship's dynamic lift, independent of its upward tendency produced by the constantly growing surplus of gas lift, due in turn to the consumption of fuel. This dynamic or aeroplane lift, when exerted, is equivalent to three and a half tons of extra support, or equal to the entire useful load of the machine. The dynamic lift, added to the surplus gas lift, has given the airship an ascensional force which the mere dynamic machine can hardly ever hope to achieve. Mathematically, the airship's buoyancy plus its dynamic lift will always outpace the mere dynamic aeroplane.

"The uses of the airship in any naval program to be adopted by the United States are quite clearly outlined by the geographical conditions. Germany requires the largest offensive airships because her neighbors are well within the airship's radius of action. Germany finds the big airship economic because it combines fighting and scouting. The immediate strategic problem of the United States is purely defensive. It has already been found that for coastal patrol work the rigid airship of, say, not less than ten tons is best for encountering variable winds and rapid changes in temperature. A rigid hull makes the best speed against the wind. It can poise for a day or more, at certain fixed localities, fifty or a hundred miles from the coast, periods long enough to perform the most efficient scout work. The aeroplane must always be on the move, using up its fuel and its stay in the air.

"The German Admiralty has found that the rigid airship will prove an indispensable factor in enabling an admiral always to overlook an enemy, even while that enemy is invisible from his squadron below. A non-rigid gas bag is difficult to inflate and hold on a ship's deck, in a wind. Its inflation means a matter of three

or four hours at the best, possibly in the face of the enemy."

Mr. MacMechin declared there had been a proved attempt to belittle the proved value of the Zeppelin and because of this there was a popular impression that the Zeppelin had been a military failure.

"It is perfectly well known among officials that the Zeppelins have caused and are causing much greater damage of military importance than has been officially admitted. I am in a position to state that the damage inflicted by the Zeppelins in their raids over England has been of such far reaching importance that not only England but Italy is engaged in building large rigid airships."

#### "ALL LIGHTS OUT"—IN BOURNEMOUTH.

The Bournemouth police used to make a specialty of harrying unfortunate tramps who defiled their beat, but the supply of Weary Willies has apparently given out, and the officers are now luxuriating in the opportunities for prosecution—or persecution—offered by the lighting restrictions. "All lights out" is the order in Bournemouth, and it must be obeyed. A whole column of the local newspaper is occupied by reports of summonses, and some of the offences alleged appear to be of the most trivial description. A gentleman was fined for showing a light in his bedroom for a few minutes, and his landlady, ill in bed at the time, was also dropped on for permitting it. A nurse at another house turned on the light first, and then crossed to the window to pull down the blind. For not pulling the blind down first she paid 7s. 6d. A lady was fined 15s. for having a light showing in the area of her house, which faced the woods at the rear. The Chairman dwelt on the danger of all these lights, which "might be seen by a submarine or aeroplane." An excess of light is probably not advisable just now, but too much stringency reduces precaution to an absurdity. All the same, it is a paying game at Bournemouth, for we reckon up to the total of fines reported as 11 £ 2s. 6d.—not a bad bag for one day.

("John Bull.")



# The German Conception of the State

## Germany's Paternalism the Anti-Thesis to Laissez-faire—The Paternalistic Form of Socialism

By Frederic C. Howe, LL.D.,  
U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York; Author of "Privilege and Democracy in America" and many Other Books.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article is a part of the concluding chapter in "Socialized Germany,"\* by Mr. Frederic C. Howe, United States Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York. For many years Mr. Howe has made a close study of German State socialism, and this very book was ready for publication in the fall of 1914. In a few prefatory remarks the author says that his book "is the product of rather intimate knowledge of German life during the past quarter of a century. When the war broke out the manuscript was laid aside to await its termination, but as the contest wore on and the extraordinary resources of Germany were disclosed, it seemed that the book should be published, partly as an explanation of the efficiency of Germany, but primarily as a suggestion of a new kind of social statesmanship which our own as well as other countries must take into consideration."

Mr. Howe is by no means a pro-German in the political sense of the word. He has an "affection" for the German people, but he thinks that Germany is wrong in the war. In a few pages of his admirable book he ventures on a historical analysis which ought to be taken cum grano salis. The rest, however, forms the best and most interesting study of Germany's social and economic structure yet published in the English language. This book is one of the most noteworthy publications because it is the work of a real man who did not allow his sentiments in the war to color or to reverse the results of the studies of his lifetime. In this regard Mr. Howe towers amongst American "intellectuals" in a truly monumental loneliness.

**G**ERMANY presents a new conception of the state. It has no counterpart in ancient or modern times. No other people think in the same terms, no other country has a similar psychology, no other nation has so completely subordinated the individual. The Roman Empire in the height of its power is the only state with which Germany can be compared.

"Fatherland" signifies many things to the German; it has many other meanings than patriotic attachment. And all of the activities described in the previous chapters form part of German Kultur as the Germans use the term. Kultur is not limited to educational and aesthetic things. Kultur includes history and traditions, politics, statecraft, and administration; it includes state socialism, social legislation, the conservation of human life, and the promotion of the well-being of the people. All of the individual and collective contributions which Germany has made to the world form part of Kultur as the German understands the word. These contributions are colossal. And they are largely social. This emphasis on human welfare is one of the remarkable things about the German idea of the state.

### The Work of William II.

Almost all of the achievements enumerated have been brought about in the short space of a generation. The greatest advance is coincident with the reign of William II. Bismarck laid the foundations of the structure, but his work was horizoned by the conditions of his generation and the unification of the empire. It remained for William II. to give unity to the work by harmonizing the landed aristocracy and the commercial classes with humanism in legislation, and by calling to his aid the scientific thought of the nation and identifying with the state the contributions of the universities and technical schools, the scientists and artists, the educators and the business men.

Unity is the predominant note in Germany. The nation thinks and acts as a great human mechanism, adjusted in all of its parts to efficiency and the advancement of the Fatherland. An ambition for imperial power seems to be the conscious motive of the people. No group has been permitted to sacrifice the state in its exclusive control. Each class has accepted sacrifices and limitations on its privileges when the national welfare was at stake.

### Rights and Duties.

Legislation has been balanced. Rights have carried corresponding duties, and privileges a corresponding burden. To the old patriotism of war has been added a new patriotism of peace, which has created a public sentiment ready to assume burdens and sacrifices for the common weal. While legislating for production Germany has legislated for distribution as well. While promoting industry she has promoted the well-being of the people. While training her men to arms she has trained them as artisans, and while granting privileges to the employing class she has required them to share in the burdens of the state, to relinquish profitable fields of investment, and to consider the welfare of the working class.

### Productive and Distributive Socialism.

State socialism in Germany is of two kinds: first, productive socialism, and second, distributive socialism. One means

an increase in the amount of wealth produced and the other its juster distribution. Of the two the latter is more important. If we increase the amount of wealth produced, there is more to go around, but this does not necessarily improve the well-being of those who produce, and as a matter of fact, while the general standard of living in most industrial countries has undoubtedly advanced during the past generation, the gain to the great majority of the people is far behind the advance that has been made in production and accumulation. And up to the present time the efforts of law-makers has been almost exclusively devoted to the promotion of production, to the stimulation of invention, to the encouragement of industry and commerce. The departments of the government, the appropriations made, the kinds of activities carried on have behind them the desire to promote the well-being of the capitalist and privileged class. Outside of Germany, Denmark and Switzerland, there has been but little legislation or little official thought to the more generous distribution of the gains of civilization.

### Social Legislation and American Statesmen.

In America and England social legislation that looks to fundamental reform is not a matter of primary concern to statesmen. It is but little studied in the universities. It has awakened no philanthropies or endowments for research. There is but little legislation that has for its object economic justice or even fundamental change. We have given protection to domestic industry from foreign competition, we have subsidized the railroads by land grants, we have encouraged agriculture, but in so far as social legislation is concerned our official mind is still in the individualistic stage. Legislation for the promotion of production has proceeded apace, while legislation for the individual man, for the worker, and the great mass of the people has remained in the Adam Smith, Ricardian age. Only within the last few years has there been any sign of change.

### The Solution of the German Mystery.

Germany differs from other leading countries in the thought that has been given to the distribution as well as the production of wealth. And no other country has so greatly improved the well-being of so large a portion of the people. This is the real explanation of her power; this lies back of her military achievements; this explains her advance in trade, the growth in her overseas commerce, and the rise of her merchant marine from that of a negligible position to that of the second maritime power of the world.

It is almost impossible to enumerate, much less to translate into our laissez-faire consciousness, all of the laws and administrative decrees that have been enacted by the empire, states, and cities during the past generation. Only the main measures stand out in relief. But at every turn in conversation with business men and workers some new measure is discovered that is part of the structure that has made Germany what she is.

### The Agencies of Productive Socialism.

Let us first consider the agencies of productive socialism, which are designed primarily for increasing the wealth of the empire. Transportation, which is the circulatory system of the nation, is organized with the most painstaking thought to realize the maximum of service at a low cost. Seaport and river harbors, navigable rivers, streams, and canals have been linked up with the railways and city terminals so as to

\*"Socialized Germany," by F. C. Howe; Issues and Events—Book Department. Price \$1.50.

reduce waste to the minimum. Transportation is an agency of industry and commerce. Profit is only incidental. It has been made easy for men to enter business. Competition has been freed from as many risks as possible. The capitalist is offered good building sites by the city, closely connected with the means of transportation, and on easy terms. While syndicates have come into existence and are encouraged by the state, they are not permitted to strangle competition, and new capital is assured an opportunity and is encouraged to enter any field.

Germany has recognized that the division of labor is no longer confined within a single industry. Transportation between the different sections of the empire is almost as important as transportation within the individual establishment. And Germany has adjusted her transportation system, her merchant marine, and her credit agencies as though the state and the outside world were a single industrial organism.

Rapidly increasing population has to be kept at work. Little outlet was offered by the colonies, which have not been a success. And domestic consumption has not kept pace with the growth of the output. A foreign market had to be found. This has been achieved by a systematic study of foreign desires and prejudices, by the adjustment of wares to foreign wishes, by the careful training of clerks and business agents, as well as by the building of steamship lines which run to every available market. The merchant marine as well as the foreign commerce of the country has grown rapidly.

### Commerce—A Science.

Industrial and commercial processes are a scientific study. Education has been adjusted to changing needs. There are technical universities and technical high schools. In every large city are institutions devoted to training workers in industry, applied art, and manual dexterity. Business is a profession for which men are specially trained in commercial colleges of high rank. Men not only familiarize themselves with foreign languages, they spend a number of years of early life in England, America, and in colonies acquainting themselves with manufacturing details and the wants of the most distant markets.

### War and Socialization.

The European war has promoted the process of socialization far beyond what it was a year ago. When the war is over there will undoubtedly be a great increase in state activity; a wide expansion of the services rendered and an accelerated movement toward the socialized state under undemocratic forms. There will be an expansion of public credit at low rates of interest for the rebuilding of the industry and trade of the nation. New industries will be taken over as a means of lightening the burdens of taxation. There will be new partnerships between the state and the syndicates, so arranged as to secure the co-operation of private initiative and at the same time realize a share of syndicate profits. Germany will undoubtedly emerge from the wreckage of the war with greater rapidity than the other nations of Europe by reason of her ownership of so many agencies that lie at the life of the nation and particularly by virtue of her long training in co-operative socialized effort.

### Distributive Socialism.

Distributive socialism is closely related to productive socialism. By distributive socialism I mean services performed by the state at low cost or no direct cost at all. In other countries many of these services are either not performed at all or are left to commerce to be exploited. These include the many non-profitable undertakings of the states and cities, the provision for education and health, and the many social services which are supported by taxation. First in the list of such activities are the social insurance schemes which distribute to the community the burdens of sickness, old age, accident and invalidity. These in themselves have freed millions of men and women from fear of the future, from loss of self-respect, and have kept them as producing members of the community.

Distributive socialism has provided labor exchanges which eliminate much of the waste of unemployment. It has erected working men's hotels or Herbergen in every community, to which the wandering artisans can go. Distress or emergency work provided by the cities relieves the worker during periods of industrial disturbance just as does the protection of the health of the community by sanitation, by the community doctor, the nurse, the pure-milk stations and the convalescent homes. Distributive socialism receives the savings of the poor in the municipal savings-bank, and loans the deposits back again at a low rate of interest for the building of workingmen's homes, the purchase of land, and the maintenance of pawn-shops for the needy. It provides municipal houses or apartments or develops garden suburbs.

### The Leisure Life of the People.

But distributive socialism does not end with the physical well-being of the working class, it makes provision for the leisure life of the people as well. Cities maintain opera houses and theatres in which the best of productions can be heard at a low cost. Through these the cultural standard of the people is elevated. There are municipal art galleries and museums. Cities maintain colleges and academies, they provide lectures and entertainments. Every city of any size has its orchestra or military band which give excellent concerts in the parks and town halls. The leisure life of Germany is under state control just as is education. This is an important function of distributive socialism.

It is by these means that the standard of living of all classes has been improved. Wages have risen, it is true, but the war on poverty, on distress and disease has been waged by the generous use of taxation and the distribution to the poor of a multitude of services which in many other countries are the exclusive enjoyment of the few.

### Progressive Income Tax

And the cost of these services, which in most countries is shifted onto the poor through indirect customs and excise taxes, is largely borne by those best able to bear it. Taxes bear not only on property but on incomes as well. The rates are progressive, so that the rich and well-to-do pay more than their proportional share. In some cities the income tax on the very rich for state and municipal purposes rises as high as 10 or 15 per cent. Cities impose an unearned increment tax on the rising value of land, and frankly insist that land values are social in character, and are the result not of the industry of the owner, but of the growth of population and industry. In addition, a large part of the revenues of the empire, the individual state, and cities comes from the many productive undertakings owned by them. Not only have the propertied classes been dispossessed of the most profitable monopolistic undertakings, but tax burdens have been imposed that in America would be considered the most unjust class legislation.

### The Public Interest—First!

Property, business and industry are regulated in the public interest. Factories are required to build where the community decrees. The individual may not lay out his land as suits his fancy or his profit, he must lay it out and sell it for such purposes as the city decides for him. When he erects his home he must abide by the ordinances of the city as to the kind of house he will build, the amount of land it will cover, as well as the height and character of the building. This is but part of the comprehensive system of town-planning that views the city as a unit rather than an accidental group of individual properties. Even banking and credit are largely in public hands. Over 90 per cent of the individual deposits are in public institutions while the government owns a controlling interest in the Imperial Bank, and through its ownership supervises and directs the credit transactions of the country.

All this is only a skeleton of the industrial, commercial and protective agencies that constitute productive and distributive socialism. It does not include the markets and slaughter-houses, the parcel post, the mines and the estates, the forests, and the multitude of activities that are owned by the cities. But it suggests the German idea of the state, an idea willingly accepted by all classes. This is state socialism, approved by statesmen, business men, the university, and public opinion generally. It explains the efficiency of the country, not only in peace, but in war as well. It also explains the psychology of Germany, and especially of Prussia, where state regimentation has been carried to its greatest development. And within these social regulations a nation of 67,000,000 people moves with a remarkable degree of individual freedom. Instead of stagnation there are initiation and aggression, not only in industry and commerce, but in social intercourse as well. For the state draws to its service the most competent men of the country. There is a desire for service, for unremunerated work in the city council, on committees, in connection with chambers of commerce, and semi-public bodies, that affects all classes. And by means of a civil service that weeds out all but the fit, the most capable men of the universities and of the professions make their way into the service and give their best to the state.

### FORBID THE GERMAN LANGUAGE IN STREETS.

Count Paul Metternich is at last interned. But why the delay about the other enemy aliens? The Government are our friends. As a friend of the Government I would assure them in all sincerity that the tempestuous anger with which the immunity of enemy aliens is regarded by the great, silent nation is ominous of eruption which no Government can control. While there is yet time, act. Forbid the German language in the streets or public places. Confiscate all enemy property, and confiscate soon, or it will be too late.

("John Bull.")



# Issues & Events

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## GOLDEN WORDS FROM THE SENATE.

**Senator Nelson (Minnesota):** "Does Mr. Jones mean to say that it was unpatriotic for the American Consul, McNeely, to travel to his post on the Persia?"

**Senator Jones (Washington):** "He ought to have hunted up a neutral ship."

**Senator Owen (Oklahoma):** "If an official of the Government had no other way of getting to his post, the Government should send him to his destination on a warship."

**Senator O'Gorman (New York):** "There was a neutral ship on which Mr. McNeely could have gone. He should have taken the Dutch ship sailing in that direction recommended to him by his superior (Consul Skinner). But our citizens continue to take these needless chances."

**Senator Borah (Idaho):** "The right of neutrals to travel in safety on merchantmen even of belligerent countries is unquestioned and as long as this Government did not warn against the practice, certainly it can not be called unpatriotic."

**Senator Owen (Oklahoma):** "Unpatriotic is undoubtedly too strong a word. But it is alleged that the Persia carried a mounted gun capable of carrying many miles, easily able to sink a submarine. As a father protects his child the Government should have warned Americans from these dangerous ships."

**Senator Jones (Washington):** "But everything that happens shows that they are not safe. Every American going on one of these ships knows the danger he runs, not only for himself, but in compromising the country. It is not very considerate of him, to say the least."

**Senator Works (California):** "I recall the case of a prominent citizen from California who lost his life on the Lusitania. He received both the public and the private warnings against taking the trip, but he went. The officers of our Government knew that the ship was loaded to the guards with munitions for one of the belligerents. In not warning its citizens from such a ship this Government was morally responsible for their deaths. It did not go into the ensuing discussion with clean

hands, and it continues to permit travel on these ships."

**Senator O'Gorman (New York):** "Under express treaties our citizens have the right to travel and reside in Mexico. Does the Senator think those rights were prejudiced when the Government warned Americans to leave that country? Great Britain, a few years ago, without conceding any right, advised British subjects to keep off ships liable to attack."

**Senator Works (California):** "The right to travel on belligerent ships may be conceded at law but surely there is a moral obligation on the Government and citizens of the United States to avoid being drawn into this war. I will go farther back than that. At the very beginning of the war I opposed the shipping of arms to belligerents, particularly after Great Britain had blockaded the ports of Germany. If at that time we had said to Great Britain, 'If you blockade the ports of Germany against our trade, we will allow no more arms to go to you,' we might have brought England to terms. We have become practically parties to this war by shipping arms to one side only. We are not neutral, we are hypocritically saying we are neutral."

## SENATE AND NEWSPAPERDOM.

The vivid discussions of the ammunition trade and the submarine warfare which are taking place in the Senate have proved beyond doubt that there exists a tremendous cleavage between the public opinion of America and the irresponsible opinions expressed in our precious newspapers. That was a lamentable state of affairs for many years past but people are only too much inclined to forget such unpleasant realities.

In all the countries of the world public opinion is adequately expressed by the national press; in our country, unfortunately, the press has always made a business out of it to disguise the real thoughts and sentiments of the people. All our great statesmen from Jefferson to Bryan had to lead a bitter fight against the sinister activity of our newspapers and that fight has not always been won. Many and splendid as our contributions to the world's civilization are, we must not forget that the curse of the yellow press has sailed forth from our shores.

A stranger within our gates must have felt dumbfounded, to read the recent reports from the Senate. After the impressions gained from his reading of our "representative" newspapers, he must have found it incredible that in the course of one single meeting of the Senate almost a dozen of most unhyphenated Senators should have expressed opinions which, until now, have solely been credited to "hyphenates," spies, agents-provocateurs and similar "creatures which should be crushed." Why, the ideas expressed by Senators Jones, Owen, O'Gorman, Borah, Works and others have been advocated by this very paper from its first number on and we do not flatter ourselves to have conquered those courageous gentlemen for the cause of justice and fair play. We should not be surprised at all if one or the other of them has never even heard of our publication; but the truth is that although our circulation cannot be compared with that of the big dailies, we are representing to a far fuller extent the real trend of public opinion.

We do not know what President Wilson intends to do about that steadily growing number of heretics in his own party and that other group of opponents to his foreign policy from the Republican camp. As he cannot very well suggest new legislation against this sort of "un-American" Americans (how he would like



to lock up the terrible jaws of T. R. at the same time!) we suggest that he take the opportunity to feel the pulse of the country. If a highly respected statesman like Senator Works of California, who is not in the least dependant on any German sympathies, accuses our administration for having caused the death of so many Americans on the seas by not warning them off belligerent ammunition ships, surely, there must be something wrong in our attitude.

**"We are not neutral, we are hypocritically saying we are neutral."** These words were emphatically uttered in the Senate of the United States of America. The world will listen to them and so should our President. The democracy of the President of a Republic does not consist in reading the newspapers from all over the country but in the careful consideration of the Representatives of the people. The New York Times represents Mr. Ochs; but Senator O'Gorman represents New York. **More Senators and less newspapers** ought to be the New Year's Resolution for the White House.

### "ASSASSINS OF THE SEA."

When a "neutral" takes passage on a belligerent craft he clearly does so at his own hazard and not his nation's. If he can reasonably expect safety through his country's vigorous, unqualified protection he should maintain a perfect neutral status and sail on unquestionable neutral vessels—then, by the law of right, his country must protect him, and the principle under which he travels, if it would maintain its existence in the family of nations.

As a result of submarine warfare, our daily press has been much given over to cries of "More Americans Murdered," "How much longer can we tolerate the 'Assassins of the Sea'?"—and a feeling of sadness and mighty resentment filled the breast of every red-blooded American. However, it is only thoughtlessly and quickly concluded that "killing" is murder, for war legalizes the act and "self defense" stamps it as justifiable in our courts of justice; we have even upheld the "Unwritten Law." So, jumping to conclusions, and hysterical cries of "murder" may reasonably be open to serious questioning in seeking to substantiate their justification.

Every patriotic American would feel full justification in sinking a vessel engaged in carrying men or war supplies to an enemy, and it is not at all doubtful that circumstances could arise where we too would be compelled to sacrifice the lives of indiscreet innocents in prosecuting a war on which the life of our nation depended.

So it clearly behooves non-combatants to confine their traveling to strictly neutral vessels, and it can reasonably be said that their governments should prevent their sailing on belligerent craft. The burden of responsibility and culpability rests on the country permitting the sailing. There can only be one indisputable primary indictment where troop transports and supply vessels accept non-combatants as passengers to use them as a cloak of security from attack, and that is—these are the real "Assassins of the Sea."

### JOHN BULL OR JOHN HOG?

Indignation would likely mark the average American citizen if he were told that **England rules our business**. But it's true nevertheless. Here are the facts:

England defines the quantity of cotton we may sell Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, it must first go to Great Britain and be counted, certified, and then, if all is well, it is permitted to go on to its destination. To add to the aggravation England also prescribes that British vessels, sailing from the United States with cotton, must carry one-half cargo of grain.

And this in face of the fact that the official report

### THE UNDERTAKER.



Simplicissimus.

**"If Each Year a Nation Dies for Us, We Shall Be Able to Keep Up the War for Yet Four Years."**

of the British Board of Trade shows that in September, 1915, Great Britain exported to Turkish (enemy) territory 1,741,100 yards of cotton goods as against 452,000 in September, 1914.

**England's war rules are made to fatten British trade,** her merchants may even trade with her enemies, but the United States must restrict operations to neutrals and then only in limited quantities by way of England.

For downright injustice, outrageous insult and unwarrantable assumption of dictatorship of America nothing could be more illuminating of British impudence. We have heard much of the "Yellow Peril," "German Militarism," "German Kultur," and other carplings of the sensationalist, but all the perils, obnoxious insults, and nauseating practices in the world today put together cannot equal the dastardly commercial gluttony of England.

John Bull is a misnomer—he should be called "John Hog."

### YOU'RE EXCUSED—DON'T MENTION IT.

When a British cruiser is sunk in harbor, the explosion becomes internal and the result of foul play—notably, the recent loss of the Natal. When an Allies' transport is sunk on the high seas, together with its load of human freight, the explosion becomes external and the result of German or Austrian submarine activities.

Of course an Englishman never blundered and caused an explosion, ships never collide on the high seas or strike floating mines, or submarines become so daring as to venture in an English harbor and sink a warship—that is, with some exceptions. All reasons for maritime accidents must conform to England's censored thinking.

# Facts and News that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

### "WHILE MY FATHER IS IN GERMANY, THE LANDLORD ATTACKS OUR HOME."

Glasgow, again, has been the storm center of the agitation against increased rents. It was in Glasgow that there took place the astonishing procession to the City Hall in which children carried banners with the inscription, "While my father is a prisoner in Germany, the landlord is attacking our home." It was to Glasgow, and to Glasgow alone, that the Government sent a special commission to inquire into complaints of increases in rent.

The climax of the agitation was reached on November 17, when about 10,000 workers, employed in five shipyards on both sides of the Clyde, "downed tools" at the breakfast hour and marched in procession to the Glasgow Small Debts Court, to protest against the granting of decrees evicting eighteen munition workers who had refused to pay increased rents. The eviction proceedings were thereupon withdrawn unconditionally at the request of the Ministry of Munitions. The House of Commons has now passed the second reading of a bill to restrict the increase of the rent of small dwelling houses (and of the rate of interest on mortgages on such property) in boroughs and urban districts with a population of more than 100,000.

\* \* \*

### AMERICAN REGISTRATION OF LETTERS IS JUST A JOKE.

Your paper has several times recently noted the seizure by Great Britain of the United States mails on vessels to and from neutral ports, such as Copenhagen and Rotterdam. As seizures of this sort seem to me to be a gross violation of American rights, and as I am personally interested in the matter because of the fact that I often have important letters in the mails, many of them under United States registry seal, I felt that it was advisable to address the officials of this Government to find out, if possible, what guarantee could be given that registered mail to and from Europe would not be interfered with en route. I therefore yesterday addressed a telegram to Postmaster General Burleson, Washington, reading as follows:

Please inform me quickly if registered letters addressed to Germany or Austria are safe from British interference. I desire to forward important letters under United States registry seal and am anxious to know what guarantee of safety my Government is prepared to give.

The above telegram I also confirmed in writing.

This morning I am in receipt of a reply to my telegram from Postmaster General Burleson, as follows:

The only guarantee of safety of mail against interference is that provided by Universal Postal Convention of Rome. I cannot attempt to forecast what action any belligerent may take.

From the above you will note that apparently the United States Government, as at present constituted, does not intend to make any demand for the safety of mail, registered or otherwise, against interference. I do not know

how such weakness on the part of our Government appeals to others, but I feel that the American Government is being made the laughing stock of the world.

IRVING P. FAVOR.

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### AMERICAN ADVENTURES IN ALBANIA.

Complaints are being made of the attitude of the Italian authorities in Albanian ports toward foreigners.

Several Americans, including William W. Howard of New York, Secretary of the Albanian Relief Fund, were compelled to depart from Durazzo, whither they had gone on the American steamer Albania.

The authorities explained that their course of action was necessary for the protection of foreigners who otherwise might be endangered by Austrian attacks on these ports, several of which have already been made. It is said that, although the generosity of philanthropic Americans, who desired to assist the Albanians, was appreciated highly, everything must give way to military considerations.

\* \* \*

### GERMANY STANDS CORRECTED —59,666 NOT 60,000.

After the "great offensive" of the Allies in September the German General Staff officially announced that the losses of the English amounted to 60,000, those of the French to 130,000. How astonishingly correct that statement was can best be seen from the following report of an official statement in the House of Commons:

LONDON, Jan. 5.—The British casualties in the battle of Loos, France, last September, totaled 2,378 officers and 57,288 men, according to an announcement made in the House of Commons this afternoon by Harold I. Tennant, Parliamentary Undersecretary for War.

A table showing the number of killed, wounded, and missing follows:

	Officers.	Other Ranks.
Killed .....	773	10,345
Wounded .....	1,288	38,095
Missing .....	317	8,288
Total .....	2,378	57,288

On giving the foregoing figures in the House of Commons, Mr. Tennant said it was impossible to separate the casualties in the battle of Loos from those in adjacent areas. The figures, he said, were casualties on the Western front from Sept. 25 to Oct. 8.

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### THE "FAILURE" OF THE SUBMARINES.

VIENNA, Dec.—Austro-Hungarian and German submarines sank in the Mediterranean eight troopships, twenty-five transports and thirty-four merchantmen, a total of sixty-seven, with a tonnage of about 225,325 in the last two weeks of October and the month of November, according to claims made in authoritative quarters here. The loss of life is said to have been very heavy in the case of troopships and the estimate is made that it amounts to at least 5,000 men.

The largest of the vessels said to have

been sunk was the Cunard liner Transylvania of 14,000 tons, loaded with troops and war material. The list includes also one Japanese steamer, the Yasukuni of more than 5,000 tons. Thirty-eight of the vessels sent to the bottom were of British register, thirteen French, ten Italian, two Russian, two Greek, one Norwegian and one Japanese.

The tonnage of the troop ships and transports was about 200,000 and that of the merchant ships 25,325, making a total of sixty-seven ships of approximately 225,325 registered tons.

The following table shows the nationality, character and cargo of the vessels reported torpedoed.

#### TROOPSHIPS.

Name.	Tons.	Cargo.
Admr. Hamelin (Fr.)..	5,051....	Supplies
Calados (Fr.) .....	6,008....	800 men
Californian (Br.).....	6,223....	Troops
Marquette (Br.) .....	7,050....	1,000 men
Moorina (Br.) .....	5,000....	Troops
Ramaban (Br.) .....	4,377....	700 men
Transylvania (Br.) ..	14,000....	Troops

#### AUXILIARY.

Tara (Br.) .....	1,862....	—
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#### TRANSPORTS.

Antonie (Fr.) .....	2,387....	Commissary
Dagla (Fr.) .....	5,600....	Coal
France (Fr.) .....	4,025....	Unknown
Provincia (Fr.) .....	3,523....	Coal
Ravitailleur (Fr.) ..	2,800....	Coal
St. Marguerite (Fr.) ..	3,800....	Supplies
Alexandra (Er.) .....	4,000....	Munitions
Buresk (Br.) .....	4,350....	Supplies
Burrsfield (Br.) .....	4,037....	Coal
Carla (Br.) .....	3,032....	Supplies
Cian MacAllister (Br.)	4,835....	Coal
Craigston (Br.) .....	2,617....	Coal
Hallamshire (Br.) .....	4,420....	Coal
Heridla (Br.) .....	4,944....	Freight
G. H. Henry (Br.) .....	4,219....	Tar oil
Linkmoor (Br.) .....	4,300....	Coal
Lunina (Br.) .....	6,200....	Fuel oil
Scaroby (Br.) .....	3,858....	Coal
Silverash (Br.) .....	3,753....	Supplies
Sir Rich. Awdry (Br.)	2,234....	Unknown
Thorwood (Br.) .....	3,184....	Coal
Woodfield (Br.) .....	3,584....	Trucks
Name unknown (Br.)..	4,000 (about)	Am't'n
Name unknown (Br.)..	4,000 (about)	Am't'n
Yasukuni (Jap.) .....	5,118....	Ammunition

#### TANK.

Apscheron (R.) .....	1,000....	Oil
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#### MERCHANTMEN—FREIGHTERS.

Katja (R.) .....	500....	Sugar
Algerien (Fr.) .....	1,706....	Freight
Dahra (Fr.) .....	2,127....	Cereals
Omara (Fr.) .....	435....	No cargo
Sidi Ferruch (Fr.) ..	1,619....	Freight
Apollo (Br.) .....	3,500....	Freight
Isere (Fr.) .....	3,774....	Coal
Colenso (Br.) .....	3,861....	Freight
Den of Crombie (Br.)	4,950....	Rice
Enosis (Br.) .....	3,409....	Coal
Hallzones (Br.) .....	5,093....	Ores
Kingsway (Br.) .....	3,647....	No cargo
Langton Hall (Br.) ..	4,437....	Freight
Maltinche (Br.) .....	1,868....	Freight
Merganser (Br.) .....	1,905....	Freight
Sailor Prince (Br.) ..	3,144....	Barley
Tringa (Br.) .....	2,160....	No cargo
Tunis (Br.) .....	3,655....	Cattle
Woolwich (Br.) .....	2,936....	Phosphates
Name unknown (Br.)..	5,000 (about)	Unn'n
Demitrois (Gr.) .....	2,508....	Rice
Zarifa (Gr.) .....	2,904....	Forage
Wacousta (Nor.) .....	3,521....	Sugar

#### PASSENGER.

Ancona (Ital.) .....	8,200....	Freight
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#### FREIGHTERS.

Bosnia (Ital.) .....	2,560....	General
Girence (Ital.) .....	3,236....	General
Dechino (Ital.) .....	2,450....	General
Eliza Francesca (Ital.)	208....	General
Firenze (Ital.) .....	3,960....	General

Ionis (Ital.) ..... 1,816....General  
 Scilla (Ital.) ..... 2,500....General  
 Tobia (Ital.) ..... 181....General  
 Name unknown (Ital.) . 215....Was armed

Many of the vessels reported lost in the foregoing list have not been included in the daily reports sent out by the various admiralities. Private advices were received in New York late in September that the Transylvania, chartered by the British Government for transport purposes, had been sunk off the Island of Crete, but the owners denied it.

When the Japanese steamer Yasaka Maru was torpedoed on Dec. 23, it was stated that she was the first vessel of Japanese registry to be sunk by a submarine, but the list obtained in Vienna indicates that another was lost some time before.

\* \* \*

### AMERICANS MUST NOT HEAR THE "ALPS" SYMPHONY.

The Philharmonic Society of New York, found itself compelled to send out the following formal announcement:

"Owing to the irregularity of the European mails, some of the orchestral parts of the 'Alps' symphony of Richard Strauss have been delayed in transportation, and as word has just been received that a shipment of music consigned to the Philharmonic Society of New York, evidently the missing parts, is among the parcels lately confiscated, the Society will be obliged to postpone the performance of this composition until the complete material is at hand. The Strauss concert will not be abandoned. Strauss's tone poem, 'Life of a Hero,' which until the production of the 'Alps,' was considered his most important symphonic work, with opera 'Salome,' with Marcella Craft, will be included in the programme."

Apparently the British censor who has been in charge of the American "mind" for so many months, has undertaken the guardianship of American ears as well!

\* \* \*

### REMEMBER THE ARMENIANS!

The records of lynching for 1914, compiled by three different agencies, give the total number for the year as 52, 54 and 74. The authority for these figures being Tuskegee Institute, the Chicago Tribune and the Crisis, respectively. The conflicting reports cannot be harmonized, but to avoid any possibility of exaggeration we employ the most conservative of these for analysis. It reveals the facts: Number lynched, colored, male 46, female 3; white, male 3, female 0; total, 52. Crimes charged against victims: Murder, 13; robbery and murder, 6; robbery and attempted murder, 1; suspected of murder, 1; rape, 6; attempted rape, 1; killing an officer, 5; pounding officer, 1; murderous assault, 3; alleged murderous assault, 1; accused of wounding a person, 1; killing person in quarrel, 4; beating child to death, 1; trying to force way into woman's room, 1; stealing shoes, 1; stealing mules, 1; setting fire to barn, 2; assisting a man to escape who had wounded another, 1; being found under a house, 1.

"The three women were lynched for the following reasons: One, seventeen years old, for killing a man who, it was reported, had raped her; another was accused of beating a child to death; the third was accused of helping her husband to set fire to a barn. In the last both husband and wife were lynched

in the presence of their four-year-old child.

"It should be especially noted that of the 52 persons lynched, only seven—two white and five colored or 13 per cent—were charged with the crime against womanhood. This shows clearly how far and how quickly the habit has spread beyond the bounds set by those who first resorted to lynching as a remedy.

"According to States, the lynchings were distributed as follows: Alabama, 2; Arkansas, 1; Florida, 4; Georgia, 2; Louisiana, 12; Mississippi, 12; Missouri, 1; New Mexico, 1; North Dakota, 1; North Carolina, 1; Oklahoma, 3; Oregon, 1; South Carolina, 4; Tennessee, 1; Texas, 6.

"The same agency which reported 52 lynchings for 1914, makes the following report for 1915: Number lynched: Colored, male, 52; female 3. White, male, 14; female, 0. Total, 68. This is an increase of 16, or 30 per cent over the total number of 1914.

"According to States, the lynchings for 1915 were distributed as follows: Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 5; Florida, 5; Georgia, 18; Illinois, 1; Kentucky, 5; Louisiana, 2; Mississippi, 9; Missouri, 2; Ohio, 1; Oklahoma, 3; South Carolina, 1; Tennessee, 2; Texas, 5.

"It is worthy of note that in at least four cases it later was discovered that the victims of the mob were innocent of the crimes of which they were accused."

\* \* \*

### NOT NIETZSCHE, WAGNER CAUSED THE WAR.

Ernest Ansermet, the conductor for the Diaghiloff Russian ballet, who arrived from Geneva, said that Wagner and Richard Strauss were responsible for the war by their music. The introductions of Wagner with their tumult and blare of trumpets infused a warlike spirit into the German nation and fostered it for generations. Strauss followed Wagner and brought this flaming buoyant martial spirit to a breaking point.

"After this war is over the older German school will survive, including Bach, Handel, Mozart, and possibly Beethoven. International music will disappear after the war and be replaced by national music in the respective countries."

Poor Germans! The two great Richards have ruined them. And we always thought that Strauss was a decadent, a weakling, a neurotic wreck. At least so his English and American critics always asserted. And now he turns out to be an associate of Bernhardi. Oh, how cunning these Germans are!

\* \* \*

### OUR PROSPERITY A BLOOD-SOAKED BOOM.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5.—"Blood-soaked boom times," was the word Representative William E. Humphrey, a Washington Republican, described the present prosperity of the country in a speech in the House today.

"Every industry in the United States that is enjoying even a normal degree of prosperity today," he said, "derives that prosperity from the awful tragedy that is now devastating the world. But for this war we would today be suffering industrially beyond imagination and description. We would be in the midst of panic and poverty that would

make the days of '93 and '97 look like greatest prosperity by comparison.

"Where do the products of our prosperity go to?" exclaimed Mr. Humphrey. "Where are they used? Go to Europe today, visit the front, where is being waged the most costly and bloody struggle in all human history and you will know.

"You ride out in an American automobile to the trenches dug with American tools, lined with American lumber, protected by American barbed wire, manned with American guns, filled with American ammunition, defended by men equipped, clothed and fed with American products. American aeroplanes are scouting overhead, the cavalry dashes to the front on American horses, the light artillery is brought forward on American mules.

"Every time a new gun is sold to the warring nations of Europe, or a new shell is manufactured for them, the Secretary of Commerce, the official, suave, prosperity 'thimble-rigger' of the Administration, issues a cheerful official bulletin that prosperity at last is coming. To boast of gains secured from conditions such as I have described is abhorrent to all right thinking men."

\* \*

### FROM A HIDDEN CORNER IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—The protest of the Greek Government against the arrests made by the allied armies at Saloniki has been forwarded to the State Department. It declares the action of the Allies to be a flagrant violation of the Constitution and laws of the Kingdom. The German, Austrian, Bulgarian and Turkish Governments have protested vigorously at Athens against the illegal arrests of their Consuls, and have served notice on Greece that they will hold her responsible.

In the communication and protest addressed to France it is charged by the Greek Government that a French Vice Counsel inspired a revolt on the island of Castellorizio against Greek authority. It hopes that France will disavow the Counsel and his action and order the French commander to refrain from intervening. For the purpose of establishing order a Greek cruiser was sent to the island. In spite of French warnings that mines were scattered about the island, the Greek ship proceeded. Arriving Dec. 28 at Castellorizio, it was discovered that two French men of war were in the harbor and had landed 500 marines. The French commander asserted this was in accordance with orders from his Government. The Greek commander protested and left.

\* \* \*

### IF THE TURKS WERE ASLEEP, WHY . . . ?

To the Editor of the New York Times:

Dear Sir—In reference to your most interesting article about the withdrawal of the British troops from the peninsula of Gallipoli, will you kindly permit an interested reader to ask a question?

If the Turks were asleep, why did not the British take advantage of them and take their positions by a surprise attack? According to your description of the situation they no doubt had the very best chance to do it.

B. JAMES.

New York, Dec. 31, 1915.

### A PROPER REBUKE TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SENATOR LODGE.

The following telegram was sent to Senator Lodge in answer to the recent unneutral outburst of this hyphenated "statesman:"

4th of January, 1916.

Senator Lodge, Washington, D. C.

In your speech before the senate today you state "that an embargo on arms now would be such a change of practice as to be grossly unneutral." War loans to Germany were considered unneutral at the beginning of the war, but practice changed and a hundred times as much was granted to the Government of England. In the opinion of the administration this is neutral, but the people know it is double-crossingly unneutral. You further say an embargo would be worth a million men to Germany, hence we would become Germany's ally. Don't you know that the Declaration of Paris defines neutrality not merely as impartiality, but as abstention. It is incredible that a man of your standing should make statements of such irrational reasoning, thereby helping disgrace the fair name of America.

FRANCIS J. L. DORL.

### A FISCAL FEELER.

With proverbial prudence in matters financial a Scottish reader suggests that we should levy a poll-tax upon enemy subjects resident in Great Britain, thus recouping some small part of the enormous cost of the war. "This would tap a new source of revenue for Britain, and would injure the Hun in his pocket. . . . There is nothing to hinder us doing it." Nothing whatever, except the false humanity of a handful of fanatics from whose breasts the milk of human kindness is always slopping over in the wrong place. We would merely insist that if and when such a tax is imposed, it should be of the kind that "won't come off." Personally, we would go the whole hog and exclude every German from this country after the war; but if we must afford hospitality to the Huns, they should pay for it through the nose.

("John Bull.")

### THE GREAT NEWS.

During the year preceding the war, to use the author's own words, Mr. Charles Ferguson was employed by the United States government to find out how "big business" stood to the state in the principal European cities. He carried credentials from the President, addressed to the diplomatic service, which gave him access to the best sources of information. Mr. Ferguson visited ten European capitals and on his return it was arranged by the President that he should visit various business communities in America to suggest ways and means for the promotion of commerce through the development of a more scientific spirit within the body of the business organization. In his investigations Mr. Ferguson found that the business system of the United States must make a quick choice between regeneration from within, and militaristic discipline from without.

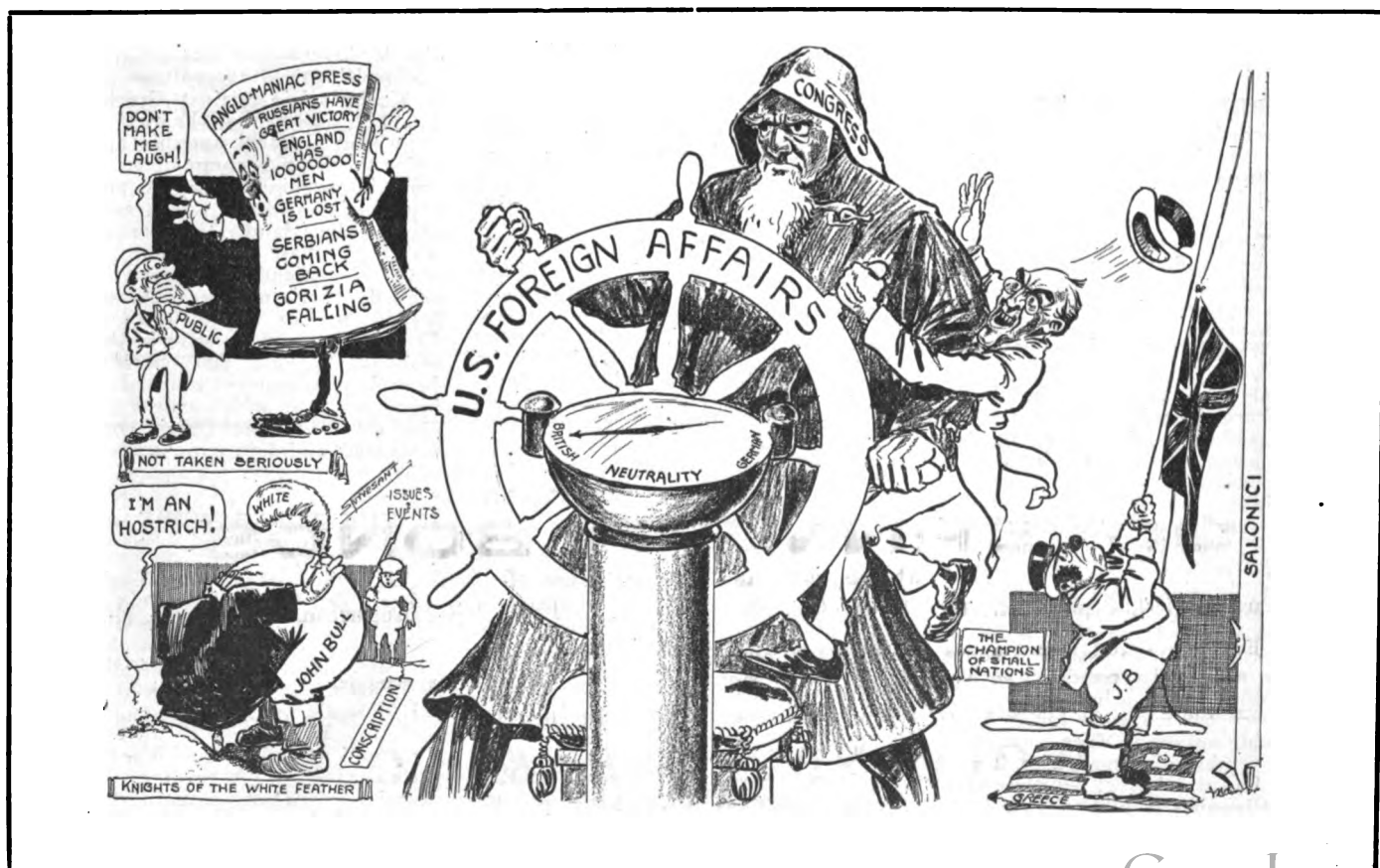
The German Empire, the author states, was the most powerful of the giant trusts—because it was the most practical. It had the firmest grip of natural facts. It was isolated by the very fact that it worked in a more scientific spirit than did the great financial combinations of England, France and Russia.

The ring of fire that has been drawn about the German people has burnt up much that was bad and weak in it. It is a marvelous paradox—this emergence of power through suffering. Of course it is not by conquest but by contagion that this power will take possession of the earth. For the great wars are won by endurance—by being unkillable.

The nations now so distraught by internal discords and depressed by the poverty of the multitude, will enter into a new and specious age of art and the free spirit, compelled by an irresistible pressure of a new kind of competition, to ameliorate present existing conditions in social life as also in international affairs.

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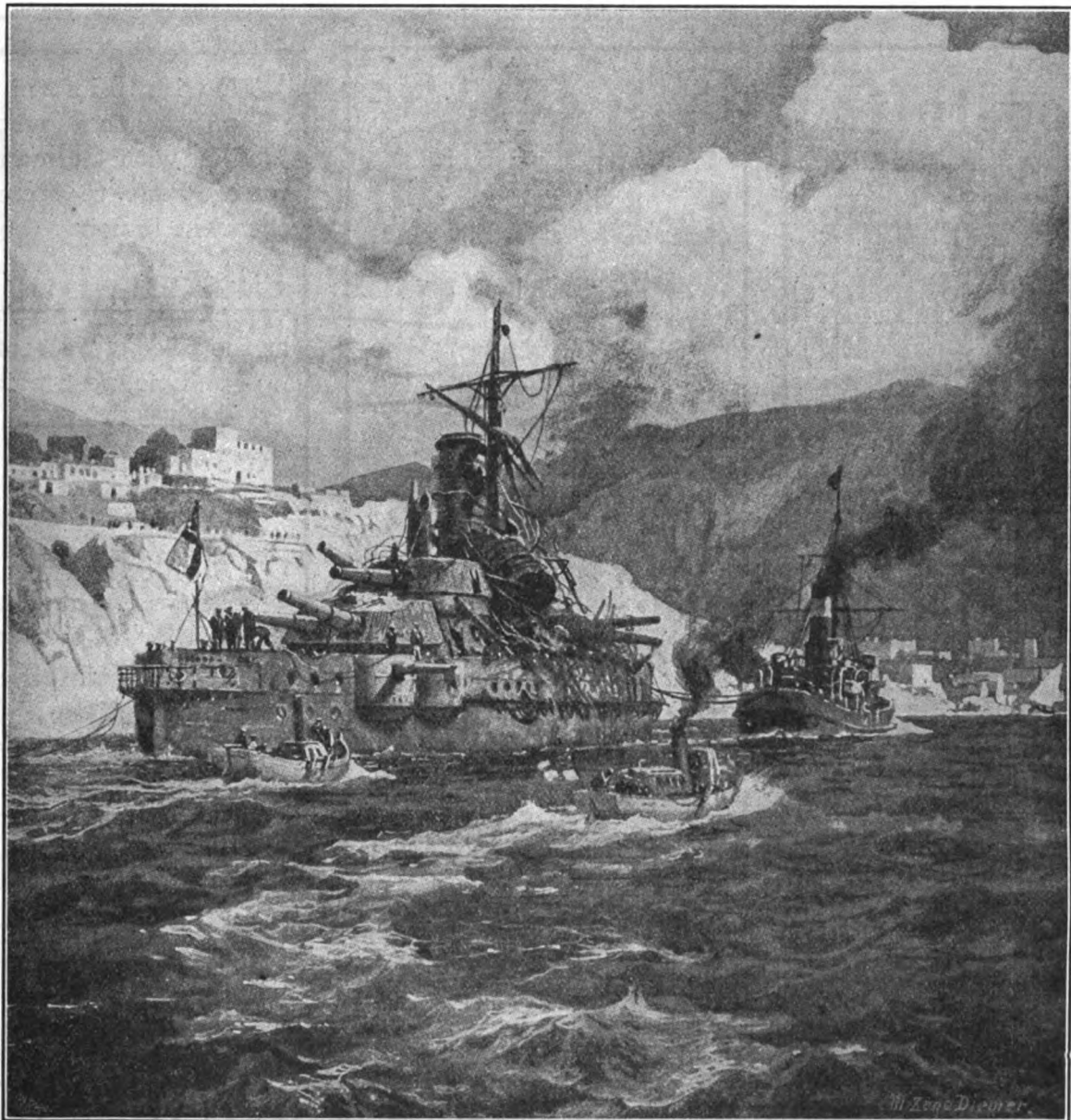
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# Issues & Events

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## Papers of the Clark University Historical Conference

### II. The Poison of Preparedness

By WARREN WORTH BAILEY, Member of Congress (19th District of Pennsylvania)

IT SEEMS to me that I cannot better begin what I wish to say before this distinguished body today than by recalling the observation of Blackstone to the effect that in a land of liberty it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms. "In absolute monarchies," said the great commentator, "this is necessary for the safety of the prince imperial; and armies form the main principle of their constitution, which is that of governing by fear; but in free states the profession of a soldier, taken singly and merely as a profession, is justly an object of jealousy. In these no man should take up arms but with a view to defend his country and its laws."

There is now a serious proposal in this country that we shall very greatly enlarge the profession of arms. Coupled with the demand that we shall have an army of 400,000 continentals is the other demand that the output of West Point shall be doubled or perhaps quadrupled, and what is true in regard to the land forces of the republic is equally true of the maritime forces. If our army is to be augmented by hundreds of thousands, so is the navy to be expanded in line with an ambitious and really imperial program involving the expenditure of a thousand millions of dollars within the next five years and a consequent increase in the burdens of taxation.

Advocates of this program tell us that its adoption is absolutely necessary to the safety of the republic. They tell us that our country is utterly defenseless. They insist that we are despised among the nations on account of our physical weakness. Yet naval experts have testified within a year that our navy is second only to that of Great Britain. They tell us that it is superior to that of Germany or of any country in the world save Britain. This was the testimony of Admiral Fletcher before the committee on naval affairs when the naval appropriation bill was before it a year ago. And Admiral Fletcher was corroborated by other naval experts. It was left to the Navy league of the United States and its collaborators to discover that a fighting machine upon which we have spent nearly a thousand million within the last decade is worthless.

For one I do not agree with the Navy league of the United States. I do not agree with those who insist that we are unprepared for possible emergencies. On the contrary, I think and am profoundly convinced that we are very adequately prepared, over-prepared, if anything. Let me repeat. Our navy, built and building, is the strongest in the world, bar that of England. Our navy is stronger than that of Germany; it is far superior to that of France; more than twice as strong as that of Japan or of any other nation, with the exceptions noted. Then why should it be pretended that we are unprepared and incapable of self-defense in the event of trouble?

At this point let me ask whence the demand has so suddenly and so insistently come for a tremendous increase in our fighting outfit? Has it come from the toilers of the land? What labor organization has manifested fear? What organization of farmers has uttered an appeal for more battle ships and submarines? What body representing the smallest business interests of the country has taken ground in favor of adding to the tax burdens of a tax-ridden people for war purposes in a time of profound peace? Is there any evidence anywhere of a popular demand for this wide departure from the traditional policy of the republic?

**No Popular Demand.**

I think not. But we find on examination that the patriotic

societies which have been so much in evidence in recent months in cultivating sentiment in favor of military and naval expansion and in working upon the fears of the timid and the credulity of the uninformed are curiously and suggestively related in their distinguished personnel to certain great industrial concerns which in the event of increased appropriations for war purposes would almost necessarily profit therefrom. It is not my wish to be personal. It is not my purpose to question that patriotism or the good faith of any man. But self-interest is one of the most powerful of all human motives. It influences men without their knowledge. It tends in many cases to obliquity of vision. It sways men even when they honestly believe themselves superior to its suggestions. And so we may fairly assume that self-interest has played some part. I believe a very great and commanding part, in this remarkable propaganda which those who have been busiest in promoting it have professed to be inspired alone by love of country and undertaken solely with the high purpose of safeguarding our liberties against some unidentified enemy.

It would doubtless be impertinent for me in this presence to pursue this phase of the matter further. Yet right here I am sure we should find traces of the poison of preparedness were the test applied. As I have said, there has been no popular clamor for increased armament. The great body of the people have been quietly engaged in their accustomed pursuits. They have been sowing and reaping without suspicion or apprehension. They took President Wilson at his word when he assured them through congress a year ago that we were at peace with all the world and that no one who spoke counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities could say that our independence or the integrity of our territory was threatened from any quarter. It has therefore been a surprise and a shock to be told in more recent utterances that the "whole nation is convinced that we ought to be prepared and very adequately prepared for defense"—the word defense simplifying danger of attack. Yet in the message delivered to congress, delivered Dec. 7 the country was again assured that we have nothing to fear. We are still at peace with all the world. Our independence and the integrity of our territory are still unmenaced. Our liberties and our institutions are still unthreatened.

Yet here we are face to face with a program of staggering proportions. It is a program so far-reaching in its possibilities that it should give every thoughtful American most serious pause. "A standing military force," said James Madison, "with an overgrown executive, will not long be safe companions to liberty. The means of defense against foreign danger have been always the instrument of tyranny at home. Among the Romans it was a standing maxim to excite war whenever a revolt was apprehended. Throughout all Europe the armies kept up under the pretext of defending, have enslaved the people. It is perhaps questionable whether the best concerted system of absolute power in Europe could maintain itself in a situation where no alarms of external danger could tame the people to the domestic yoke."

Has a revolt been apprehended in this country and are we hearing much about defense against foreign danger because a fear has possessed the kings and potentates of our day of what the people may do if not diverted from the study of the conditions which privilege and monopoly have brought about in this free republic? Madison was no alarmist himself. He was not among the unrestful. He wrote in the

serenity of age and out of the wisdom gained through long experience. He understood that a standing military force is not a fit companion to liberty. He knew the two to be mutually antagonistic. He knew that all the republics which had risen before our own had gone down at last under the iron heel of militarism. And so he warned his countrymen against what is now being so vehemently and so persistently urged by those who would fill us with fear of some unidentified foreign aggressor.

#### Who Menaces Us?

Ought we not to ask the alarmists to tell us whence and from whom they expect the danger which they say lies close at hand? Is it asking too much of them that they should be specific in pointing out the foe against whom we are proposing to arm? Thus far they have been tantalizingly vague. Of course we have had hints and implications and titillating suggestions. The Yellow Peril was the ready resource of Mr. Robson for several lurid years. The German ghost has haunted the visions of the New York editorial fraternity for months. But when the cold fact that Japan is outclassed by us on the sea and infinitely outclassed by us in resources and in men, the Yellow Peril shrinks into significance. And when it is remembered that naval experts rank our navy as superior to that of Germany, it becomes difficult for men of sober mind to become excited over this thought that the kaiser may have designs upon us following the small diversion in which he is now more or less engaged.

But the thing that alarms me is the spirit which runs through this inflammatory propaganda. It is not the spirit of our free institutions. It is not the spirit of the great declaration. It is not the spirit upon which we have relied during all our previous history. No. It is the spirit rather which has culminated in the fearful tragedy now enacting in Europe, the spirit of force, the spirit of empire, the spirit of aggression and conquest. For let no one believe that the program which has been outlined is the end. It is merely the beginning. It is perhaps a trifle bolder than any previous program with which the country has been confronted, but it is in line with militaristic purposes as they have found expression from year to year since Whitney began the rehabilitation of the navy back in the days of Grover Cleveland. That the end of the journey has now been reached, who is so simple as to believe? All history tells the story of similar beginnings and of how the course has run from the little to the great, from the negligible to the dominant, from the army that no one paused to consider to the army which seized the reins of power and with the bayonet pinioned liberty to the earth.

If it were only a matter of money I should feel it scarcely worth while to protest against proposals which go no further than that of placing a per capita burden of \$10 on the people of the United States. But something immeasurably more important than any question of money and taxes and debts lies back of all this clamor for a great armament. What I see before us is a military system, a military caste, a military autocracy. The poison of preparedness is spreading throughout the fabric of our institutions. It is permeating the seats of learning; it is corroding the sanctuary itself; it is coloring the language and the thought of our daily lives; it is stirring dreams in the minds of men which takes shape so menacing that we may well recoil when they project themselves upon the screen that hides the future. Conquest of markets. Domination of weaker peoples. Empire beyond the seas. Entangling alliances with kingdoms and concerts upheld by the sword. An American no longer resting on the secure base of reason and justice, but supported by the bayonet and buttressed round about by forces that will grow and grow until within their grasp all powers will be held and all authority centered. Is this vision a welcome one? Is it one we would have reduced to reality? Can Americans look upon it with complacency or refrain from offering it a fervent and determined challenge?

#### Error Is Reason.

Some of us in this crisis of the republic find ourselves most unhappily out of touch with leaders we had hitherto followed unflinchingly and with glad steps. It is a grief to us that a difference of opinion has resulted in a divergence of our paths. But here I am reminded of something written by Thomas Jefferson a long time ago. It seems to fit a situation which faces us today as it fitted the situation which he had in mind. "During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world," he wrote, "during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant shore; that this should be fore felt and feared by some and less by others; and should divide opinion as to the measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same

principle. Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left to combat it."

And it is to reason that we who stand for peace are appealing today. We are not questioning the patriotism of most of those who differ with us in this hour of stress. We believe them or most of them actuated by motives as high and as unselfish as our own. But we honestly and most sincerely question the wisdom of the method they have chosen in dealing with a great and momentous occasion. The United States has been mightily stirred by the awful conflict raging across the Atlantic. Nearly all of us have kin over there. No home is bereft there without a shadow falling across the threshold of a home in this haven of the oppressed. The agitation of the billows of the Baltic and the North Sea has reached even this distant and peaceful shore and many emotions in American breasts have been the response—emotions of fear, emotions of sympathy, emotions of hatred, emotions of suspicion, emotions of sheer selfishness and greed. And out of these emotions have come many and varied differences of opinion. Some of us have been concerned with respect to our safety. These have feared that out of the blood and fury of the mighty conflict in which Europe is weltering may come a fearful danger to our own land and our own institutions. And this fear has been played upon magically by some who nurse ambitions and others who cherish race prejudice or national bigotries—all together conspiring, perhaps unconsciously to bring about a state of the public mind which tends to find expression in terms of force, in battleships and air craft, in submarines and long-range guns, in shrapnel and men in khaki.

But happily reason is left to combat errors of opinion which may have obtained in connection with the great conflagration which has touched us with its searching tongues. We are not bound to accept the word of authority. Each of us is free to exercise his own judgment, to follow his own conscience, to consult his own convictions. Are we in danger? If so, there is no American unready to meet it, none who told and repeatedly told that we are not threatened from without. But are we threatened from within? If so, will continentals and war ships avert the danger? May they not indeed enhance it? Revolutions are not stopped by armed men. But a thousand revolutions might have been averted by turning soldiers into husbandmen and artisans. If we are endangered from within, the situation is to be met, not by building battle fleets and planting our harbors with mines; it is not to be averted by turning the republic into a military camp; it is not to be disposed of by levying fresh taxes on the toilers of the land; it is to be dealt with successfully only by removing the causes which produce unrest and uprooting the injustices which provoke resentment and incite bitterness of class feeling.

#### Military Madness.

May I not in conclusion appeal to reason and to common sense in the consideration of this vital issue? The poison of preparedness has undeniably crept subtly through our whole system of thought and national effort. It has brought a sort of madness upon many minds. It has obsessed thousands with the dread of some awful consequence to ourselves of the European struggle. Yet what I contend, to paraphrase the language of the great Richard Cobden, is that America is today so situated in every particular of her domestic and foreign circumstances that, by leaving other governments to settle their own business and fight out their own quarrels, and by attending to the vast and difficult affairs of her own enormous realm and the condition of her own people, she will not only be setting the world an example of noble morality—which no other nation is so happily free to set—but she will be following the very course which the maintenance of her own greatness most imperatively demands. It is precisely because America is so strong in resources, in courage, in institutions, in geographical position, that she can, before all other powers, afford to be moral and to set the example of a mighty nation walking the paths of justice and of peace.

"All of the talk about starving out the Germans and all of the talk about cutting off their supplies of any sort is empty vamping. The Germans cannot be starved out. The Germans are the most economic, the most efficient, the most self-sustaining people in the world. Even today, after the war has lasted more than a year and a half, the Germans are able to produce more munitions of war and get their nitro-compounds from the air to make their explosives, than the Entente Powers are able to make, even with the assistance of the United States and with the help of all the markets of the world."—Hudson Maxim.



# The Future of Germany

By PROF. DR. EDUARD MEYER

The following extracts from a lecture recently delivered by the well-known historian of the University of Berlin before the Society of Arts in Hamburg were translated for Issues and Events by his brother, Dr. Kuno Meyer.

**E**VERYBODY KNOWS what struggles were required to unite at least the main portion of the German nation into a state that would to some extent realize their aspirations and needs. While on the one hand geographical and historical conditions compelled us to encroach upon foreign nationalities—in Poland, and to a less extent in Alsace-Lorraine and Northern Sleswick, where safe frontiers had to be secured—the creation of the new Empire did not include all the various elements of German nationality. Apart from the German cantons of Switzerland and the German districts of Austria, there exist large masses of unreclaimed Germans in Hungary and Transylvania, in the Baltic provinces and in Russia as far as the great compact colonies on the Wolga. All these losses to our nation we bore with equanimity. While the French, Danes, Italians and Slavs filled the world with lamentations, both just and unjustified, over the fate of their unredeemed brethren, and seized every opportunity for agitating in their favor, the Germans accepted the fate of their similarly placed fellow-countrymen as an inevitable necessity resulting from historical conditions. We looked on in silence while Germans were systematically oppressed in Russia, where well-established and solemnly guaranteed rights were violated again and again, and never moved a muscle when our brethren were magyarized in Hungary, oppressed in Bohemia, and the German element in Cisleithania constantly driven back before the favored Slav. For we were content with having united at least the great majority of the German people in a strong unity, and with having won an assured position in the world by our alliance with the Hapsburg monarchy.

This was our position and attitude up to August, 1914, with regard both to foreign nations and European civilization generally. We imagined that it was possible to satisfy the growing needs of our nation, and to maintain its position in the world, without entering upon a bloody conflict with other peoples.\* At the same time we did not choose to give up the belief that if we respected the rights and just interests of others they would do the same by us and would not grudge us that place in the sun which belongs to us as much as to them. We saw in this very rivalry of nations, in the circumstance that each of them was forced to exert itself to the utmost the best means for the maintenance and growth of a common civilization, which would thus be secured from that stagnation and inner decay which had sapped the civilization of the ancient world. This constant growth of international culture, this accumulation of material and intellectual possessions seemed also to form a counterpoise against the ever-threatening danger of war. The immense loss which a war must entail heightened responsibility to such a degree as to make every statesman and every people shrink from it. Private life teaches us every day that an energetic but honest competition, a race for the prize of victory, need not produce enmity but may, on the contrary, bring about a peaceful rivalry for common aims, rendering even intimate friendship possible; and this, we hoped, might also be so in international life, all the more as these common aims are so great and vital that they will justify a close harmony between the nations of Europe as well as America and Australia, and the occasional sacrifice of selfish interests for the benefit of the whole. For the goal is not only to conquer the universe for our common civilization, but, what is more difficult, to maintain this civilization in perpetuity, and to secure the superiority of European culture against all outside attacks. There was no lack of warning signals: the rise of Japan in Eastern Asia, the problems which China and India offer, the immense danger threatening Europeans in Africa if the negroes collect their forces and equip themselves with European means of war, the agitation in the world of Islam, and the ominous expansion and the inexhaustible human material of Russia.

But the faith which inspired and determined our action, both in politics and in the conduct of each individual, has proved illusory. The world in which we believed we were living existed only in our imagination. Reality was guided by very different tendencies. The other nations saw in us not honest competitors but aggressive upstarts who had no right to raise their voice on earth. The very moderation and forbearance which we exerted, the eagerness with which

we again and again courted foreign nations and individuals, often setting aside our own dignity, have merely done us harm. But few believed in our sincerity; our attitude was interpreted as a sign of weakness and fear, or of some devilish hidden plot to inveigle the rest of the world into security and then to fall upon them like assassins. It is true, for our own people our conduct has been of incalculable gain. It has brought us the repose of a good conscience, and with it that complete inner unity which was our chief asset when, in spite of all our efforts, war became unavoidable.

The first days of August, 1914, opened our eyes and destroyed all our illusions by one tremendous blow, showing us the world as it really was. England, having fomented this war against us, endeavored to draw the population of the whole earth into it, and, in spite of the rebuff which she has met with in Scandinavia, Holland, Portugal and the Balkans, she has succeeded to a very large extent. She has trampled under foot the principle so often and so hypocritically enunciated that colored races should not be drawn into a European war; she has destroyed international law and outraged the rights of neutral states, and her allies have followed these examples. More than half mankind has been enlisted in the war; 750 millions stand against 150, not counting the United States, with their dependencies, who with their pseudo-neutrality are virtually on the side of our enemies. Only nine European states, with about 57 millions, are still neutral.

By these figures the situation in which we find ourselves is shown so clearly that no further comment is necessary. The economic measures carried out against us with ruthless energy complete the picture: the violation of neutral rights, the attempt to smother completely our whole foreign intercourse, to annihilate our industries and commerce, to force us on our knees by starvation, and to deprive us of every chance of rising again after the war. Back of this are the plans for the future configuration of Europe and the division of Germany among the Allies, which all agree in this: that Germany, the German Empire and the state of Prussia must disappear from the map, while at most a few smaller states may be allowed to continue a precarious existence. That the same fate is to be that of our allies—the Hapsburg monarchy, Turkey and Bulgaria—is a matter of course. This is a very different thing from the struggle for existence which Prussia had to undergo a century and a half ago. Then, in the Seven Years' War, the object was to demolish a state whose sudden and powerful rise had become inconvenient to others, and the conduct of the war kept within the bounds of civilized warfare. Now, however, the existence of a whole nation is at stake; its very soul is to be crushed out of her. It is a war of annihilation against the people of Germany, for which England, in league with Russia and her vassal-states—France, Belgium and Italy—has summoned all mankind. And to carry it out she shrinks back from no brutality and no crime.

Thanks to the splendid organization of our military and economic resources, to the superior never-failing generalship of our supreme commanders and of the Emperor, and to the successes of our diplomacy in the East, the realization of these plans has been rendered impossible. While we are victoriously advancing and everywhere maintaining the positions which we have won, our enemies begin to realize more and more that the war which they have criminally started is turning against them, that it is not Germany, but they themselves who have to fight for their position in the world, and that if not actual annihilation, yet the direst subversal of their power and national existence threatens them.

The world in which we lived or believed we were living has tumbled down and will never be the same. International enmity has been increased to such a degree that it threatens to devour civilization. From the outset, the war has been carried on with a savagery that has no equal in the last centuries and that is still further heightened by the ruthless employment of every known means of fighting. Here again the whole blame attaches to our adversaries; it is they who by gruesome fairy-tales about our manner of conducting war, which for a decade and a half were systematically instilled into children in school, into grown-up people in novels, on the stage and in moving pictures, drove the Belgian, French, English and Russian soldiers, in obedience to the instructions of their leaders, to wage a cruel and barbarous warfare against us. It was thus they unfettered in Belgium and in Eastern France a fierce war of the civilian

\*Note of the translator: In this connection I recall the utterance of a well-known Dutch historian in a letter to my brother at the outbreak of the war. He said that he remembered no instance in history of a victorious and mighty empire having used its power with such moderation as Germany had done for forty years.—K. M.

population, against which we had to defend ourselves as best we could; while the Russians in East Prussia and Galicia proved themselves worthy successors of the Mongols. By the example of England and France we were reluctantly compelled to incarcerate foreigners in concentration camps and to use retributory measures against prisoners. When England proclaimed a war of starvation against us and endeavored to carry it out with all means at her disposal, we, after a long delay, had to proceed to a relentless submarine warfare against foreign trading vessels and to airship attacks on hostile cities. It is known to all the world with what shameless brutality German civilians and their women were treated by the English in Africa, where they were handed over to the escort and surveillance of negroes. The unanimous testimony of American witnesses has established the butchery of defenseless prisoners of a German submarine by the captain and crew of the "Baralong." If we realize that the next war will begin in the manner in which the present one ends we cannot but despair of the future of civilization.

And where is there a means of redress? To speak of the Utopian facies in which dreamers of universal peace please themselves would be a senseless waste of time. Has not the whole fabric of international law come tumbling down about our ears? All the agreements on the conduct of war, on the rights of peaceful inhabitants and of neutrals are not worth the paper on which they are printed, and the palace of peace in The Hague exists merely as the bloodiest satire on our age that can be imagined.

The more boldly and coolly we face the situation, the more resolutely we cast all mere phrases to the winds, never again to be fooled by them, the more confidently may we expect to discover the right road, and to maintain our position as we have done now, so also in the future.

One thing only can save us: we must make our position so secure and so shape the readjustment of world forces that a combination against us like the present one can never recur, and that our enemies shall lose the courage to attack us again. We did not choose the path on which we must now enter; we wanted to keep peace; nothing was further from our mind than the conquest or oppression of foreign nations, or an attempt at world hegemony. But now our

\*See on this Theodor Schiemann's "Russia's Hour of Destiny," translated by Kuno Meyer and obtainable at "ISSUES AND EVENTS." Price 15 cents.

enemies have compelled us to make that true which they feared and which we did not desire. Henceforth all considerations must vanish. We must now safeguard and establish our interests in a very different manner and dare not allow another conspiracy like that plotted by England to threaten us again. And if it were to happen again, we must strike at the right moment and confound their plans at the outset.

It is equally unavoidable that in the new configuration and adjustment which peace will bring for us we should pass beyond our present boundaries, not only of our state, but of our nationality. We dare not once more hand over our liberated brethren in the East to a barbarous alien tyranny. We must obtain land not only for our own population but for the countless Germans in Central Russia who, unless we can settle them on the newly conquered territory, will be handed over to annihilation.\* We must so secure and fortify our frontiers, both east and west, that they cannot again be so easily overrun. These demands are dictated by an iron necessity, and the recognition that that is so is spreading among all classes of our nation and of our army. But we will remain a state resting on the foundation of a living undivided nationality. The great modern nations cannot be absorbed, and great foreign nationalities can be politically annihilated as little as the German Empire. There is no danger that we shall imitate Rome, and just as little danger that modern civilization will end in the uniformity of a denationalized world empire, in which independent life and free movement and all further progress are rendered impossible. On the other hand, a very real danger threatens European civilization by the action of our enemies, who under the leadership of England have drawn the foreign races from all quarters of the world into their fight against the German people.

The demands made upon the German people and the tasks before them are such as no other people in the whole course of the history of the world has had to confront. Let us confide in the clear and unequivocal declarations which the Imperial Chancellor, the King of Bavaria and the German Emperor himself have given with such emphasis. We shall only conclude a peace that will secure us for all times against the recurrence of our present situation, and that will correspond to the enormous and irreparable sacrifices which we are called upon to make.

## THE BILLIONAIRE POWER.

For many years Charles M. Howell, author of "The Billionaire Power," just off the press, and of "The Howell System," previously published, has been conducting a most remarkable propaganda. He claims that it is in the interest of ninety-nine per cent. of the inhabitants of the United States, since their average income, per family, he asserts, is less than one thousand dollars a year, whether received in the form of wages, salaries or otherwise, and with millions of these families the average does not exceed five hundred dollars.

By way of contrast, the author directs attention to the statement, published by a responsible New York daily paper and never disputed, that the annual income of one American citizen, who began his financial career on borrowed money for which he could give no security, is over one hundred million dollars. If so, he is more than twice a billionaire. This man and a few other overrich individuals, therefore, constitute that the author terms a multi-billionaire group. He maintains that they are now in control of all the financial, industrial and other economic interests and forces of the Republic, and that as a people politically free they have us reduced to a state of national economic serfdom.

For the purpose of reducing this billionaire or excessive wealth power to normal proportions and to keep it permanently within the limits of personal sanity and public safety, and for the further purpose of bringing about a just distribution of the products of human labor and intelligence called wealth, and with it the

abolition of ninety, if not ninety-nine, per cent. of all preventable poverty, Mr. Howell has prepared and proposes a simple, constitutional, specific system of national laws, which he sets forth in each of these books.

As an exceedingly important but secondary benefit to the public, the proposed system of laws would provide the national Government with revenues amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars a year, and they would be derived wholly from individual fortunes of one hundred thousand dollars and upwards in value.

Mr. Howell's proposals constitute practically a new school of economics. By means of books, pamphlets, innumerable newspaper and magazine articles and public addresses, the author has developed the movement until today, with headquarters in New York, he has hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of followers scattered throughout the country. For short, and in order to distinguish it from Socialism and all other social and economic reforms, the proposed system of national laws has come to be known as The Howell System.

Each one of these books contains current material and live subjects, treated from new points of view, relating to the most vital human and social problems of the times, and there is not a person in the United States whose income is inadequate for comfortable living who should not be both selfishly and humanely interested in their contents. They also suggest subjects for discussion, not only by civic organizations, but by college and local clubs and literary and debating societies.

Price of each book is 25 cents, postpaid. Special rates in quantity. Order through and remit to Issues and Events, 21 Park Row, New York City.

# On the Psychology of a Coward—Bully

## Senator Chamberlain Draws a Cruelly True Sketch of Our Foreign Policy

(Part of an address delivered by Senator GEORGE EARLE CHAMBERLAIN of Oregon before the Republican Club.)

There are in this country three classes of people. First there are the pacifists, who speak for peace at any price—peace without honor, if need be. There is one great people at peace—China—and the only others that I know of who are at perpetual peace are the dead. Which do we want—the peace of China or the peace of the dead? I believe in peace with honor.

In the second class are those who believe in preparedness. An emergency exists to-day such as never existed before. The condition is a critical one, and I believe that we should be ready for it.

The third great class, and it holds the balance of power, is composed of those who have not given the subject of preparedness very much, if any, attention. These are the people who should be reached. In the final analysis they will have the decision. Every man here should see to it that this class is brought to a realization of the necessities of the hour.

We ought not to forget in this discussion that America does not occupy the place of isolation she once did. We became a world power when the fleet of Dewey sailed into Manila Bay. We are a great factor in the world's affairs.

The possessions of the United States in the Orient are within thirty days of New York. Our territory extends to the West Indies, to the Panama Canal, to the Sandwich Islands. If we intend to protect these holdings we must have an army and a navy sufficient to guard these outposts and sustain the Monroe Doctrine, which for so long we have maintained—on paper—since 1823.

How have we maintained it? In dealing with the smaller nations we have acted like a bully. When Hayti has a revolution and refuses to pay her debts we send warships and a few marines to take charge of her. When any other of these republics to the south fail to do their duty as we see it, we do not hesitate to dispatch warships and take charge of their finances. When it comes, however, to that time when we have to deal with the greater powers of the world, instead of acting like a brave, courageous and a noble nation, I am ashamed and sorry to say we behave like cowards.

Notwithstanding the fact that we have had the Monroe Doctrine since 1823, we have permitted the more powerful nations, and especially Great Britain, to violate it in more instances than one, and the United States has never done more than to make a silent protest.

For instance, Great Britain violated it in taking possession of British Honduras and islands in the West Indies. We ourselves insisted to and permitted a greater violation in executing the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in 1853, and again when we had the opportunity to correct that violation we reassented to it in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. We permitted the construction of fortifications in the West Indies despite the Monroe Doctrine.

Not only that, but when the United States saw fit to expend brain and brawn in the digging of the Panama Canal we again submitted to a violation of the Monroe Doctrine and gave to Great Britain the same voice in the control of that waterway that we ourselves exercise.

When we came to make a treaty with poor effete China, her laboring classes were not permitted to land upon our shores. We said that we were to be judges as to what classes might land. When it came, though, to dealing with a warlike nation like Japan, which has

peoples just as objectionable as the laboring classes of China, Japan is herself the judge. True, there is no treaty, but a gentleman's agreement under which she has the power to say which of her citizens shall come to this country.

When we deal with a first-class power we permit it to dictate to the United States what we shall do.

We have had the humiliating spectacle of a Secretary of State traveling across the continent and begging the California Legislature on his knees not to enact laws which might ruffle the feelings of a great military power to the west.

There is not in the diplomatic history of the United States a single instance in which we did not get the worst of it. We have yielded in every arbitration, and always at the dictation of some first-class power, rather than fight as the American people feel disposed to do, and as they will do when they get the opportunity.

If this policy is to be continued, we need no army, no preparedness. All we need is to let the powers parcel out our country, as is being done in China, because we are afraid to fight.

We have had trouble with Germany. Thank God it has been adjusted. She has been brought to book. We have had our troubles with Austria, and she, too, has been brought to book. Concerning these powers themselves, I have nothing to say. It is our duty to see that we are kept absolutely neutral.

Now let us bring Great Britain to book, just as we have Germany and Austria. She has destroyed the commerce of the United States so far as neutral trading is concerned. Not only that—she has seen fit to do what no other nation ever dared to do; she has seized the mails going to and from this and other neutral countries in violation of all treaties.

If we don't care, we don't need any preparedness. But I say that not only ought we to see that a protest is lodged, but to see that it is regarded. Having swept our commerce from the seas, Great Britain now proposes to commandeer our vessels plying between the United States and South America.

I do not believe that we shall have war. I don't want war. But I would rather see the nation plunged in it than have any right violated. After this war is over we shall not have a friend on the face of the earth. We have offended Germany and Austria, and if we do our duty we will offend Great Britain. The only friends that America has today or is likely to have in days to come are the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

Treaties are not made because of love. Look at Belgium! Her neutrality was guaranteed by all the European nations, but it was treated as a worthless scrap of paper. England has made treaties with her hereditary enemies—France, Russia, and even Japan. She has treaties with Japan despite the fact that the Japanese are not permitted to land in her colonial possessions.

These are treaties of commercial aggression, not of love. What is the purpose of the British alliance with Japan if not to intimidate the people of the United States? We ought to be prepared to meet every contingency. Do you know that there are more Japanese veterans of the Russo-Japanese War on the west coast than there are soldiers in the army of the United States on this continent? They are the dynamite and powder carriers of the railroads. In the event of trouble with Great Britain or Japan every line of communication

between the Golden Gate and the East could be destroyed.

For what purpose was the Canadian Pacific built if not for a military one? Every foot of it, every bridge of it is guarded by British soldiers in uniform.

They say that I am a jingoist and an alarmist. Let me say to you that if I can arouse the American people to a knowledge of the facts I do not care a whoop what they call me.

## WHY GERMANY IS UNSTARVABLE\*

By CHARLES FERGUSON.

Author of "The Religion of Democracy," etc.

The reason why it is difficult to the point of impossibility to enlist the forces of famine against the Teutons is the existence of the invincible hunger conquering and national life-saving army of German farmers organized under the democratic standard of the *Landwirtschaftsrat*. It's a tough word for a tough thing. It means in plain English, Council of Agriculture. There is a similar organization in Austria, with the still more terrible title—*Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft*.

Of late the legend has been spread abroad and carefully nurtured by newspapers that the Teutons are formidable because they are not free. It is a curious doctrine, and it reveals much concerning the mentality of those who in simple faith accept it. It is pretended that Germany is a marvelous mechanism worked by strings. And that the strings are in the hands of irresponsible and vainglorious persons who pull and haul to please their own whims.

Now from the times of Livy and Tacitus the case of the Teuton has in fact been quite otherwise. He has always been a great fellow for councils. He has stickled for it, that every clod-hopper should have his say. And the natural modern outcome of those ancient village communings and witenagemotes is his unstarvable *Landwirtschaftsrat*, or permanent national session of the feeders.

It is not in Germany—rather in England, France and the United States—that farmers are helpless folk whose fortunes are worked by strings. In London or Paris, in Chicago or New York a real farmer is as foreign to the wheat-pit or the produce-exchange as a Yankee at the court of King Arthur. In these great capitals center the delicate and admirable reticulations of finance and commerce which deal with farmers in dispassionate aloofness—as spiders deal with flies.

In Berlin, on the other hand, there is a representation and democratic institution which sees to it that every husbandman shall have political weight in the Empire and financial power at the bank—in proportion to the actual social-use-value of his poultry, gooseberries and sugar beets.

This Berlin institution is the culmination of a pyramidal structure reaching down through the political divisions that correspond with our states and counties to a kind of permanent political primary of agricultural science and commerce that operates without intermission in every country town. The headquarters in Berlin is a big building—say eighty by two hundred feet, and half a dozen stories high. Here are lodged a great variety of agencies that correlate in the idea of a national Market and Clearing-house of agricultural products. If there is an orchardist in Hesse-Darmstadt with more pears or peaches than he can sell around home, he tells his troubles to the Frankfort office; and if the whole Frankfort jurisdiction is overstocked with these goods, the word goes on to Berlin with its all comprehensive market-horizons. Even so if some gar-

dener in Saxony has invented a new and more excellent way of tying asparagus, the whole country is apprised of the fact by the quickest routes.

But the *Landwirtschaftsrat* deals also with the weightiest matters—holding on behalf of the fundamental life-sustaining interests of the country that mental life-sustaining interests of the country that balance of political and social power that the ancient Gracchi strove to hold. The seventy-two councilors who represent the *Landwirtschaftsrat* in Berlin consult with the Reichstag on all matters that concern the agricultural interests; and their advice goes into the Legislature of the Empire with a massed political force that is not easily resisted.

The whole system may be described as semi-official. The law defines the general modes of its organization and action. But the action is free and democratic, by the only test that counts: the rules are not imposed from above downward by an arbitrary authority, but spring upward out of experience to meet conditions.

The only reason why it will be difficult for us to create here in the United States a thing of this kind (and we are certainly bound to do it on peril of our national life) is that Americans are soft on democracy—lack hardening exercise in it. Our democracy hitherto has been too purely spiritual.

But on the tenth of last September Mr. Goodwin of Arkansas introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution that offers an entirely practicable means for the precipitation of our creditable democratic sentiments in concrete agricultural terms. This resolution (called House Joint-Resolution No. 344) was referred to the House Committee on Agriculture and ordered to be printed. It calls for very affirmative and important action by the President in the direction of a completely new deal for "the producers and consumers of agricultural products"—a phrase which seems to include all who are addicted to the use of food and other things that grow.

\* \* \*

The supporters of the resolution have in mind a correlation of American agricultural interests in some manner that shall be as comprehensive and substantial as the structure of the German *Landwirtschaftsrat*. They lay emphasis upon the democratic character of that system—its self-government and freedom from arbitrary control. They have therefore provided in the resolution that the Commission shall have "power to act only as affecting individuals and organizations that shall elect to become" a part of the national system.

The point should be insisted upon that agriculture is not a mere heathen, pagan or villainous matter—is the primary and etymological sense of those words. It is because of the social stupidity and political incompetence of decadent peoples that words descriptive of rural occupations have taken on a color of supercilious scorn. Growing and mounting nations take their farming artistically, even romantically—and with such science as they are able to command.

It is a plain dictum of political philosophy that when the legal control of primary life-sustaining processes passes definitely into the hands of people who neither sow nor reap, and who "don't know a harvester from a hay-tedder," then the whole fabric of legality becomes discredited. And the state turns turtle.

We talk here in America of preparedness for war. But we may learn from Germany that military power is merely a special phase or function of industrial power. It should be plain from the experience of England that as matters stand in the modern world, there is not much power in armies that are superposed upon a plutocratic industrial order. Thus it is idle to suppose that the United States can develop an effec-

\*From "The Great News" by Charles Ferguson. "Issues and Events" Book Department. \$1.25.

**ZEPPELINS, TH. R. MACMECHEN AND A  
"CHEERFUL BRITON."**

"London was darkened because of the Zeppelin menace. The best information I have been able to obtain from sources of authority is that between 1,800 and 2,000 persons have been killed or hurt in the London district in street accidents due to lack of lights. In the House of Commons I heard an acrimonious debate in which certain members accused others of having been stampeded in a Zeppelin scare. Accused members re-

**THE PRESENT SITUATION**

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**WHY SHOULD IRELAND STARVE ?**

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**MANIFESTO**

**TO WORKERS OF IRELAND.**

# GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE!

M. J. EGAN, T.C., J.P., Cork.  
WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Dublin.  
JAMES CONNOLLY, Belfast.  
THOMAS MacPARTLIN, Dublin.  
P. T. DALY, Secretary.

"The question of the 'little allies' had come up while I was in Budapest in open letters exchanged between the editors of the London 'Morning Post' and the Budapest 'Pester Lloyd.' The former, who knew Hungary well and liked Hungarians, had expressed his sympathy for them, the one nation, as he expressed it, that would be worse off if she won than if she lost, because if the Central Powers won Hungary would become merely 'the dog trotting after the German butcher wagon.' The editor of the 'Pester Lloyd' answered that while he did not think the figure altogether happy, yet, accepting it in the spirit it was offered, he would say Hungarians prefer to be a live dog running after German butcher wagons to being dead and dismembered deer lying in Russian butcher carts."—Arthur Ruhl.



# Issues & Events

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## LET US HAVE THE TRUTH—NOW!

Congressional demands that the whole truth concerning Mexican outrages and conditions be forthcoming from the state department has found unanimous support throughout the nation. The people want "Pitiless Publicity" in fact, and will no longer tolerate the Russianized secrecy marking administration policy.

Patience and forbearance are gone—"Watchful. Waiting" worn threadbare—theories, and retention of facts concerning the country's business from the people, have become obnoxious, and signs are unmistakable that **the people must have, and will have, the truth.**

Excuses for this intolerable policy of secretiveness can no longer be accepted, nor will executive promises of future information suffice. The United States is a government of, for, and by the people—government business is the people's business, and the business of Congress, and the time has come for full information regarding it.

There is no justification for continuance of suppression of the truth—let the searchlight of "Pitiless Publicity" be turned toward Mexico—Now!

## ANOTHER WARNING NEEDED.

Secretary of State Lansing's repetition of the numerous warnings already issued to Americans to come out and stay out of Mexico, only emphasizes correctness in a course to keep the people from danger—and the right of the Nation to do so.

This principle has been advocated persistently by ISSUES AND EVENTS and why it is not applied to travel on belligerent vessels is one of the unfathomable practices of the administration.

Neglect to exercise ordinary control over the movements of individuals who insist on not only endangering their lives, but the peace of the nation, has become almost criminal, and is responsible for the death of many Americans.

## EXECUTION VS. SLOW AND CRUEL MURDER.

Execution of Miss Caville, English Red Cross nurse, was a regrettable, imperative, war act—notwithstanding contrary hysterical cries. Death of Miss Duensing, American Red Cross nurse, was unmitigated murder by England, due to embargo on specific Red Cross supplies.

America's pro-English press used the Caville execution to play upon public sympathy, and that they are

traitors to an "honest press" is shown in their abstention from the same vigorous condemnation of England, the murderer.

The decay of journalistic mind is only emphasized by the ignorance of this deadly comparison. Aside from justifiable execution versus murder and torturing the dying, the greatest condemnation lies in betrayal of trust in the only unbroken bond of brotherhood of man in the world—that of the Red Cross. No one in the world questions its acts or purity of purpose—but England, through her embargo on food and medical supplies, which is the worst exhibition of uncivilized viciousness the world has ever seen.

## CONGRESSIONAL IDIOCY.

Because an individual receives political preferment it in no wise establishes strength of mentality. Office-holders are as liable to **feebleness of mind, deficiency of understanding, or moral decrepitude** as anybody, and it's the duty of citizens to watch for these signs of decay which threaten national life, and of honest publications to show these dangers and issue warnings. So, it is with this thought in mind that **emaciation of Congressional brains compels exposure of legislative imbecility threatening the nation.**

That this condition could be prevalent among Congressmen is evident, and to designate **Congressional Idiots** we have only to parallel their acts with known information they possess. For example, some senators believe an embargo on arms would be unneutral, but admit had the United States embargoed at the war's beginning it would have been neutral. We have erred in our neutrality interpretations—we are participants under all conditions, in direct defiance of the "Declaration of Paris," which defines neutrality not merely as impartiality—but as **abstention.**

## THE "FREE SEA" BLESSINGS.

Not content with regulating and limiting American commerce, John Bull, through the agency of Furness, Withy & Co., Ltd., of London, England, has practically put out of business Chas. N. Taylor's Sons, steamship agents and brokers, one of the largest and oldest firms in Philadelphia, through the purchase of the lines they represented.

So, it is developing, the United States is not going to be permitted to even have charge of local agencies. We must be appeased with the announcement, however, that there is not likely to be any material changes in the office force except the introduction of several Englishmen as managers, etc.

John Bull will give us some bread and butter provided we are willing to work for him under English masters and meekly submit to their bull-headed overbearishness. This, almost in the shadow of the Liberty Bell and the much-famed Independence Square. There may be occasion to ring the sacred bell again!

## AMERICAN NEUTRALITY'S BLOOD-MONEY.

Developing from a family quarrel into a business fight, the Duponts of powder-making fame are revealing amazing information in their wrangling in the Federal court. Enormous increase in stock value, from fourteen to sixty million dollars, relating to a block of stock transferred, seems to be the primary occasion for discord. The astounding feature, however, is the revelation that there was a marked difference of opinion as to whether a quarterly dividend of thirty per cent. should be declared or not. With stock value increased over five hundred per cent., and thirty per cent. quarterly dividends in sight, there is good reason for believing that some of the Powder Kings were actually ashamed of their profit and were reluctant to face the result of publicity.

### WHOM THE GODS WISH TO DESTROY.

Paul Fuller of Coudert Bros., the legal representatives of the French Government in the United States, died November 29, 1915.

A circular before us issued by the American Rights Committee, G. H. Putnam, president, asking for signatures, states that almost the last act of Mr. Fuller's life was the preparation of an enclosed memorial. This document was a petition to the President, begging him to break off diplomatic relations with Germany.

"There is a certain dramatic element," says the Putnam circular, "in the circumstances surrounding the organization of our committee. The framer of the Memorial had prepared it for a preliminary meeting of our group and intended to meet with us on Tuesday, November 30th. He died suddenly and wholly unexpectedly on Monday, November 29th."

Was it coincidence or Nemesis? Certainly, here is a tragic episode, worthy of the art of a Poe or a Maupassant. A brilliant fanatic mind impregnated with Gallic culture, conceives an iniquitous thing. It intends a crime. It seeks accomplices. The man himself, about to die, though he knows it not, wishes to involve two hundred million more human beings in a fate worse than death—in a bloody and causeless war. What legacy of hatred is here entailed.

Mr. Fuller, so we learn from the circular, was a valued personal friend of the President who attached the greatest weight to his views. Well may the President pray to be delivered from his friends.

The framer of the Memorial, approaches his work in the spirit of a Caesar Borgia. He first covers his lofty friend with unctuous anointing. He smothers his poison in sweets. He praises the President's self-control, the cogency of his argument, its unrelenting pressure. From benediction he passes into threatening and slaughter. "There is a growing and grim displeasure among the people"—meaning the Anglo-Gallic group sired by Putnam and dammed by Godkin—"whose proverbial patience is being severely tried; their confidence is abating. All this portends civil commotion and a dangerous discontent."

What then? Does this *advocatus diaboli* pour water or oil upon this dangerous flame? Listen, "the ill feeling thus engendered is intensified by the abuse of American hospitality in the prostitution of our soil (sic!) by making it the base for hostile activities against countries with which we are on terms of peace."

Out of his own mouth the memorialist stands convicted of the high crimes and misdemeanors of which he falsely accuses his own fellow citizens. It is the common defect of the unilateral Entente mind. What other hyphenated group, except the Anglo-Gallic, has petitioned the President to take an irrevocable step that would plunge our country into war in defense of its fatherlands! Which is worse? To prostitute for ignoble ends the soil of a country or the soul of a friend?

But now observe the Pecksniffian touch without which no Putnam-Godkin document is complete. "In the name of humanity we appeal to you to safeguard American lives and property \* \* \* to redeem the rights of humanity which no government is justified in resigning."

This man, mind you, had been the President's Commissioner and representative in Mexico. He was a witness of the horrors and the atrocities of Villa warfare. Yet neither Mr. Fuller nor any of his Anglo-Gallic friends ever drafted a Memorial, begging the President to avenge martyred nuns and the slaughter of American men and women whose blood has called for vengeance for many years across the Rio Grande.

There are therefore two kinds of humanity for these fanatic—alas not God-kin—souls. The humanity which would, for example, decree without compunction, the death of the architect of the Protestant Dom in Berlin because his country was waging war against the American Rights Committees' Motherland and the humanity which would spare the unspeakable Villa, Mexican bandit and murderer, and Carranza, who has insulted our flag and sovereignty so many times.

But let us draw a veil of magnanimity over the dead. We prefer to think that the spirit of the man, whose last act would have thrust a sword into the hand of his great friend, is marching on into serener circles where it will expiate without too much sorrow, the crime it sought to accomplish on earth.

As for the Fuller Memorial and the Putnam circular, which is being sent broadcast among the youth of the country in universities, in high schools and military training camps, we hazard the guess that in form they are both



"Goodby, John, Allah Bless You!"

Carter. in the Eve. Sun.

written by the same hand. The voice may be the voice of Fuller, but the hand is the hand of Putnam plus Godkin. In a literary sense, the internal evidence seems conclusive. We recommend all students of English to study these documents carefully. They embody the worst faults of the pedant and slovenly writer. In a few years they will be polemical curiosities as rare almost as are the publications of the house of Putnam today in the libraries of the educated and well-read.

We would like to ask Mr. Coudert if he reads the lubrications of his "Rights Committee." Perhaps he is too busy explaining to Washington Allied "Orders in Council." But for the sake of his literary and dialectical reputation, this distinguished advocate should read them. If these exercises in obscurity and latinity must be circulated, at least let them be paraphrased in Coudert inimitable French, and translated into English by some English clerk in Mr. Godkin's office. This will at least save the style of young America from demoralization, even though the heart and mind may be corrupted by the abhorrent sentiment expressed so badly in the American Rights circular and Memorial.

### OH, THEODORE!

"He was President when the Boers appealed to him against the 'Aggression' of Great Britain. Why did he not help them? If he believes in this doctrine, that the United States must rush to the protection of every land that he considers to suffer from aggression, why did he not stop Italy from taking a slice of North Africa? Or France from annexing another part? Or Russia from pushing into Persia and chasing that good American, Shuster, out of the country? A few years ago the papers were full of the accusations brought by the British press against the Belgians for their 'atrocities' on the Congo. That many of these 'atrocities' were true the world became convinced. The British Consul there said so. Mr. Roosevelt's appointee as Consul to the Congo confirmed it. King Leopold became so indignant over the attitude of Mr. Roosevelt and his representatives in this matter that he turned his back on the American Minister at a public function in Brussels. Mr. Roosevelt's cousin, of the same name, was then Consul at Brussels. Mr. Roosevelt backed this 'humanitarian' crusade against Belgium by the British, and his attitude was such that he would not set foot on the Belgian Congo in his African expedition, but confined his itinerary to British territory."

The Panama Star and Herald.

# Facts and News that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

**The Senate's Special Committee on That "Palpable Sophist," Colonel Roosevelt.**

**MAJORITY AND MINORITY** reports by the Senate's special committee which investigated charges that the Administration's support of the Ship Purchase bill came largely from the personal interest of officials in bringing about the purchase of particular ships, agree that the charges were entirely without foundation. The majority report, presented by Senator Walsh, chairman of the committee, is particularly caustic in its remarks regarding Colonel Roosevelt, who wrote, while the bill was under consideration that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan "had endeavored in the interest of certain foreign business firms to secure for the United States the power to purchase the interned ships of one of the belligerents."

Senator Walsh's report on the Roosevelt episode says:

"Even after the author of the resolution had apparently become convinced from the evidence reviewed that he had inconsiderately given substance to baseless tales, a writer, once the presiding officer of this body, in a public magazine informed its readers that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan had 'endeavored, in the interest of certain foreign business firms, to secure for the United States the power to purchase the interned ships of one of the belligerents.' Being asked by the committee to appear before it to testify as to the source of the information upon which the accusation was made, he replied by a lengthy telegram to the effect that he had no information not equally at the command of the reading public, and referred to the testimony before the committee of the House of Representatives and the debates and proceedings in the Senate as affording justification for the charge which he ventured to make. He reasoned that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan contemplated purchasing the ships of the belligerents or Secretary McAdoo would have disavowed before the House committee any such purpose, and that if the acquisition of such ships was not intended they would have counseled amending the bill so as to forbid it. Reaching the conclusion that the President and the Secretary of State intended to buy the ships of nations at war, he felt justified in asserting that his statement was literally true that those officers had 'endeavored in the interest of certain foreign business firms to secure for the United States the power to purchase the interned ships of one of the belligerents.'

"It is not difficult for any fair-minded man to conceive of reasons consistent with the highest patriotism and the most exalted motives that might induce the President of the United States and his official advisers to refrain from making any public declaration that ships of belligerent nations would not be bought, or to withhold support from any amendment prohibiting such purchase, even though there was no intention to buy any such or even a set purpose was entertained not to do so. Such action would be rightly construed into an

abandonment by the President of the right which our nation has always asserted and which everyone of his predecessors who was ever called upon to deal with the question has vigorously maintained, to acquire merchant ships by bona fide purchase, though a state of war prevails involving the nation under whose flag they had theretofore sailed. Had he done so, it is more than probable that the act would have been by the critic denounced as a pusillanimous surrender of an inestimable privilege that fearless statesmen had with signal ability asserted when we were a comparatively puny nation.

"It is a plain evasion of responsibility for the opprobrious language used to say that, as the German ships were to be bought and the purchase price paid to the foreign owners of the same, the President and the Secretary of State were asking legislation 'in the interest of certain foreign business firms.' It is a repetition of the offense to say that the statement quoted was 'literally true,' inasmuch as foreign firms would get the money that was paid. The language used clearly imputed to the officers referred to a desire to see the legislation enacted not because the public good was to be subserved, but because some private interests were to profit by it.

"The writer whose eminence is naturally calculated to give weight to his utterances, finding himself without any basis even of a hearsay character for his slanderous attack upon the highest officer of his government, simply resorted to a palpable sophistry to escape responsibility for the accusation he made."

**"I AM PRO-GREEK JUST AS YOUR PRESIDENT IS PRO-AMERICAN."**

ATHENS.—"I hope you will make the people of the United States understand that I am no more pro-German than your President. I am pro-Greek just as your President tries to be only pro-American.

"It is one of the saddest evidences of the blind hatreds and prejudices evoked by this war that people who should, and in their sober senses do, know better, insist upon imputing to others motives which they never could conceivably have entertained."

"Whether the Balkan question will be satisfactorily solved by this European war I do not know. None dares predict that in this part of the world another bloody war will not begin before the solution of the most complicated question of nationality can be reached.

"No one hopes more than I that such a disaster will be avoided. But, as I have so often said, our taking part in the present conflict is not a Balkan matter. It would merely engulf us in the world struggle. . . . I wish no war from which my country does not obtain a profit. While I remain at peace I shall strengthen my army as much as possible. I hope at the end of the war to have my army strong and absolutely fresh.

"That is of prime importance for my country, for when peace does come Greece will be a factor of considerable importance, whereas, were she to enter

a long-drawn-out European war she would be exhausted; for the first victims of such a war naturally are the smaller States, which have fewer resources within themselves.

"Our neutrality, therefore, is not a sign of weakness, but the proof of a deliberate intention to husband our strength for later difficult times.

"That is why I cling to my policy of conserving the freedom and interests of my people without spilling their blood."

Respecting his attitude toward Germany and his brother-in-law, Emperor William, King Constantine said:

"I am absolutely free. I am bound by no personal interest. Accordingly, I can say with a clear conscience that I have only the interest of my people before my eyes. . . . Sentiment plays very little part in politics. I do not let myself be influenced by any sympathies, or other feelings. I have only the duty of looking after the interests of my people with all my ability."

**COLONEL BILLY SUNDAY.**

The "famous" revivalist, William A. Sunday, has made the following characteristic statement:

"I'm not a Democrat, but I'm for President Wilson in his preparedness policy. We must fight as well as pray. We must be militant as well as persuasive. I believe in arbitration, but sometimes a strike is the only way to settle things.

"War gave us the United States. War freed the slaves. War broke the handcuffs Spain put on Cuba. If it hadn't been for war Mexico might own Texas, New Mexico, Nevada and California.

"If any of the European nations think the American people don't believe in the Monroe Doctrine, let them start something, and if something starts I want to be a colonel."

One cannot possibly be more Anglo-Saxon than dear old Billy Sunday. A servile German or Turk or Frenchman may want to die for his country, to fight for his country, to serve for his country. Billy Sunday, like a true-born Briton, is ready to be a colonel for his country.

**THE MINISTER OF MUNITIONS AND THE GLASGOW "FORWARD."**

Half an hour of a recent session of the House of Commons was devoted to a discussion of the suppression by the Minister of Munitions of the Glasgow newspaper "Forward." Mr. Lloyd George quoted extracts from the paper, beginning in July. Some of them contained offensive references to the King; others charged that the war had been engineered by capitalists merely to increase their profits.

On the day he visited Glasgow the paper contained an attack on the Derby recruiting scheme, which, the Minister said, was "one of the most insidious appeals to the working classes not to enlist which I ever read."

"There is no intention," continued Mr. Lloyd George, "of suppressing free speech, and it is childish to suggest that the paper was suppressed be-

cause a Minister's vanity was offended. This paper for months has been trying to stir up disaffection in a district more important for the equipment of the army and navy than any other in the kingdom. The paper was extraordinarily clever, and therefore the more dangerous. Its account of my meeting was a fabrication from beginning to end."

### 75% OF ALL CARGOES MUST BE OF GRAIN.

That Great Britain is facing a serious shortage of wheat stocks and is resorting to strenuous measures to insure a normal supply is shown by the recent government order that all chartered vessels under British registry leaving the United States for English ports must carry grain amounting to at least 75 per cent. of all cargoes. The same order applies to vessels sailing from the Argentine to the United Kingdom, and the promise has been made that Australian tonnage will be increased.

According to local steamship men, it will be almost impossible for Great Britain to enforce this order without a further and more searching requisition of ships in her merchant marine, and it is assumed that before long vessels under British registry plying between the Americas will be required for the additional service the government has promised.

The scarcity of ocean tonnage has become so acute that brokers here find it impossible to make freight engagements. They simply cannot get the ships. Several big export orders have remained unfilled in this market because of the impossibility of making the necessary tonnage engagements.

Another feature is the delay to which shipments consigned to their destination in government controlled bottoms are subject. One exporter had the experience of loading a vessel two weeks ago believing that his shipment would go through without delay. He has recently learned that the vessel in which his consignment was stowed, instead of sailing direct to the United Kingdom, went first to Halifax and was held up for some time in that port, from which it finally sailed with a detachment of soldiers.

The freight rates on grain remain at their high level from 40 cents to 81 cents to Liverpool. The Argentine rate on grain to Liverpool, at 85 cents, is nearly as high as the price paid for the grain, while the rate on the same wheat to Mediterranean ports is said to equal the price paid for the grain. It has been estimated here that Italy is paying approximately \$2.25 a bushel for wheat.

Grain statisticians say that there is grain enough for all of the countries of the world and place the South American and Australian production at from 160,000,000 to 200,000,000 bushels, while North America has approximately the same amount for export.

### RICHARD LIONHEART DAVIS PATRONIZES GREECE.

Richard Harding Davis is acting again as a higher correspondent for America. His well-known imagination, however, is adequately restrained as he would not hurt the feelings of his Allies. Being a staunch supporter of that "savior of the little nations" he must immensely enjoy the helplessness of Greece. And so he says:

"The Allies are not going to bombard Greek ports or shell the Acropolis. They will not even blockade the ports. But their fleets—French, Italian, English—will stop all ships taking foodstuffs to Greece. They have just released seven grain ships from America that were held up at Malta, and ships carrying food to Greece have been stopped at points as far away as Gibraltar. The steamer on which we came here from Naples was held up at Messina for twenty-four hours until her cargo was overhauled. As we had nothing in the hold more health-sustaining than hides and barbed wire we were allowed to proceed.

"Whatever course Greece follows, her dependence upon others for food explains her act. Today there is not enough wheat in the country to feed the people for, some say three—the most optimistic, ten—days. Should she decide to join Germany she would starve. It would be deliberate suicide. The French and Italian fleets are at Malta, less than a day distant; the English fleet is off the Gallipoli peninsula. Fifteen hours' steaming could bring it to Saloniki. Greece is especially vulnerable from the sea. She is all islands, coast towns, and seaports. The German Navy could not help her. It will not leave the Kiel Canal. The Austrian navy cannot leave Trieste. Should Greece decide against the Allies their combined warships would pick up her islands and blockade her ports. In a week she would be starving. The railroad from Bulgaria to Saloniki, over which in peace times comes much wheat from Rumania, would be closed to her. Even if the Germans and Bulgarians succeeded in winning it to the coast, they could get no food for Greece further than that. They have no warships, and the Gulf of Saloniki is full of those of the Allies."

### GREAT BRITAIN AS THE MISTRESS OF OUR TRADE—AMERICAN METAL CORPORATIONS IN A VISE.

American metal corporations, particularly those whose principal business is the export of copper, have been "requested" by direction of the British Government, through their agents or other representatives in Great Britain, to furnish that Government with information concerning their companies and the business conducted by them of such intimate a character as the Government of the United States itself never has required corporations to give.

In demanding this information the British Government makes no announcement of what its action will be in regard to a corporation refusing to comply. No hint of punitive measures is conveyed, unless the fact that attention is directed to the newly amended Trading With the Enemy Act be so considered.

American concerns are told that Great Britain desires certified lists of their stockholders, the name, nationality and address of each and the number of shares of stock owned by each. The corporations are also informed that the British Government desires a list of their clients and to be kept informed of all changes in this list.

Attention is called to the amended act, which authorizes the King, at his discretion, to prohibit by proclamation any British subject from trading with

any corporation outside the British dominions which does business with or has associated with it an enemy of Great Britain.

The objection to furnishing Great Britain the information lies chiefly in the fact that the knowledge thus gained by a trade competing nation would be used to benefit British corporations to the serious handicap of American. It would in substance be turning over to rivals the business secrets of American firms, they said.

Charges that Great Britain is throttling this country's hundred million dollar a year copper export trade by using contraband regulations as a pretext to practise gross discrimination in favor of the British merchant were laid before the State Department late in 1914, and again in January of the following year.

Officials of American corporations who have received requests for information point to what they consider the great skill with which this act was drawn. Under it, they say, the British Government is free to blacklist any American corporation at its pleasure and without any further explanation than that the corporation had a German, Austrian, Turk or Bulgarian as a stockholder. There are Germans holding stock in practically every important copper or metal corporation of the United States.

In well-informed circles it is asserted that safety is only to be found in concerted action by American corporations. If all American copper corporations would agree to make no reply to the "request for information" Great Britain would be left without a pretext for blacklisting any particular one, and, inasmuch as she must have our copper, the British Government could not prohibit dealing with all.

Despite apparently general recognition of this principle, no firm could be found to express its willingness to lead in a movement to bring about such concerted action. Officials explained that the truth was they did not dare to do anything which might bring down upon them the wrath of the British Government; that Great Britain had them all in a vise at present, and as a matter of fact did about as she pleased in regulating and restricting their export business.

### FROM A HIDDEN CORNER IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

London—Official figures concerning the losses incurred by British shipping during December were made public yesterday. The losses include twenty steamers, aggregating 48,332 tons, sunk by German warships, with a loss of sixty-seven lives, and eight vessels, aggregating 6,974 tons, destroyed by mines, with a loss of thirteen lives.

### "YOUR KING AND COUNTRY BLEED YOU."

St. John, N. B., Jan. 14.—A verdict of guilty on both counts of an indictment charging the use of seditious language, has been found against Wilfred Gribble in the Circuit Court to-day.

One count charged him with speaking of the King as a "puppet" at a recent meeting, and another count alleged that he changed the wording of a recruiting slogan from "your King and country need you" to "your King and country bleed you."

Upon the intimation of counsel for Gribble that he would apply for a reserved case, sentence was deferred.



### THAT NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE MOSLEM LEAGUE.

Following upon the heels of the report that the Indian National Congress adopted very "loyal" addresses comes the announcement that the meeting of the "Moslem League" was broken up. Those who are unacquainted with the situation regarding political activity in India are likely to arrive at wrong conclusions. Already Bishop Warne has rushed into print, and has found out the "one man" in India who represents "over 300,000,000 of India's people." The Bishop must surely have lost his sense of humor, or, as is more likely the case, he has followed the Christian doctrine of the necessity of the submission of the heathen to the Christian races. Anyway, he is only one of the many constitutionally unfitted to take a fair view when dealing with Eastern and Asiatic problems.

Now as to the Congress. For thirty-one years the Congress has been holding its annual sessions; the members have been ridiculed, persecuted, threatened, and subjected to all sorts of indignities by the British authorities. The organizers did not lose faith in themselves, and have been able to achieve some good results in spite of the opposition and the handicaps, the result, however, being in no way commensurate with the efforts. They have all the time passed loyal resolutions, and their very loyalty was mocked at by the British, the implication being

that the Indians have had no choice. When, during recent years, the Congress began to exercise influence, the British Government followed the usual policy of divide et impera; they organized the Moslem League, gave it official support, taught the Mohammedans to believe that their interests could never be identical with those of the Hindus, did everything to prevent the Mohammedans from joining the National Congress, and carefully widened the line of cleavage by heaping favors on the Mohammedans just to keep the two communities at loggerheads.

And now the Congress has become a "loyal" body, and the Moslem League broken up; what an unbelievable transformation!

As a matter of fact, there has been no transformation in the sense that the Congress has become acceptable to the British Government; the latter merely utilize a formal resolution of the Congress to prove to the world what angels the British are, while the Germans are such devils. It is sheer nonsense—and a dishonest act to boot—to send a telegram saying that millions in India are willing to fight when all the time the authorities have discouraged the slightest tendency to give even the strength necessary for the Indians to defend their homes against wild beasts. It is a mean trick to throw dust in the eyes of the world when the British send out the resolutions of "loyalty to the Empire," because the Indian who does not go through that ordeal is marched straight to jail. The Congress is a critic of the Government, it differs fundamentally from the Government in several respects, as, for instance, according to your own telegrams, it asked for self-government and a national Indian army, both of which the British would, on no account, give

India; its members are even more suspected today than in the past, in spite of the fact that it is composed only of moderates who are a very small minority in India. What else could they do except to preface their criticism with "loyalty" in the face of the dire consequences which would follow otherwise? Italy, Hungary and other countries that have been under unscrupulous foreign rule have had similar experiences. I have observed the same in China; only thirty days before the anti-Manchu revolution in 1911 the leaders professed undying loyalty for the ruling house.

The Moslem League in India is broken up because it no longer serves the purposes for which it was created by the British Government. The younger and educated Mohammedans have been waking up and understand how magnificently their co-religionists have been fooled by the British. They got restive and went to the Congress only to find that the Congress moderates were not very much to their taste. The Morley-Minto effort to "rally the moderates" largely succeeded, and the result has been the loss to the Congress of some of the best and most vigorous minds in the country. People, however, are waking up and there is a limit to the amount of fooling that may be carried on.

SRINIVAS R. WAGEL.

\* \* \*

### "AN ARMY OF LIONS WITH LIONS FOR LEADERS."

"Napoleon said that he would much rather have an army of sheep with a lion for a leader than an army of lions with a sheep for a leader. The Germans are an army of lions with lions for leaders, and the sooner the Entente Powers appreciate that fact the better."—Hudson Maxim.





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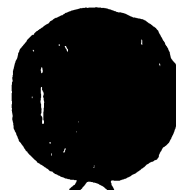
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## Papers of the Clark University Historical Conference

### III. Eliminating The Causes of War

By ROGER W. BABSON

Secretary of the Society To Eliminate Economic Causes of War

**EDITOR'S NOTE.**—Dr. George H. Blakeslee, of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., has been called the author of that most important historical conference which took place recently under the auspices of Clark University. We are very glad of being able to print some of the most prominent addresses delivered on that occasion. The purposes of the Conference could not be stated better than in the following words of Dr. Blakeslee:

"A university should stand unflinchingly to its true ideas and discuss such situations as that of the war on the basis of reason and intelligence, and not of emotion and prejudice. What should be sought is the truth and the exact truth, no matter what it turn out to be. The same spirit of fairness and the same absence of passion should prevail at the conference now begun as should prevail at an historical conference on the war one hundred years from now."

As is the case with many business men, I ally myself neither with the "military" nor the "peace" group. I believe that peace with disarmament is something to be desired, but that until the nations are united (at least commercially) and until some sort of an Inter-Nation is organized for such an economic union, each nation must continue to arm independently. I recognize the tremendous waste from war and the preparations therefor; but I agree with the militarists that it is useless to talk about disarmament until the economic causes of war are eliminated. As these causes are gradually removed, the nations will, of their own accord, give less attention to armaments and battleships.

Disarmament will never come all at once, but gradually, as it came among the different states of the United States. Even Massachusetts, when the Federal Government was formed in 1789, gave up her own right to enact tariffs and to have a postal and monetary system of her own, but she insisted on keeping her own little army and navy. Moreover, she has not given up this right as yet, although no such proportional attention is given by Massachusetts to its militia as was the case one hundred years ago.

#### BEWARE OF COURTS ONLY

Furthermore, I believe that there should be no half-way position between a strong military-naval policy and the placing of international trade and like affairs under the joint control of all the nations.

Although opposed to forceful aggression, I just as violently object to the attempts of many pacifists to hold the world in statu quo. I believe that the fittest must survive and ultimately lead in the determination of world policies, whether these fittest be English, Teutons, Latins, or Japanese. Hence, although endorsing plans for a world organization, I emphasize that such an organization must consist of more than a court and a police power to enforce the rules of such a court. Before the growing nations can consent to world federation, there must first be a law-making body in which nations are represented according to their self-supporting literate population. In other words, I believe that the most any world organization can accomplish is to provide some means by which the fittest shall rule without resort to war. Furthermore, statistics teach me that an international organization can be devised which will do this. Such a plan has already been worked out by Raymond L. Bridgman, of the State House, Boston, who will report his work at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Monday afternoon, January 10.

#### PREPAREDNESS AND PEACE

I suppose you think it queer for the secretary of a peace society to speak in favor of military preparedness. I not only so speak, but am glad to help in arousing the citizens of this country to the great peril which confronts us. Certainly, under existing conditions, we all should unite and influence Congress to make larger appropriations for land and naval defenses, and should stand ready to uphold our government in any action it may make toward preparation for war. Until the causes of war are eliminated, interna-

tional conflicts are inevitable, and we should be prepared for them.

This is especially important at the present time, when the pacifists are showing such opposition to preparedness. If, in their talk against armaments, they would endeavor to eliminate the causes of war, their attitude would not be so bad. As it is, however, I believe much of their talk is doing harm. Militarism can never be wiped out arbitrarily any more than can disease be abolished without removing the causes thereof. War is an effect, and until its causes are eliminated we must prepare for it. War can be eliminated only by removing the temptations to war.

On the other hand, statistics show that the best form of preparedness consists of providing the means by which nations can secure and retain peacefully, through some representative organization, righteous ends which they would otherwise seek to secure through war. Furthermore, history shows that war can be done away with only as the nations are provided with some other safety valve than that which war now provides. Although the world cannot remain in statu quo, there must be a more efficient means of determining policies and bringing about changes than by resort to war. I believe that there is, and from this latter point of view I believe that gradually war will be done away with between nations as it has already been eliminated between states now composing these nations; namely, through federation.

#### THE CAUSES OF WAR

It is generally agreed that the causes of war in modern times are large matters of commerce and other economic conditions. If some plan can be found by which international trade routes shall be neutralized, further legislation by one nation against another shall cease, and economic opportunity to all shall become more nearly equal, a long step toward the elimination of wars will have been taken.

To this end, I am interested in four steps, viz.:

1. The development of an efficient army and navy, furnished with the most approved guns and other inventions procurable.

2. The adoption of an Inter-Nation trade flag, which shall serve legitimate commerce at all times as the Red Cross flag serves its purpose in times of war.

3. The systematic teaching in the public schools that legislation by any one nation, class, or sex, against the people or trade of any other nation, class, or sex, reacts upon all to the ultimate disadvantage of all.

4. The striving to secure more equal opportunities for individuals, and finally the organization of a representative international commission, supported by international force, to supervise and protect persons and their property either when outside their own country or when engaged in the manufacture and carrying of goods for foreign trade.

#### INTERNATIONISM OR PATRIOTISM?

These measures would provide what perhaps no other plan does, an incentive to the establishment of intimate commercial relations among states. Nations will naturally co-operate to protect the neutrality of trade routes and the



joint regulation of the extension of national restrictions or barriers—once such neutrality and joint regulation have been secured—as the cheapest and easiest method of protection. Commercial alliance appeals where political alliance does not.

The plan involves the yielding of some so-called sovereign rights; but this is more than offset by an ultimate advantage of almost incalculable value. Unless nations are willing to join in a movement for international co-operation, they must continue to compete in expenditures for national defense. There is no half-way ground. Thus I do not share

the hopes of the peace societies, which seem not to realize that the world cannot remain in statu quo, nor am I in sympathy with those who are working only to prepare for war. We should either prepare for war or eliminate the causes thereof. Today we are doing neither. Personally I want to eliminate the causes of war, even though these causes can be eliminated only by the United States and the other large nations giving up something to the growing nations as old age gives up to youth. By this method, I believe that war can be done away with; but only by such a method.

## The German Emperor

### A Study of His Personality—Recollections and Comparisons

By PROFESSOR JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph. D.; T. U. D.; L. L. D.

It is often said by historians that no truly great man is ever really understood by the generation, and in the age, for which he labors. Many instances of the truth of this statement can be easily cited. Two of the most flagrant have come within the range of my own personal experience. The first was the character of Abraham Lincoln as depicted by the British press of 1860-64 and as conceived by the British public opinion of that era. Mr. Henry Adams, son of private secretary of Mrs. Charles Francis Adams, our Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain during that critical era in our history, writes in that fascinating book of his entitled "The Education of Henry Adams":

*London was altogether beside itself on one point, in especial; it created a nightmare of its own, and gave it the shape of Abraham Lincoln. Behind this it placed another demon, if possible more devilish, and called it Mr. Seward. In regard to these two men English society seemed demented. Defense was useless; explanation was vain. One could only let the passion exhaust itself. One's best friends were as unreasonable as enemies, for the belief in poor Mr. Lincoln's brutality and Seward's ferocity became a dogma of popular faith.*

Adams relates further that the last time he saw Thackeray, at Christmas of 1863, they spoke of their mutual friend, Mrs. Frank Hampton, of South Carolina, whom Thackeray had portrayed as Ethel Newcome, and who had recently passed away from life. Thackeray had read in the British papers that her parents had been prevented by the Federal soldiers from passing through the lines to see her on her deathbed. Adams writes:

*In speaking of it Thackeray's voice trembled and his eyes filled with tears. The coarse cruelty of Lincoln and his hirelings was notorious. He never doubted that the Federal made a business of harrowing the tenderest feelings of women—particularly of women—in order to punish their opponents. One quite insufficient evidence he burst into reproach. Had he (Adams) carried in his pocket the proofs that the reproach was unjust he would have gained nothing by showing them. At that moment Thackeray, and all London society with him, needed the nervous relief of expressing emotions; for if Mr. Lincoln was not what they said he was, what were they?*

#### The Dernburgs of the Civil War.

Mr. Lincoln sent over our most skillful politician, Thurlow Weed, and our most able constitutional lawyer, William P. Evarts, and later our most brilliant orator, Henry Ward Beecher, followed, for the purpose of bringing the British people to their senses and correcting British opinion, but all to little purpose. Get-

"The European War of 1914," by G. W. Burgess. "Issues and Events" Book Department. Price \$1.

tysburg and Vicksburg did far more toward modifying that opinion than the persuasiveness of Weed, the logic of Evarts or the eloquence of Beecher, and it took Chattanooga, the March to the Sea, and Appomattox to dispel the illusion entirely.

Today we are laboring under a no less singular delusion than were the English in 1862. The conception prevailing in England and in this country concerning the physical, mental and moral make-up of the German Emperor is the monumental caricature of biographical literature. I have had the privilege of his personal acquaintance now for nearly ten years. I have been brought into contact with him in many different ways and under many varying conditions; at Court and State functions, at university ceremonies and celebrations, at his table and by fireside surrounded by his family, when in the midst of his officials, his men of science, and personal friends, and, more instructive than all, alone in the imperial home in Berlin and Potsdam and in the castle and forest at Wilhelmshöhe. With all this experience, with all this opportunity for observation at close range, I am hardly able to recognize a single characteristic usually attributed to him by the British and American press of today.

In the first place, the Emperor is an impressive man physically. He is not a giant in stature, but a man of medium size, great strength and endurance, and of agile and graceful movement. He looks every inch a leader of men. His fine gray-blue eyes are peculiarly fascinating. I saw him once seated beside his uncle, King Edward VII., and the contrast was very striking, and greatly in his favor.

In the second place, the Emperor is an exceedingly intelligent and highly cultivated man. His mental processes are swift, but they go also very deep. He is a searching inquirer, and questions and listens more than he talks. His fund of knowledge is immense and sometimes astonishing. He manifests interest in everything, even to the smallest detail, which can have any bearing upon human improvement. I remember a half hour's conversation with him once over a cupping-glass, which he had gotten from an excavation in the Roman ruin called the Saalburg, near Homburg.

#### Subjects of the Kaiser's Conversation.

He always appeared to me most deeply concerned with the arts of peace. I have never heard him speak much of war, and then always with abhorrence, nor much of military matters; but improved agriculture, invention and manufacture, and especially commerce and education in all their ramifications were the chief subjects of his thought and conversation. I have had the privilege of association with many highly intelligent and profoundly learned men, but I have never

acquired as much knowledge, in the same time, from any man whom I have ever met, as from the German Emperor. And yet, with all this real superiority of mind and education, his deference to the opinions of others is remarkable. Arrogance is one of the qualities most often attributed to him, but he is the only ruler I ever saw in whom there appeared to be absolutely no arrogance. He meets you as man meets man, and makes you feel that you are required to yield to nothing but the better reason.

In the third place, the Emperor impressed me as a man of heart, of warm affections and of great consideration for the feelings and well-being of others. He can not, at least does not, conceal his reverence for, and devotion to, the Empress, of his love for his children, or his attachment to his friends. He always speaks of Queen Victoria and of the Empress Friedrich with the greatest veneration, and once when speaking to me of an old American friend who had turned upon him, he said that it was difficult for him to give up an old friend, right or wrong, and impossible when he believed him to be in the right. His manifest respect and affection for his old and tried officials, such as Lucanus and zu Eulenburg and von Studt and Beseler and Althoff, give strong evidence of the warmth and depth of his nature. His consideration for Americans, especially, has always been remarkable. It was at his suggestion that the exchange of educators between the universities of Germany and of the United States was established, and it has been his custom to be present at the opening lecture of each new incumbent of these positions at the University of Berlin, and to greet him and welcome him to his work. He is also the first to extend to these foreign educators hospitality and social attention.

To any one who has experienced his hearty welcome to his land and his home the assertion that he is arrogant and autocratic is so far away from the truth as to be ludicrous. Again I must say that I have never met a ruler, in monarchy or republic, in whom genuine democratic geniality was a so predominant characteristic.

But the characteristic of the Emperor which struck me most forcibly is his profound sense of duty and his readiness for self-sacrifice for the welfare of his country. This is a general German trait. It is the most admirable side of German nature. And the Emperor is, in this respect especially, their Princeps. I remember sitting beside him one day, when one of the ladies of his household asked me if I were acquainted with a certain wealthy, ultra-fashionable New York social leader. I replied, by name only. She pressed me to know why not more nearly, why not personally. And to this I replied that I was not of her class; that I could not amuse her; and that I did not approve of the frivolous and demoralizing example and influence of one so favorably circumstanced for doing good. The Emperor had heard the conversation and he promptly said: "You know in Germany we do not rate and classify people by their material possessions, but by the importance of the service they render to country, culture and civilization." One of his sons once told me that from his earliest childhood his father had instilled into his mind the lesson that devotion to duty and readiness for sacrifice were the cardinal virtues of a German, especially of a Hohenzollern. His days are periods of constant labor and severe discipline. He rises early, lives abstemiously; there is no day laborer in his entire Empire who gives so many hours per diem to his work. His nature is manifestly deeply religious and, in every sentence he speaks evidence of his consciousness that the policeman's club cannot take the

place of religious and moral principle is revealed. His frequent appeal for Divine aid in the discharge of his duties is prompted by the conviction that the heavier the duty the more need there is of that aid.

#### Wilhelm II as a "Nationalist."

He undoubtedly has an intense desire, almost a passion, for the prosperity and greatness of his country, but his conception of that prosperity and greatness is more spiritual and cultural than material and commercial. More than once have I heard him say that he desired to see Germany a wealthy country, but only as a result of honest and properly requited toil, and that wealth acquired by force or fraud was more a curse than a blessing, and was destined to go as it had come. His conception of greatness of Germany is as a great intellectual and moral power rather than anything else. Its physical power he values chiefly as the creator and maintainer of conditions necessary to the production and influence of this higher power. I have often heard him express this thought.

And in spite of this terrible war, the responsibility for which is by so many erroneously laid at his door, I firmly believe him to be a man of peace. I am absolutely sure that he has entered upon this war only under the firm conviction that Great Britain, France and Russia have conspired to destroy Germany as a world power, and that he is simply defending, as he said in his memorable speech to the Reichstag, the place which God had given the Germans to dwell on. For seven years I myself have witnessed the growth of this conviction in his mind and that of the whole German Nation as the evidences of it have multiplied from year to year until at last the fatal hour at Sarajevo struck. I firmly believe that there is no soul in this wide world upon whom the burden and grief of this great catastrophe so heavily rest as upon the German Emperor.

I have heard him declare with the greatest earnestness and solemnity that he considered war a dire calamity; that Germany would never during his reign wage an offensive war, and that he hoped God would spare him from the necessity of having to conduct a defensive war. For years he has been conscious that British diplomacy was seeing to isolate and crush Germany by an alliance of Latin, Slav, and Mongol under British direction, and he sought in every way to avert it. He visited England himself frequently. He sent his Ministers of State over to cultivate the acquaintance and friendship of the British Ministers, but rarely would the British King go himself to Germany or send his Ministers to return these visits.

More than once have I heard him say that he was most earnestly desirous of close friendship between Germany, Great Britain and the United States, and had done, was doing, and would continue to do, all in his power to promote it; but that, while the Americans were cordially meeting Germany half way, the British were cold, suspicious and repellent.

I know that the two things which are giving him the deepest pain in this world-catastrophe, excepting only the sufferings of his own kindred and people, are the enmity of Great Britain and the misunderstanding of his character, feelings, and purposes in America. To remedy the first we here can do nothing, but to dispel the second is our bounden duty; and I devoutly hope that other evidence may prove sufficient to do this to the satisfaction of the minds of my countrymen than was necessary to convince the British nation that the great-hearted Abraham Lincoln was not a brute nor the urban William H. Seward a demon of ferocity.

# The Emperor and Art

By FRANK BURNS

Many years have passed since the Emperor sounded his rousing slogan to nations of the Western civilization in his drawing entitled "People of Europe! Defend your most holy possessions!"—a slogan which rang out to unheeding ears till suddenly an unexpected answer came in August, 1914! How clearly does the theme of this early drawing illustrate the singleness of purpose of the man whose chief characteristic, the world said then and even still says, was fickleness! As a piece of Art, and judged by Art alone, the drawing is of no importance, but its author never had any other idea than that of putting before the different nations of Europe the thought that was in his mind and of making them pause to consider it and act accordingly. It was an appeal to the democracy of Europe which, owing to the difference of language amongst the nations, quite naturally took the form of a drawing comparable to the *biblia pauperum* of the Middle Ages; an appeal from the man who is daily and hourly accused of having the most autocratic tendencies! And what laughter the drawing aroused in Art circles, especially amongst those who, in their own judgment, considered that they belonged to the elect! Almost as much amusement as the Emperor's innocent little song to the Sea-God Aegir, composed in a passing mood of careless happiness! He himself has never attempted to hold up these little things to the world as works of art; that has been done only by his enemies and perhaps by a few foolish flatterers.

What this drawing shows, however, as regards the Emperor's position towards Art, is, that Art for him is always the great interpreter of great thoughts, that he looks upon it as a part of life, and that, by reason of his active impulsive nature, his tendency has always been to use Art to influence life. It is only natural, therefore, that he should employ it to advance ideals which he has at heart. The part to be regretted is that, in carrying out his artistic plans, the artists at his disposal were not of the highest order. In estimating the Emperor's influence on the art life of Germany, it must not be forgotten, however, that, just because of his pronounced individuality and his strong will, an opposition was created which gave a tremendous stimulus to the Art life of his country, and contributed greatly to the advancement of the modern movement there. Stagnation in Art is death; opposition brings out the best in all. Little as the Emperor liked the modern tendencies, he has nevertheless not closed the door to them, even where his word is law, a point which it is right to emphasize. It should be remembered, for instance, that for years Herr von Tschudi, in his capacity of Director of the National Gallery, was free to bring the French impressionists to Berlin, that Richard Strauss is today conductor of the Imperial Opera and that his works are very often given there, although the Emperor pays out a very large sum every year from his own pocket for the upkeep of that institution. In his Playhouse also the moderns are not excluded. To the Emperor it is due that the German dramatist, F. Hebbel, after long years of neglect, has at last come to his own and is now considered a "classic." Of course, his predilection for Hebbel is probably owing to the dramatist's peculiar individuality, especially to the strong emphasis laid in his works on the citizen spirit in every man; that is, the individual should subordinate himself to the good of the whole community. (If the garrulous writers amongst the Allies in Europe and the "neutral" Allies here, who have covered so many reams of good paper with silly

patter about the Fatherland, had the faintest perception of German "kultur" and literature, they would at least have tried to trace back the origin of the present war to Hebbel instead of to Bernhardt, seeing that they are possessed with the curious idea—or, rather, make believe that they are possessed with it, the hypocrites!—that this is a war of the power of the State against the freedom of the individual.) Who, therefore, can take it amiss in the Emperor if he feels himself drawn to Hebbel for this reason and tries to spread his ideas? Who would not do as much for his convictions? Everyone who has any relation to Art draws nourishment from his intercourse with it, in order to broaden his life in some way or other. That is, ultimately, the *raison d'être* of every Art. The part of his life to be influenced by it depends on the nature of the individual. All honor to the Emperor that he draws strength from it for his deepest convictions.

Through the Emperor's recognition of the great importance of Art in the life of the nation, the high rank he has given it in the social world, and his desire to befriend it in every way, he has done a truly great service to Art in Germany. Many there be who cannot see eye to eye with him as to the artistic value of the Siegesallee in Berlin, which owes its inception and carrying out to him, but against that must be weighed what has been done, on his initiative, in the museums in the neighborhood of his palace, and especially in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. In the latter he put the right man—Bode—in the right place, and kept him there in spite of much bitter controversy. The result has been that, through Bode, Berlin has now a museum which, in a short time as the life of a museum goes, has become one of the most important in the world. It is, alas! the truth that Art everywhere requires the support of the great, but so it is. And it certainly is not different in this country; on the contrary, it is worse than elsewhere, for here "the great" are only the "merely rich," and their taste is law. It was therefore of the greatest importance that an art lover like the Emperor should set the example in appreciating artists and in collecting antique and modern Art, the result of which has been that collecting, during the last fifteen years or so, has been carried on with the greatest energy in Germany and has now grown to quite astonishing proportions, to the great sorrow of England, for example, for she has in this way lost many treasures to her "rival."

Through his appreciation of the theatre and its great functions it is again regarded as the home of Art—a "moral institution" in Schiller's sense (*moralische Anstalt*)—in short, Art has once more become a national concern. The other reigning princes of Germany, the towns, and the people themselves have followed his example, so that the German stage and German art life are the most "alive" of any in the whole world at the present day. Let anti-Germans here or anywhere say what they will, they cannot alter that fact. If such rulers as honest George V, whose English phlegm seems to scare away anything in the nature of a passion; Czar Nicholas, who only cares for mystic religious seances; little Vittorio Emanuele, whose interest in collections runs only to coins, or any other monarch of that ilk, had recognized the importance of Art to their people and been its patron and friend, many things might have been different in these countries, and the golden images of Mammon and Commerce would not have been the only ones to find worshippers. In spite of the many dangerous tendencies of modern life—which, naturally, make themselves felt in Ger-

many also—Art is still regarded there as a goddess. Altars are built to her and everything is done to make her sway reach the most distant corners and her blessed influence felt even in the common details of every-day life, as it used to be in the German land of the grand old days. This shows itself in the extraordinary development of Arts and Crafts within the last few years,

the aim of which is to beautify even the humblest objects of daily use. And all this is due in no small degree to the example and untiring energy of the Emperor.

To sum up, we may use the words of the Socialist Bebel in this connection also:

"A real man!"

## Words of the "War Lord"

### From His Speeches, Letters and Telegrams

I am opposed to war; but war can only be avoided by exerting to the utmost the defensive forces of the State.

I have been hurt by the truth many a time; but not so much as by its contemptible contrary.

I am well aware of the fact that by the public at large, and particularly in foreign countries, I am represented as entertaining a wanton and ambitious craving for war. May God keep me from such criminal folly.

I believe that with the help of God I have succeeded in ensuring the preservation of the peace of the world for many years to come. (1889.)

To the sea our thoughts are turned—the sea, which is the symbol of eternity. Seas do not separate; they unite.

We must enable the workers to give free and peaceful expression to their wishes and grievances, and give the authorities of the State opportunity constantly to acquire information concerning the circumstances of the workers, and to keep in contact with them.

Every subject who prefers a wish or petition has, as a matter of course, the ear of his Emperor.

Those companies which employ a great number of my subjects to labor for them have also a duty to perform to the State and the communes concerned, that is, to care for the welfare of the workmen to the best of their ability.

My house has always cared for the working classes.

Whether we receive thanks or ingratitude for our endeavors on behalf of the amelioration of the condition of the working classes, I shall never allow these efforts to flag. I have the conviction that the introduction of the proposed State protection will lead us to the end in view, namely, the reconciliation of the working classes to their position in the social fabric.

You can go your ways undisturbed in Lorraine and peacefully follow your several trades and professions. The united German Empire gives you the assurance of peace. German you are, and German you will remain. So help us God, and our German sword.

The aim and end of all education, especially military education, is formation of character, based on the due co-ordination of physical, intellectual, and religious training and discipline. No side of education should be favored at the expense of another.

The most solid cement that binds our country together is the ordinary work of the day carried out harmoniously and in co-operation; and the blood which has been shed by all classes on the field of battle.

I wish to bring the technical high schools to the forefront, for they have important problems to solve, not only of a technical, but also of a social character.

Form the minds of the young men, and then we shall have different men leaving school. Then, also, we must abandon the principle that knowledge, not life, is the most important point to be considered. Our young people ought to be trained to meet the practical needs of modern life.

I look upon art as the most effective means of educating the people.

The stage must contribute to the formation of the mind and character, and to the enobling of the moral conceptions of the people. The theater is one of the tools with which I work.

I do lay special stress, considering the great importance which is now attached to a knowledge of English, on the advisability of this language being taught in a more thorough-going fashion in our gymnasia. Therefore, side by side with Greek, English should everywhere be allowed as an alternative subject in all classes below the lower second form, and besides this, in the three upper classes of the gymnasia, wherever local circumstances render it advisable to make English a compulsory subject in the place of French, still retaining the latter, however, as an optional subject.

The theater should not be merely an important factor in education, the propagation of morality, but should also be the embodiment of grace, beauty, and artistic imagination. We should leave the theater not discouraged at the recollection of mournful scenes, of bitter disappointments, but purified, elevated, and with renewed strength to fight for the ideals which every man strives to realize.

Art must be helpful, must influence our people in an educative way; it must also make it possible for the lower classes of society, when hard toil and labor are over, to rise again to ideals.

The cultivation of ideals is the greatest work of civilization.

The fullest measure of freedom and leisure I consider necessary for the artist.

The feeling of sympathy for science which is innate in every Prussian king is also active in me.

Art which descends to advertising is no longer art, even if it be lauded a hundred or a thousand times over.

The true artist needs no mountebank tricks, no puffs in the Press, no connection. I do not believe that the great masters of art whom you regard as your models, either in ancient Greece or in Italy, or in the time of the Renaissance, ever resorted to advertising.

Why did the German Empire sink into decay? Because the old Empire was not founded on a strictly national basis. The idea of universal rule that underlay the Holy Roman Empire precluded a development on national German lines.

In these days nobility of birth alone cannot, as formerly, claim the privilege of supplying the army with its officers. But the nobility of sentiment which has at all times animated our officers, shall and must be maintained unimpaired.

Come what may, we will hold high our colors and our traditions, bearing in mind the saying and the brave deeds of Albrecht Achilles, who said: "I do not know any more reputable place to die in, than in the midst of enemies." That, too, is my own deepest conviction.

Under the weight of the foot of a haughty conqueror our people evolved from its heart the noblest of thoughts, that it is the highest honor to devote life and goods in military service to the Fatherland: universal liability to service.

What is the secret of the fact that we have so often overcome the enemy with inferior numbers? It is discipline. What is discipline? It is united co-operation, united obedience.

Our people must resolve to make sacrifices; above all, they must divest themselves of their passion for seeking the

highest good in ever more and more sharply accentuated party struggles. They must cease to place the party above the welfare of the whole.

The source from which my grandfather derived strength to accomplish his deeds and achievements, and my father to enable him to win his victories and bear his sufferings, is also the source of my strength. I am determined to proceed in the way and to adhere to the aim which I have set myself, in the firm conviction which I should like to impress upon all of you, which for us and for every man should be the guiding principle of his life—"A sure stronghold our God is still"—in hoc signo vinces.

Among the many eminent qualities which the Americans possess, it is, above all, their spirit of enterprise, their sense of order, and their inventive capacity, which attract the attention of the whole world.

We will work according to the right, and will not desist in the struggle, so that we may free our country of this malady which is invading not only our people, but also our family life, and, above all, is striving to shake the position of woman—the most sacred thing we Germans know.

My whole task for the future will be to enable the seeds of prosperity that have been sown throughout the Empire to germinate in peace and security.

Some day history will describe the struggles of these times. But man sees only what is before his eyes; he can only say what the wisdom of leaders, the courage of troops, the sharpness of weapons have accomplished. But some day eternity will reveal yet more. It will show how the secret prayers of the faithful were a mighty power in these conflicts, how once again the old promise was fulfilled—"Call unto Me in the hour of need, and I will rescue thee."

I only wish that European peace lay in my hands. I should certainly take care it should never be disturbed.

When I came to the throne I swore that after the heroic times of my grandfather, bayonets and cannon would, so far as lay in my power, be put aside, but that these bayonets would be held sharp and these cannons ready, so that when cultivating our gardens and extending our beautiful houses, we should not be disturbed by envy and jealousy from outside.

My door always stands open to my subjects, and I will willingly listen to their complaints.

It is one of the great merits of my ancestors that they never belonged to a political party, that they were always above political parties, and that they succeeded in making political parties themselves work for the good of the whole.

Let us remember the example of my great ancestor, the Emperor William I., who aid that he had learnt more from his humiliations than from all his successes.

The King of Prussia stands so high above all political parties and the wire-pulling and hatred of politicians, that he can contemplate his subjects without taking these things into

account, and can thus work for the benefit of each one of his own people and each separate province.

I place my whole Empire, my whole people, my whole Army, myself and my family under the protection of Him who said: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away."

If Russia was beaten in the war with Japan, her defeat was due to the fact that Christianity in Russia was at a sadly low level, while the Japanese possess more than one Christian virtue. A good Christian, a good soldier.

Whatever dark hours may be in store for the Fatherland, we Germans will succeed in emerging from them, actuated here as elsewhere by the sound principle that "we Germans fear God and nothing else in the world."

I made up my mind after reading the lessons of history never to dream of a vast world-empire. For what has become of all those so-called world-empires? Alexander, Napoleon and all such great captains bathed themselves in blood, and yet left behind them subjugated peoples, who, after those great men had died, rose in revolt and ruined the Empires they had created.

I never fail to bear in mind the spirit of the saying of the great Frederick: "In Prussia the King is the first servant of the State."

Now that Russia has shown her weakness in face of the Yellow Peril, it becomes the duty of Germany to face this danger. The officers and soldiers of the German Army must see to it that their time is employed in such a way that they do not fall into habits of debauchery and drunkenness such as characterized the Russian Army in its Far Eastern campaign.

I am convinced that the working classes will display their fidelity to me whenever occasion demands.

Our young people ought to be more vigorously handled. I should like to see them working so hard during the day that the evening finds them tired out, and more ready to seek sleep than to indulge in enervating pleasures.

It is a monarch's business to hear both parties when his subjects require adjustment of differences that have arisen among them and loyally seek the aid of the Chief of State.

May the Sultan, and the three hundred millions of Mohammedans throughout the world who acknowledge him as their spiritual head, rest assured that at all times the German Emperor will be their friend.

The foundation stone of friendship between Germany and the United States was laid by Frederick the Great, and that friendship is now as strong and unshakeable as a granite rock.

The peace of the world depends upon the maintenance of good relations between Germany and England.

The Teuton never fights better than when he is called upon to defend himself on all sides. So let our enemies begin. We are ready for them all!

## THE POSTMASTERSHIP.

The first sign that the German-Americans are known as a political quantity has shown itself in connection with the Postmastership of New York.

It has taken a long while for the administration to realize that the German-Americans have votes, in spite of the hyphen. Each German-American vote counts as much as any other vote, and though at one time denounced, it is now sought. Perhaps one day the administration will realize as will other political parties, that the German-American vote is even better than any other vote, because it is purer.

There are plenty of fine men available for this office amongst the German-Americans. As far as "ISSUES AND EVENTS" is concerned, it has the wish that a German-American be nominated, and whilst we are interested in increasing the political prestige of Ger-

man-Americans, we are much more concerned in efficient work. Such a nomination would mean a recognition in practical politics or better politics, but if it is to be a mere political bait, then we say No. To the average German-American, efficiency is his second nature, and we recommend a man of such stock, because it is probable that he will administer his office impartially with thoroughness and effectiveness, not only because it would strengthen the political prestige of the German-Americans, but also because it means recognition in practical politics. But by no means do we wish it for the mere sake of political bait, or because it would have the tendency to add political prestige to the German-Americans. We are much more interested in efficient work, and inasmuch as the German-American is trained in efficiency, it is probable that a man of such stock will administer his office with thoroughness and efficiency.



## Price Maintenance

### Price Maintenance Creates Competition— It Provides a Rule Not to Strike Below the Belt—Implies Standardization and Identification

By DR. PAUL H. NYSTROM

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States do not prohibit the price maintenance principles. They simply prohibit certain methods of price maintenance.

Price maintenance is still possible if the manufacturer builds a selling organization of his own, and sells direct to consumers. If the retailer to whom he sells cuts prices he can refuse to let him have more goods.

But this method involves great expense in building up the sales organizations that in a measure simply duplicate organizations already in the field. Appointing agents and sending out goods on consignment, and making collections, involve a large additional selling expense, compared with the regular methods of distribution. Thus, while price maintenance has not been prohibited, it is now legally practicable only for the larger and more powerful producers.

Price maintenance is today opposed mainly by two classes of retailers.

First, those who have developed their business on the basis of a questionable type of advertising, using cut prices on trademarked goods to attract customers to their stores.

Second, those retailers whose costs of doing business are so high that the customary margin allowed them under price maintenance is not large enough to permit them to earn a profit. Their desire to get unusual margins leads them to combat the price maintenance principle.

These opponents of price maintenance do not tire to cry out against the legalization of it. They are saying:

"Legalized price maintenance will make the retailer the errand boy of the manufacturer."

"Price maintenance is unconstitutional."

Think of that, not of the possibility of using Ingersoll watches at 79 cents as bait to attract trade for other merchandise at big profits.

No one who knows anything about present day merchandising thinks even for a moment that all manufacturers want to have their goods sold at maintained prices. The fact that some merchandise is marketed under maintained prices is sufficient reason for other producers to market their goods in a different way, and consequently in competition for consumers' trade.

The facts are that a price maintained article invites competition and makes it easy for competitors to establish their competition.

Note the number of competitors in the fields in which price maintenance has prevailed for a number of years, as in the production of safety razors, breakfast foods, men's hats, watches, fountain pens, etc. **Price maintenance creates competition.**

This principle is also desirable for the reason that it accords with what is best for the consuming public. **Price maintenance implies standardization and identification of certain classes of merchandise**, and standardization is desirable from the standpoint of the public for several reasons.

First, the consumer can tell by one single inspection or trial, whether such an article is suited to his needs or not. If it is desirable, future purchases of the same article will take up but little time or energy. If it is not desirable, he can just as easily avoid getting it. Thus the buying process of the consumer is simplified, and time and energy saved.

Second, the standardized article saves both the consumer's and dealer's time usually taken up in demonstrating the goods. The consumer is assured of the quality he is getting without taking the time and pains to make a careful examination before purchasing. The dealer is saved the time that is usually taken to describe and push the unknown, unstandardized article.

Price standardization does not check competition. It will rather give us the best results that competition can offer. **Price maintenance is to present-day business what the rule not to strike below the belt is in prize fighting.** One blow below the belt may put the best fighter in the world on the floor in a moment and thus end the struggle. A foul blow in business competition, such as unjustified or dishonest price-cutting has shown itself to be in several cases might send the most efficient and socially useful producer into a receivership. The naturally weak productive or distributive agent deserves no special protection if there are other equally efficient agencies at hand to perform the

same service. On the other hand, efficiency cannot be measured by capitalistic power alone, particularly in the distribution of goods. **The big institution should not be allowed to have peculiar, artificial or legal advantages with which to crush its less powerful competitors, either directly or indirectly.**

Finally, to succeed, the standardized price must be fair to the consumer. Price maintenance, therefore, promotes the square deal to all concerned—the producer, the distributor, and the consumer. In granting the privilege of maintaining prices to manufacturers, we shall be doing only what has already been done in one way or another by several European countries. We shall only be giving to the small manufacturer and the manufacturer of a specialty a right that many large concerns can, and do now exercise without question, through their own agencies, chain stores, or selling organizations.

## Hoch der Kaiser

By GEORGE DAVIES

**H**OCH DER KAISER! Amen! Amen!  
We of the pulpit and bar,  
We of the engine and car;  
Hail to the Caesar who's given us men  
Our rightful heritage back again.

Who kicks the dancing shoes from our feet;  
Snatches our mouths from hot forced meat;  
Drags us away from our warm padded stalls;  
From our ivory keys, our song books and balls;  
Orders man's hands from the children's go-carts;  
Closes our fool schools of "ethics" and "arts."  
Puts our ten fingers on triggers and swords,  
Marshals us into War's legions by hordes?

Hoch der Kaiser! Amen! Amen!  
We of the seas and the land;  
We of the clerking band;  
Hail to the Caesar who's given us men  
Our rightful heritage back again.

### WHO SUMMONS:

These women who write of loves that are loose,  
(Those little perversionist scribes of the Deuce!)  
Laughter of lies lilting lewd at their lips,  
Their souls and brains both in a maudlin eclipse;  
Their bosoms as bare as their stories and songs;  
These coaxers of dogs with their "rights" and their wrongs.

### WHO COMMANDS:

Strike from their shoulders the transparent mesh;  
Mark the Red Cross on the cloth for their flesh.

### WHO ORDAINS:

Ye, men who seem women in work and at play;  
Ye, who do blindly as women may say;  
Ye, who kill life in the smug cabarets;  
Ye, all, at the beck of the little tea-tray;  
Ye, all, of the measure of daughters of clay.

Waken to face me; be women no more;  
But fellow-men-born, from top branch to the core;  
Men who must fight—who can kill, who can die,  
While women once more shall be covered and shy.

Hoch der Kaiser! Amen! Amen!  
We of the hills and the homes;  
We of the plows and the tomes;  
Hail to the Caesar who's given us men  
Our rightful heritage back again.

# Issues & Events

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CHANGE OF ADDRESS should be sent two weeks before the date they are to go into effect. Both old and new addresses must always be given.

## WILLIAM II AND THE INNER ORGANIZATION OF VICTORY.

In these days, when the German Emperor's mailed fist is resting heavily on lands of the Allies, people are apt to forget what the present incumbent of the throne of the Hohenzollern has done for Germany in the piping days of peace. It was, however, only the war that has demonstrated to the world the Emperor's surpassing statesmanship during the time before the war. In the face of strongest opposition on the part of the Radical and Socialist parties and of their powerful newspapers the Emperor consistently threw his influence into the balance in favor of the maintenance of German agriculture. Many of his political opponents saw in his tireless efforts for the prosperity of the agricultural classes nothing but a political play in favor of the conservative landholders. The events of 1914-1915 have clearly shown that without a strong and well organized agricultural industry within the country all military successes in the enemies' countries would have been in vain.

It is largely due to Emperor William that German agriculture was, through a protective tariff—which was not so high as to injure the wage earners in the cities—enabled to increase the production of grain in face of threatening competition of other countries. Through his influence scientific methods and farmers' organizations of various descriptions were fostered, with the result that the efficiency of German agriculture is now second to none. On his own estates model farms were established, in which the Emperor took a lively personal interest.

Better known outside of Germany is the Emperor's interest in shipbuilding and the shipping industry. At the time he became Emperor comparatively little attention was paid in the German engineering schools to the art of shipbuilding. At the Emperor's suggestion the Institute of Naval Architecture was formed in connection with the Technical College of Charlottenburg, and during the last 15 or 20 years many eminent shipbuilders and marine engineers were trained at German technical schools.

Up to 10 years ago nearly all the large transatlantic liners were built in England, but in recent years German shipyards have turned out steamers which in no way are inferior to the products of the famous English yards.

During the reign of Wilhelm II the German shipping industry made tremendous strides. The Emperor's intense interest in the work of the great steamship companies brought about a very close friendship between him and Herr Ballin, the managing director of the Hamburg-American Line. Whoever has traveled

on the ocean between America and Europe, in the Far East or in the Mediterranean knows how much German passenger ships have in recent years outdistanced all their competitors and that German freight steamers were being seen in all parts of the globe.

Industry and finance also enjoy the Emperor's favor and stimulating interest. Men like Rathenau, Gwinner, Fuerstenberg, Friedlander-Fuld and Simon joined the circle of the Emperor's intimate advisers. While it is difficult to trace in detail the effect of the co-operation of these far-seeing and progressive business men with the Emperor in his plans for German supremacy in peaceful conquests, there is no doubt that there has been a most valuable "give and take" between these men and their Kaiser.

## MRS. GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

Some of our readers have blamed us for not dealing with the violent outpourings of Mrs. Gertrude Atherton, which are enjoying a super-Christian hospitality in the columns of Mr. Ochs. We had the intention to waste a little space on one of her last "letters," but, being an American journal, we could not compete with the efficiency of Germany. At that time, a few weeks ago, Mrs. Atherton had proclaimed the German impotence in subjugating the Servians, and we mobilized at once against this militant lady. But before our editorial reached the proofreaders the Germans had finished the conquest of Servia, Mrs. Gertrude Atherton had become ancient history and that article had to be "killed."

Now Mrs. Atherton has addressed once again the long-suffering editor of the Times. In two endless columns she says that America did not interfere after the violation of Belgian neutrality because of bad business conditions in this country; on the other hand, Americans did not join the war after the Lusitania incident on account of good business conditions in this country. She also prophesies a war between Germany and the United States in ten years. Not as a consequence of German aggressiveness, but as the result of the American people becoming slowly conscious of the German atrocities. According to this American lady Americans do not think at all just at present, because they are so busy making money. But when they will have leisure to think they will do some thinking—in four or five years or so—and then they will want to fight Germany, just "to do a little punishing on their own account." Incidentally, Mrs. Atherton speaks of "pestiferous and half-animal Mexicans, who deserve to be exterminated on general principles." (What is to happen to animals, sweet lady, if half-animals are to be exterminated?—The I. & E. Cartoonist.)

These political thoughts of Mrs. Gertrude Atherton clearly show that hers is a case for her doctor and her family, but not for public opinion. We are assured that she is a dear old lady, just as all pupils and friends of Dr. Elliott agree that he is a dear old gentleman. As to their attitude towards the war and the Germans one ought to apply a little patience and charity. It takes an exceptionally strong mind or a very quiet temperament to stand for eighteen months the glorious victories of a hated cause. Is it so unnatural that a somehow hysterical nature should try to relieve itself by shrieking incessantly: "The Germans are beaten . . . the Germans are beaten . . . the Germans are beaten . . . I!" It has the effect of a drug and, unfortunately, as with all drugs, the relief vanishes after a short while and the case grows worse. The intoxication has gone, reality returns and the German railway cars are running from Ostend to Bagdad. Mrs. Atherton's case is sad indeed. Try some cold water, Doctor—some very cold water! It will do her good.

### THE AMERICAN FAIR TRADE LEAGUE.

**"Safeguard American Men Against Unfair Competition, and They Will Take Care of Themselves."**

We wish to draw the attention of our readers to the highly important activities of the American Fair Trade League. The objects of this newly formed organization, which includes amongst its leaders and members some of the most prominent business men of our country, are:

1. To aid in the re-establishment and continuance of fair competitive commercial conditions.

2. To promote honesty in manufacturing, in advertising and in merchandising, for the mutual interest of the consumer, the middleman and the manufacturer.

3. To bring to public attention the existing evils in merchandising methods which operate to the injury of society.

4. To act as a clearing house of information concerning trade practices and systems, and legislation relating thereto.

5. To aid in securing the enactment and enforcement of laws, state and national, that will:

(a) prohibit and penalize unfair competition;

(b) prohibit and penalize dishonest advertising;

(c) prevent the elimination of the smaller business man by unfair methods.

6. And to secure to the public the benefits and protection of stable, uniform retail prices upon all trade-marked and branded goods.

Dr. Paul H. Nystrom's article on "Price Maintenance" in this number gives a more elaborate exposition of one of the principles The American Fair Trade League is fighting for.

### EPISCOPALIAN MINISTER, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, SPY AND FUGITIVE.

**The Story of Ignatius T. T. Lincoln, Who Escaped From an U. S. Prison.**

One of the most sensational books\* has just been published. Ignatius T. T. Lincoln, alias Isaac Trebitsch, the famous ex-M. P. of the House of Commons, spy and fugitive from one of our prisons, has used the few days of his newly won liberty to put the last touches on his memoirs which he wrote while in prison, waiting for the final decision on his extradition demanded by England on a framed-up charge of forgery.

One of the most interesting chapters in Mr. Lincoln's book covers the encircling of Germany. The trail of "Edward VII.'s intrigues" led Lincoln to Copenhagen, Switzerland and Germany. He discovered that Sir Francis Bertie, Sir Charles Hardinge and Sir Arthur Nicholson were inner members of the ring of King Edward to cut off Germany from the rest of Europe, while at Munich Sir Charles Fairfax was trying to force Bavaria loose from the German Empire and unite her to Austria.

Of the Kaiser during this period Lincoln writes:

When the true history of those years shall be written Germany and the world will realize how ardently and sincerely the Kaiser worked for a real and lasting peace in Europe, and consequently in the world, and how England, the marplot of the world, or rather the English conspirators unknown to the people of England, foiled all his well-directed efforts.

After the war began in August, Lincoln decided to revenge himself, he says, for the insults that were visited upon him on account of his Hungarian birth.

"I knew," he says, "that what I was going to do was technically high treason, but my blood was boiling in me at all the calculated barbarities inflicted by a haughty, perfidious race upon innocent people." He determined to find out about the movements and position of the British fleet and convey the information to Germany. To accomplish this he offered his services to the Secret Service Department of the British War Office and proposed to Captain P. W. Kenny to obtain information for him in Holland. His offers were not accepted by the War Office or Admiralty and he set out to obtain information on his own responsibility that would compel the British Secret Service to take him into its confidence.

He went to Holland in December, 1914, and there met Consul Gneist at Rotterdam, who, Lincoln says, is the head of the German Secret Service operations there. The Consul accepted his services as a spy and gave him codes and instructions for communicating with the German Secret Service. With these he returned to London and met Captain Kenny. This is Lincoln's story of what followed:

Captain Kenny was keenly anxious to hear my story. First of all, I told him that I went to Rotterdam because the British Secret Service would not employ me, and I was desirous of showing him that I could be of great service to him.

\*"Revelations of an International Spy," by I. T. T. Lincoln. Price \$1.50. "Issues and Events" Book Department.

"You are a sportsman," remarked Captain Kenny. I then asked him the following questions:

"What amount of money is the British Government willing to spend in order to obtain the following information and documents?"

"1. The code by which the movements of the British fleet have been and are being reported to Germany."

"2. A code which is being used by German spies in England for the transmission of telegrams (in plain language) to Holland."

"3. The means, methods, and channels they employ to send intelligence through the mails."

"4. Some addresses to which telegrams and letters are being sent."

"5. A disclosure of how they are financed and through what channels."

"6. A document which would show what the Germans do and do not know of the British Army."

Captain Kenny was speechless. Before he recovered from his evident surprise I pointedly asked him: "Do you know any of these things?" He hesitated to reply.

"It is no use, Captain," I said, "to tell me that you do, for I know that you do not."

"Mr. Lincoln," he replied, "it is no use to ask that question because it is impossible to obtain any of that information."

"But supposing it were possible," I replied, "what are you willing to spend to obtain possession of it?"

"Granted for the sake of argument that it were possible—money would be no consideration."

"Very well, then," I said, "I have much pleasure supplying all this to you free."

Words fail me to describe the effect of my words upon the Captain.

"What do you mean? I cannot understand you," he said.

"I mean that all this information is in this room," said I, reaching into my pocket, "and I have much pleasure in handing it to you unconditionally."

I drew the large envelope from my pocket, pointed out that the seal was untouched, and handed it to the Captain.

Captain Kenny broke the seal, eagerly read through all the documents, made copious notes, and drew up a long report of all I told him.

He was quite beside himself with excitement.

### SWEDEN ACTS.

Regardless of resumes concerning Sweden and the war, the lesson to be drawn, as far as the United States is concerned, is the fact that she dares assert her sovereign rights as a neutral power. Seizure of 43,000 parcels of British mail, by way of retaliation for British seizures, is an effective response to England's violation of the mail. It is far more practical than the policy of diplomatic notes, and shows strength of character as a nation.

### TO HELP THE JEWS.

President Wilson has issued a proclamation, naming the 27th of January as a day on which the Americans should contribute to a fund which is to help the Jewish war sufferers. The President asks that all citizens contribute liberally to this fund, because the Jewish race has given America so many fine men.

This will give the American Hebrews an opportunity to show their neutrality and impartiality, and they should insist that half of the fund go to the Entente Powers, and that for the other half, food and supplies be shipped for the suffering Jews in territories of the Central Powers.

As an example of activity, it is well worth while imitating by German-Americans. They, too, have given this country many of their best citizens and their brothers are being killed and maimed by the thousands, and are crying for food and medicine. Especially as they have been abused and maligned, they, too, are entitled to sympathy, and as the American nation has been making profits out of their lives and misfortunes, the President is even more justified to issue a proclamation in the favor of their suffering relatives in Europe.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

### REVEREND DR. CHARLES F. AKED ON BELGIANS, JEWS, ARMENIANS AND THE BRITISH RULE OF THE NEWS.

"I was in America on a preaching and lecturing tour at the end of 1895, when President Cleveland issued the message to Congress with regard to the Venezuela boundary.

"It was in the nature of an ultimatum to Great Britain. I was at the time a guest of Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, and in her home I met many earnest, influential American citizens, informed and large-hearted. I was amazed by the violence, almost the bitterness with which they spoke of Great Britain.

"There did not seem to be enough in Lord Salisbury's policy to justify the animosity. I sought an explanation, and I found that the Venezuela dispute merely served as a safety valve for the indignation aroused by the wrongs of Armenia. Many who foamed at the mouth with anger—for three or four days—thought that they were angry about Salisbury and Venezuela.

"In reality, I was assured, they were deeply moved by what they believed the selfish and inhuman policy of Great Britain, maintaining, for the sake of her Indian Empire, the integrity and power of Turkey. Venezuela was merely the inducing cause. The predisposing cause was Armenia.

"As an Englishman, I felt ashamed, humiliated. When I returned to my own country I said from my pulpit that I felt as if I had been whipped through the streets of an American city. From that day onward I redoubled my efforts on behalf of the Armenian people. And it is some small measure of comfort to me to discover in these days that far away over the Anatolian snows there are persons who think kindly of me because of my twenty-year-old sympathy with them.

"I mention this only for the purpose of showing that my friendship for Armenia, and my sorrow over her sorrows, are not born of the horrors of today.

"And my feelings during the last few months may be imagined. My heart fills with pain for the pain that Europe's millions bear, but the situation in Armenia is heart-breaking. Now, as an American citizen, I contemplate the helplessness of the United States of America—the helplessness of a hundred million of free men and women while Armenia bleeds white under the eyes of Europe.

"For the sadness and the shame lie here; the policy of America has tended to bring us to this position of ineptitude. It is, of course, obvious that we cannot extend our Monroe Doctrine over the plains of Mesopotamia any more than we can sail our battleships over the Taurus mountains. But we have most unhappily despoiled ourselves of the weapon, of the hope of effective protest. When we connived at the massacre of the Jews by Russia we helped to loose Turk and Kurd on the Armenian people.

"Russia has been—Russia! She has robbed and ravished and raped at will among her helpless Jewish subjects. Torture has been endured to agony. Blood has been shed in rivers. What protest has the United States made? How angry has the press of America been? What pleading or what thunderous voice has been raised on behalf of the American people? What have we done? Practically nothing. We have suffered with the sufferings of the Belgian people and cursed the spoliator and the oppressor.

"Yes; but the Jew in Russia has suffered as the Belgian man or woman has not had to suffer, and—the rest is silence.

"But why? Because of the dreadful alliance of British democracy with Russian bureaucracy, of British liberty with Russian tyranny. Because Russia is the ally of Great Britain. British censorship has been more complete and thoroughgoing than Russian censorship. Things said and done in Russia have been reported by Russian newspapers. They are quite commonplace there. The sturdy, liberty-loving men and women of England and

Wales and Scotland would think them damnable.

"And so the British press has been muzzled. Out of consideration for the alliance with Russia, Great Britain has winked at massacre. Out of consideration for her ally Great Britain, the United States has been silent. And having been silent as to Russian atrocities, America finds herself dumb in the presence of Armenian butcheries. She cannot raise her voice too loudly. She cannot thunder in the ear of Germany: 'Bid the Turk stop this devil's work.' Germany would reply: 'You never said to Great Britain, 'Bid your Russian ally cease his devil's work'; you had best keep silence.' And our mouth is closed."

Commenting on this trenchant criticism of the ethical standard of British policy, the New York "American" makes the following editorial remarks:

"Dr. Aked's indignation is just. At the time of the acute Jewish persecutions in Southern Russia three years ago, during the trial of Beiliss at Kiev for ritual murder, the 'American' could not obtain trustworthy reports either of the Jewish massacres by the Russians or of the trial of Beiliss because England did not wish to offend the sensibilities of her Russian ally, and all the sources of news controlled by British news agencies or diplomats were under a sort of censorship."

\* \* \*

### WHAT ARE NEUTRAL ISLANDS BETWEEN FRIENDS?

Announcement is made that the Greek island of Melos, off the southeastern coast of the mainland, has been occupied by Entente forces.

Public opinion in Greece is greatly aroused. Athens dispatches say the people are particularly indignant because the Entente Powers did not even make a request to Greece, as was done before other Greek islands were occupied, but simply said the island was desired for naval purposes.

—

A French detachment has been landed on the Greek Island of Corfu for provisional occupation. Fourteen ships of unknown nationality are cruising around Corfu.

French soldiers occupied the Achilleion (owned by the German Emperor), on which the French flag was hoisted.

The occupation of Corfu, say the advices from Athens, is a repetition of what has happened on other Greek Islands. The matter has been taken under consideration by the Greek Cabinet and a protest against the occupation of Corfu, which is being formulated, is expected to be more energetic than previous protests sent to the Entente Powers.

\* \* \*

### GERMANS AND BRITONS AS U. S. PASSPORT FRAUDS.

Many Germans are alleged to have used American passports in order to get to the fighting line. That many Englishmen are trying to play the same trick in order to escape fighting will be seen from the following report:



London, Jan. 14.—The announcement of the American Embassy to London newspapers that hereafter applications for passports which it had any reason to suspect were fraudulent would be turned over to Scotland Yard, caused considerable feeling in the American colony here today.

When this was brought to the attention of the Embassy regret was expressed for the "unfortunate wording of the announcement," and responsibility for its publication was placed upon one of the Embassy clerks.

The Embassy authorizes the statement that no bona fide American citizens will be subjected to any Scotland Yard inquiry. The rule is meant to apply only to British subjects or individuals of other nationalities attempting to obtain American passports fraudulently.

The Embassy will place such cases in the hands of the police because of the rush to obtain passports by British subjects who wish to protect themselves against conscription.

\* \* \*

### REMEMBER THE ARMENIANS!

Albany, Ga.—January 21.—Five negroes, who were taken from the Worth County Jail at Sylvester last night, were hanged to one limb of a tree on the outskirts of Starkville, some time during the night. The bodies, containing many bullet holes, were found this morning.

Forty or fifty men acting with precision indicative of carefully laid plans, took the five negroes from the jail and sped away in automobiles. They were being held in connection with the killing of Sheriff Moreland, of Lee County, at the hands of negroes, during the Christmas holidays. Starkville is a hamlet three miles from Leesburg, the county seat of Lee County. All wires leading north from Sylvester were cut. For that reason, the fate of the negroes was not definitely known until hours after they had been lynched.

\* \* \*

### "WE THOUGHT OF AN EASY WAR, BUT . . ."

In an address delivered at Florence, Antonio Salandra, the Italian Premier, said:

"We thought this would be a short and easy war, but it has become a long and a hard one. We had thought that all the hardships would be of a military character, but we find it difficult even behind the front to keep on fighting. However, we are going to do it and we shall persevere until victory is won."

\* \* \*

### "CASTLES IN THE AIR," FRITZ KREISLER AND THE "MASKED MARVEL."

Special Dinner Bulletin of January the 21st, 1916:

Wall Street brokers, who grudged the expenditure of 25 cents not so long ago for luncheon, will spend \$25 tonight for dinner. The dinner will be special (the price indicates that), and will serve to celebrate all the good things that have come to Wall Street since the Stock Exchange's five months of enforced idleness in 1914, when sometimes even 25 cents was considered so precious that luncheon was omitted at midday.

Tonight's affair will take place at "Castles in the Air," and will begin at eight o'clock. It is described on the

cards as an "Old Time Frolic," thereby conjuring up thoughts of festivities of the sort incidental to other years of Wall Street's prosperity. The entertainment of the evening will consist of violin selections by Fritz Kreisler and an exhibition of wrestling by the "Masked Marvel." Skaters from the Hippodrome will also appear, and moving pictures of the war in France will be shown.

After the dinner is paid for, and the musicians, wrestlers, and skating girls receive their fee, that part of each broker's \$25 remaining will be turned over to the New York hospitals. Events of the kind planned have been so rare in recent years that in Stock Exchange circles today there was a flutter of pleasant excitement, and in the lobby of the Exchange building more was heard of the dinner than of yesterday's Bethlehem Steel dividend or next week's Steel Corporation dividend meeting. Tonight's dinner has put everything else, even the war, fairly and squarely in the shade, so far as Wall Street is concerned.

\* \* \*

### FROM A HIDDEN CORNER IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

An Amsterdam dispatch says that the total captures of the Teutonic Allies during seventeen months of war is summed up in Vienna as follows: Nearly 3,000,000 prisoners, 10,000 guns, 40,000 machine guns, while 470,000 square kilometers of enemy territory has been occupied.

\* \* \*

### SIR JOHN FALSTAFF, A VISCOUNT OF YPRES.

Paris. — The widow of General Moussy of the French Army has written from Brest to L'Eclair, saying that she "does not wish to let history be falsified," and as her husband is no longer alive to vindicate his claims, she desires to enter an objection to the assumption of the title of Viscount of Ypres by Field Marshal Sir John French on the ground that it was General Moussy who saved Ypres on Nov. 6, 1914.

Mme. Moussy says that General Moussy, commanding the Thirty-third Brigade of French Infantry, by the desperate resistance of his detachment,

sent to Zillebeke on Oct. 31 to the relief of the British at Ypres, and by his stoical calm, and tenacious attitude reassured the British, who regained confidence, and thus arrested the German's advance and prevented them from reaching Calais.

Again, the General's widow says that it was on Dec. 6, at the head of a little troop of about 250 men of all arms, got together in haste by General Moussy's staff, that the General charged when the German attempt to pierce the line at Ypres was made, routed two Bavarian regiments, and in the end saved Ypres by capturing Hill 60, between Sewartelen and Zillebeke, thus rendering the march on Calais impossible. On the evening of Oct. 31 General Haig called on General Moussy, she adds, shook hands with him, and thanked him for the "precious aid he had given the English Army."

In further support of her claim in behalf of her late husband, she quotes a letter to General Moussy from General Haig, dated Jan. 2, 1915, thanking General Moussy for the conduct of his troops at Ypres, and adding: "It was really a very critical moment, and it was only this touching camaraderie which assured the Allies' success."

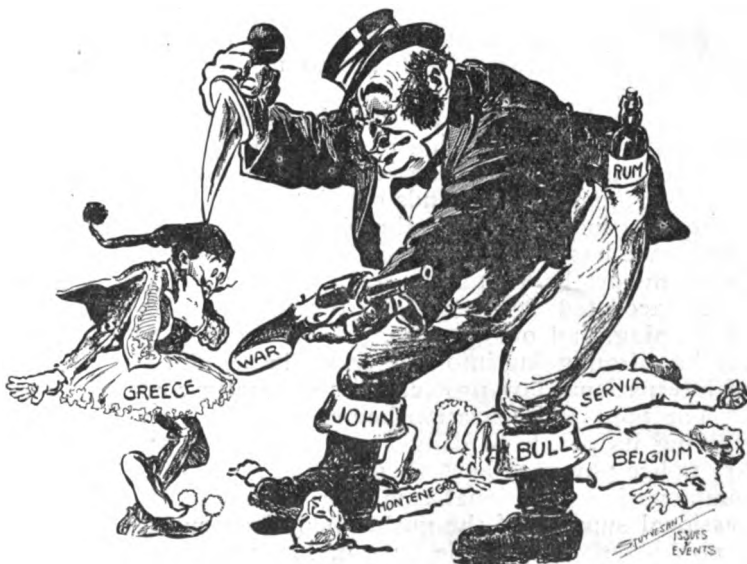
\* \* \*

### ONLY 73 INDICTMENTS SINCE THE WAR BEGAN.

Washington, January 21.—Attorney-General Gregory reported to the House Judiciary Committee today that seventy-three persons and three steamship companies had been indicted for connection with violations of American neutrality since the war began.

His report was in response to Representative Bennett's resolution introduced after President Wilson in his address to Congress assailed the neutrality violators and hyphenated Americans.

Seventy-three indictments, but how many final judgments? One, or two or three. And this out of a pro-German population of at least twenty millions. When one remembers the violent language of President Wilson's last inglorious message one is mildly surprised. Are these 73 defendants all "the creatures" that our pedagogue president wants to be "crushed?"



"DEFENDER" OF SMALL NATIONS; "COMMIT SUICIDE OR I'LL KILL YOU!"



# Confidential Review of Washington Officialdom

By J. BENNETT MAXWELL

Washington, D. C., Jan. 24.—Acute seriousness permeates Washington officialdom to an extent rarely, if ever, experienced, while complexity of momentous considerations has created an atmosphere previously unknown in administration circles.

Public information usually crystallizes about official transactions, but to arrive at the real crux of the situation, one must restrict investigations to actual conditions behind the scene of official action—then, the truth may be unearthed and a reasonable forecast made.

Congressmen don't always voice personal convictions officially. They explain a surprising course as representing requirements of constituents—no matter how great may be the charge of corruption—but now these practices are swept aside, through conviction that, sooner or later, the United States must come to a "showdown." It is realized that present proceedings are real History in the making—that the well-being of the Nation is at stake, as a nation—and a spirit of true patriotism is insistently directing some—regardless of political consequences. Hence, party lines have been obliterated, on occasion, and true patriots and statesmen are gradually becoming of one mind.

Recent events of first magnitude have happened with such frequency that so-called political policies must be altered over night, if one would seek to ride the wave of popular public sentiment—frequently wrong—and more experienced statesmen have some time since sought terra firma, placed their feet on good solid conscientious ground, and are working their way through this seething tumult with more or less certainty. In any event, their conscience should afford sound sleep and better rest them mentally to wrestle with work at hand.

Diagnosticians of public sentiment and prophetic sages are nonplussed by more recent events, and many aspects have completely changed. For example, the pro-English newspaper propaganda gives every evidence of proving a complete failure, in that it would influence the Nation to war on Great Britain's side. Hysterics over a few questionable acts or mistakes of Germany and Austria have completely lost effect, by comparison with Mexican murders and English dominance of commerce—while the German-Austrian diplomatic promptness, as compared with Britain's procrastinations, has already created astonishing anti-English feeling.

Statesmen freely admit their constituents are beginning to discern the true ring of friendship in German transactions, as against the very plain selfishness of England—while judicial minds openly concede that the principle of individual, and the Nation's contributory negligence has much legal weight in establishing damage claims on the high seas—for, it is argued that individuals accepted the hazard, in the face of Germany's warning, and our government did nothing to restrain them from going into danger, while the flimsiness of international law protection is generally conceded. The popular illustration being, the folly of a city warning its people of danger without exercising ordinary police power to keep them out of it.

So ominous have sectional rumblings become that Congressional support of the governmental executive arm is now utterly impossible by some, regardless of Presidential or party policies—past or present. The South Atlantic States are revolting because of cotton; Southern Border States clamoring for military pro-

tection, and revenge and reprisals for Mexican murders; munitions manufacturing districts increasingly pro-English—with the major portion of the Country gradually arriving at the conclusion that Germany is more injured than censurable. These are the evidences as reflected by unofficial, free-lance, confidential discussions.

Sunrise guns of the Presidential campaign are largely responsible for dimming the so-called "crime against humanity," through German invasion of Belgium, for the whole Country is being brought face to face with a deadly parallel in Colombia, as political forces grind out condemnation of Roosevelt and admit the United States first practiced the "Scrap-of-Paper" game in the Panama Canal Zone episode.

Propagation of the Bryan anti-Wilson movement only serves to emphasize the realness of Champ Clark's opportunity to secure the Democratic Presidential nomination for, with Wilson's power weakening through theoretical failures, diplomatic fiascos, and questions of national honor, there is already signs of a political potpourri, as Roosevelt is viewed along with the G. O. P. It is these very political uncertainties that have enabled some of our national law-makers to cast political considerations to the winds, get right back to where our forefathers stood at the framing of the Constitution and, for once at least, let the dictates of true patriotism and conscience prevail.

Through representations of the Red Cross, a profound impression has been made concerning England's inhuman position in restricting Red Cross supplies to Germany, while the death of Nurse Duensing from this act has only emphasized English resort to the world's worst "crime against humanity," in using the Red Cross as a cloak for Nurse Cavill's regrettable actions—particularly so, because a woman agent was used—and the experienced observer can see this condition already forecasts a change in Congressional attitude.

It is being gingerly whispered that all is not roseate in financial circles intimately connected with munitions manufacturing. Foreign credit for huge loans, and advances to American producers, is steadily depreciating and, it is understood, that, so far as political support is concerned in maintaining the right to ship arms, the "Money-Ring" would, if anything, be glad of a chance to pull out of the game with their colossal earnings—while it is yet safe. This rumoring is bound to affect ultimate Congressional proceedings—in fact, it is not at all uncertain that these same "Money-Nabobs" will not turn about and use their influence to embargo arms, for their own protection.

When suggestions are openly made on Congressional floors to take the reins-of-state from Presidential hands, it is easy to see how fast these outside voicings are crystallizing into official actions, while such radical proposals only go to show how earnest is becoming the Congressional conviction that national life hangs in the balance. Strong minds are arriving at decision, which assures action—while their grappling with future possibilities only serves to make their convictions more urgent and fruitful.

So great has become the strain, expressions may be heard that, under normal conditions, would be deemed impolite—even rash—but usual discretion in guarded statements is wanting, pressure so great one must just "talk" and, while the "talk" is in perfect confidence, everyone very well knows its import will be reflected throughout the Nation.

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*— A Weekly Magazine —*

**Vol. IV.**

**NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 5, 1916**

**No. 6**

## **LIES OF THE ALLIES**

**Facts!**

**Proofs!**

**Documents!**

**How England  
Humbugged America**

**By FRANK KOESTER**

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# The Lies of the Allies

Special Issue II. (Article VII)

## Exposure of Diplomatic and Newspaper Duplicity

By FRANK KOESTER

ISSUES AND EVENTS in previous numbers published a series of articles on "The Lies of the Allies," contributed by Frank Koester, the prominent engineer and author. The articles met with such great response that we published a special issue on December 11th, devoted principally to Mr. Koester's masterly expose. The demand for the special issues was so great that it has been completely exhausted.

We have fortunately been able to obtain several additional articles from Mr. Koester, which are a valuable contribution illuminating the devious tactics of the allies. (EDITOR.)

A NUMBER of secret Belgium diplomatic reports were found in Brussels by the Germans and published recently by the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung. These reports clearly show the methods adopted to isolate Germany and to bring about her destruction at the instigation of England. They speak for themselves:

"Baron Leghait, Belgian Minister at Paris, on January 30, 1908, asked whether French jingoes understand 'whether the new grouping of powers is the result of a vast program which was wonderfully schemed in London, and in the execution of which Delcasse, the French Foreign Minister, is more tool than initiator.'

"The Ambassador of France to Berlin, whose reports on German affairs have been published in a French Yellow Book, on May 30, 1908, arraigned the members of the Triple Entente as follows:

"Russia and England both, although with different results, only for the sake of aggrandizement, yea, without plausible pretext, conducted wars of conquest in Manchuria and the Transvaal; and France just now begins the conquest of Morocco, disregarding solemn promises and without other legal title than the transfer of English rights which England did not possess.'

"The same letter says further: 'The Triple Alliance guaranteed thirty years of peace to the world because it was conducted by Germany who was satisfied with the political situation in Europe. The new grouping menaces peace because it consists of powers that desire a revision of the status quo.'

"The Minister of Belgium at Berlin on July 18, 1908, declares that the British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Frank Lascelles, was recalled because "he tried to eliminate the misunderstanding between the two countries which he considered as stupid and highly obnoxious for both, but his zeal did not correspond to the political ideas of his sovereign."

"The Belgian Minister at Berlin, who was anti-German, characterized on February 13, 1909, the political role of the King of England as follows: 'The King of England gives assurance that peace is the aim of all his endeavors. This he has said always since the beginning of his successful diplomatic campaign. The leading intention of this campaign is to isolate Germany, but everyone is aware that the peace of the world never has been

more seriously threatened than since the King of England tried to secure it.'

"The Belgian Minister at Berlin, on April 17, 1909, thus characterized the treachery of Italy: 'For a long time past no one in either Berlin or Vienna has indulged in illusions as to the probable assistance of Italy. The Italian Government is entering into engagements concerning its course toward France and England and at the same time is flirting uninterruptedly with London and Paris. Italy, nevertheless, clings to the Triple Alliance and is using this as a guarantee for the fidelity of her new friends, who inspire her with limited confidence only. Italy reserves the right to side with the stronger party as she did at Algeciras, where she assisted France and England, and as she did more recently in the Oriental problem, where she finally joined Germany and Austria-Hungary after having played an uncertain part until it became apparent which side would be successful.'

"The Belgian Charge d'Affaires in London on April 12, 1907, wrote:

"King Edward's visit, made to his royal nephew in Carthage, had as its main object to try to strengthen the bonds that unite Spain with Great Britain and to diminish as much as possible German influence in Madrid.'

"The Minister of Belgium at Berlin confirmed this idea, writing on April 18, 1907:

"The King of England's visit to the King of Spain is one manoeuvre in the campaign for Germany's isolation which His Majesty, Edward VII., conducts personally with equal tenacity and success.'

"The campaign of the English press, the newspaper says, is thus arraigned by the Belgian Minister at London, Count Lalaing, as being largely responsible for the hostile feeling between the two nations, but what could be expected of newspaper men like Mr. Harmsworth (now Lord Northcliffe), the editor of the Daily Graphic, the Daily Express, the Evening News and the Weekly Dispatch, who said in an interview to the *Matin*: 'Yes, we detest the Germans cordially. They make themselves odious in the whole of Europe. I shall not admit that my paper prints the slightest thing that may hurt France, but I should not like to see anything published that might be pleasant to the Germans.'

"This same editor in 1899 attacked with equal violence the Frenchmen who intended to boycott the Paris Fair and wrote: 'The French have succeeded in convincing John Bull that they are his bitter enemies. England has hesitated a long time between Germany and France, but it always has valued the German character, while it finally feels contempt for France.'

**EVENING  
EDITION****The Evening Telegram****WAR  
EXTRA**

VOL. XLVIII. NO. 21,151.

THE WEATHER—CLEAR AND SLIGHTLY WARMER; THURSDAY, FAIR.  
NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1914—EIGHTEEN PAGES.

PRICE ONE CENT.

# PANIC IN GERMANY AS ALLIES ADVANCE

The "Evening Telegram" on October 21, 1914, having no reliable war news to detail to its readers, fell back upon a "special cable dispatch" from London. Perhaps this "special cable dispatch" did originate in London, but it did not bear any internal evidence of such origin, in fact, there was nothing in it which might not have been written by an imaginative editor at his desk in Herald Square. Why there should have been a panic in Germany just at that time is not obvious. Ostend had just been taken and the Belgian Government had fled to France, while in the East the Russians had been driven back.

The "Evening Telegram" makes a great mistake in not pushing its German circulation. It would sell enormously all over Germany as the greatest comic paper ever published. Germans lose many a good laugh as a result of not seeing the "Evening Telegram."

## Further Revelations.

The sinister intentions of the entente are even more evident from the following excerpts from various documents discovered in the Belgian archives.

Le Baron Greindl, Minister de Belgique a Berlin, a M. le Baron de Favereau, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Berlin, le 30 Septembre, 1905.

"The unheard-of efforts made by the English press to prevent a peaceful settlement of the Moroccan affair and the probably insincere credulity with which it receives all calumnies aimed at the German policy show how ready public opinion in Great Britain is to acclaim any combination hostile to Germany."

Le Comte de Lalaing, Ministre de Belgique a Londres, a M. le Baron de Favereau, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Londres, le 23 Juin, 1906.

"It can no longer be doubted that it was the King of England who, without sanction of the government, drove M. Delcasse into a bellicose policy and who gave him the promise, which he could not have kept, to land 100,000 British soldiers in Holstein."

Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to Baron de Favereau, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, March 28, 1907.

"French arrogance is becoming again what it was during the worst days of the second Empire and the cause of this is the entente cordiale. It has increased still more since it appears that the negotiations between London and St. Petersburg, to which without doubt France has not been a stranger, are going to lead to an entente."

"The English press is pursuing with more desperation than ever its campaign of vilification. It sees Germany's hand whenever something happens that is vexatious to England. In cases of need it invents whole stories, as for instance, the alleged project of a closure of the Baltic Sea." Count de Lalaing, Belgian Minister at London, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

London, May 24th, 1907.

"A certain category of the press, known here as the 'yellow press,' is to a great degree responsible for the hostility between the two nations."

"It is these journalists, editors of cheap and widely read papers, who pervert at will the spirit of an entire nation."

"It is evident that official England is pursuing a policy of stubborn hostility which aims at the isolation of Germany, and that King Edward did not disdain to use his personal influence in the service of this idea, but it is clearly dangerous to poison public opinion as openly as the irresponsible press in question is doing."

Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, May 30th, 1907.

"England is jealous of the prodigious progress in German industry, commerce, and the merchant marine. Accustomed to be without a rival, she considers any competition as an encroachment on her domain."

"She affects to feel alarm, the sincerity of which seems more than doubtful to me, in regard to the development of the German navy. She ought to know, however, that even in a very distant future, an attack by Germany would be practically impossible. It is Germany, on the contrary, who has everything to fear."

"For centuries England has applied herself to the destruction of foreign naval forces as soon as they acquired a certain degree of importance. France experienced this after Holland had done so. Then it was the turn of Denmark, whose vessels were destroyed without the shadow of a pretext by Admiral Nelson who entered the harbor of Copenhagen as a friend."

"It was distrust that popularized in Germany the development of the Empire's fleet, which is at the most strong enough to play a defensive part and of which the majority of the people would not hear as long as they believed that they could count on the friendship or at least the neutrality of England."

"This distrust is increased by the care which the King of England is personally taking to conclude ententes with the entire world except Germany, against whom he has no ground for complaint whatsoever. In this the press is helping by representing each success of England's foreign policy as ultimately aimed at the isolation of Germany. Who would dare to assert that it is mistaken on this point?"

"Far from provoking tension in her relations with England, Germany is suffering under it, as is proven by the repeated efforts at rapprochement, in which Berlin invariably took the initiative."

"The tension in the relations between Germany and England may be of service in petty and short-sighted political calculations, but it compromises the greater interest of the preservation of European peace which has been kept through Germany's powerful influence for the last 36 years. Strained relations between Germany and England encourage the schemes of statesmen who are dissatisfied with the status quo."

Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, June 8, 1907.

"As Count de Lalaing rightly says, the King of England is personally directing a policy, the ultimate aim of which is the isolation of Germany. His action corresponds with the sentiments of the nation, misled by an unscrupulous press, the sole interest of which consists in a large circulation and which is therefore only anxious to flatter the passions of the populace. It is not only the cheap papers that lower themselves to such a part.

"For years the 'TIMES' has pursued a campaign of vilification and slander. Its Berlin correspondent, who has every opportunity to be well-informed, nourishes the hatred of the English against the Germans by imputing to the Imperial Government ambitious schemes the absurdity of which is self-evident, and by accusing it of shady manoeuvres of which it has never thought. Nevertheless, the English public believes in them without wincing, because these inventions correspond with its prejudices.

revenge, and there is not a Frenchman, even among the wisest and most pacific who does not cherish the hope of revenge in the bottom of his heart."

Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, January 27, 1908.

"Where has M. Delcasse seen Germany endeavoring to impose her supremacy on other nations? We are her close neighbors, but for twenty years I have never observed in the Imperial Government the slightest desire to abuse its strength and our weakness. I wish that all the other Great Powers had used the same consideration towards us.

"The policy directed by King Edward VII under the pretext of guarding Europe from the imaginary German peril has created a French danger which is only too real and which is a menace, above all, to us."

Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, February 13, 1909.

"The King of England affirms that the preservation of peace has always been the goal of his efforts; he has not



BOYS COLLECTING FOR THE RED CROSS.

(Original Photograph as published in Germany.)

The American press, however unblushing in its exaggerations, must yield the palm to the astonishing effrontery of the French press. Herewith is reproduced an illustration from "Le Miroir," which purports to show German boys gathering carpets and woolen goods in Berlin during the "wool week" of January 18 to 24, 1915, freely donated to Red Cross purposes. The French paper reproduced this photograph of the charitable work of the German boys as an evidence of thievery, erasing, however, the Red Cross of the original photograph.

Other pictures in the same paper purporting to show that the Germans were just as successful in organized thievery as in commerce were similarly reproductions of German photographs of innocent or praiseworthy work. One view of goods gathered for disinfecting was shown as an alleged collection of booty and others of distribution and sorting of charitable gifts were shown as distribution of booty.

It would seem impossible to be more slanderous than this, but the Russians managed to do it. A picture of a Jewish woman murdered at Bielstock, originally published on page 340 of a book, "The Last Russian Autocrat," issued in 1905, was circulated all over the world and republished in the Argentine paper "Critica," as the picture of a woman murdered at Warsaw by the German soldiers. Three other murdered Jews were declared to be Russian officers massacred by the Germans. These pictures are of such a horrible nature that they cannot be reproduced here. The scheme of the Russians of using evidence of their own crimes as a means of slandering their enemies is undoubtedly the limit of unscrupulous defamation.

"How could the anti-German current be turned by the very small group of more conscientious and more clear-sighted writers? The great majority of the English journalists who accepted the hospitality of Germany belong without a doubt to this select group. One has been preaching to converts."

M. A. Leghait, Belgian Minister at Paris, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Paris, June 17th, 1907.

"In order to arm herself for the moment against perils which are perhaps illusory or in order to strengthen the position of the directors of her internal policy. France is contracting a debt of gratitude which will seem heavy to her on the day when England reveals the purpose for which she wants to use the influence which she has grouped around herself."

Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, July 1, 1907.

"In order to bring about a real and lasting rapprochement it would be necessary to cease thinking of



COMMENT ILS APPRENNENT LA PROBITÉ AUX ENFANTS

Ces jeunes garçons que l'on emploie à transporter des tapis volés, comprendront évidemment l'honnêteté comme leurs parents.

stopped saying that since the beginning of the diplomatic campaign which he has successfully conducted for the purpose of isolating Germany. But one cannot help noticing that the peace of the world has never been more compromised than since the King of England has been trying to ensure it.

"The visit of the King of England coincides with a considerable increase in the naval budget, with the construction of cruisers of the dreadnought type, and with the formation of the most formidable squadron which has ever existed and the base of which is in the North Sea at the point nearest to the German coast. Is all that done only to protect England against the contingency of an attack which Germany is incapable of carrying out?"

Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, March 31, 1909.

"The English press, which is not restricted by the same consideration as the British Government, shows its illhumor even more plainly.

"The state of mind which prevails in England recalls that which existed in France from 1866 to 1870. At that period the French believed that they had the right to prevent Germany from reestablishing her unity, because they believed that it constituted a menace to the preponderance on the Continent which France has been enjoying until then. In the same way the refusal (of Germany) to bind herself by treaty to be at the mercy of England is considered in London today an unfriendly act and a menace to peace."

Baron Guillaume, Belgian Minister at Paris, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Paris, March 3, 1913.

"Baron von Schoen is perfectly right. I am not in a good position here to fathom German public opinion; but I observe every day how public sentiment is daily growing more distrustful and more chauvinistic in France."

"Everyone you meet assures you that an early war with Germany is certain, inevitable. It is regretted, but must be accepted. The demand is that all measures capable of increasing the defensive power of France be voted immediately and almost by acclamation. The most reasonable people maintain that it is necessary to arm up to

the hostilities. When in a communicative mood, the French Ambassador at Berlin did not conceal from me how little one could count on the brilliant but changeable mind of the politicians who conduct the Empire allied to France, for they were playing a double game even with the latter. M. Cambon complained in particular at various times, of the influence which M. Iswolski still retained, because he was pursuing a policy of personal revenge against Austria-Hungary and would endeavor to spoil the game whenever she would seem to be on the point of winning it."

Baron Guillaume, Belgian Minister at Paris, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Paris, January 16, 1914.

"I have already had the honor to tell you that it was M. Poincare, Delcasse, Millerand, and their friends who invented and followed the nationalistic, militaristic and chauvinistic policy, the revival of which we are witnessing. It is a danger for Europe—and for Belgium. I see in it the greatest peril which is menacing the peace of Europe today."

Baron Beyens, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, April 24, 1914.

"For us, the most interesting point in connection with the visit of the Sovereigns of Great Britain is to know whether the British Government would be as inclined today, as three years ago, to range itself by the side of France in the case of a conflict of the latter with Germany; we have had the proof that a cooperation of the British army and the despatching of an expeditionary corps to the Continent have been considered by the military authorities of the two countries."

Would it be the same today and would we still have to fear the entry of British soldiers in Belgium in order to help us defend our neutrality by first compromising it?"

Baron Guillaume, Belgian Minister at Paris, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Paris, May 8, 1914.

"It cannot be denied that the French nation has become more chauvinistic and more self-confident during the last few months. The same well-informed and competent people who, two years ago, showed lively apprehension at the mere mention of possible difficulties between France and Germany, have changed their tone today. They say they are certain of victory; they make much of the progress, which is undeniable, made by the army of the Republic, and they say they are sure that at least the will be able to hold the German army in check long enough for Russia to mobilize her army, to concentrate her troops, and to throw herself on her western neighbor."

"An experienced and high diplomat said recently: 'If a grave incident were to occur one of these days between France and Germany, the statesmen of the two countries would have to exert themselves to have it peaceably settled within three days or there will be war.'"

## 11 GERMAN WARSHIPS SUNK IN NORTH SEA BATTLE, LONDON HEARS

"London hears," according to the Evening Telegram, New York, August 30, 1914, that eleven German warships were sunk in the North Sea.

This was another of those strange things London "hears." Three cruisers of the smallest class (4,000 tons) were sunk, not eleven.

the teeth in order to frighten the enemy and prevent war."

Baron Beyens, Belgian Minister at Berlin, to M. Davignon, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Berlin, March 18, 1913.

"The representatives of the Balkan States at Berlin are today no longer making any secret of the close ties which have never ceased to exist between their Governments and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. The latter alone was informed about the alliance concluded between them and they did not march before they had Russia's approval. Russian diplomacy is, as it were, holding that of the allies in leash. From Russia they receive their instructions, from Russia they will take their orders. But Russian diplomacy itself has varied much since the beginning of

THE EVENING TELEGRAM—NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 27, 1914.

## HUGE RUSSIAN ARMY PRESSES ON TOWARD BERLIN

### BERLIN ALARM GROWS OVER RAPID ADVANCE ON CITY BY RUSSIANS

Opposition to Kaiser's Army in Northern France  
of Great Importance in Connection with  
Invasion by the Tsar's Army.

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(Special Dispatch to the Evening Telegram, via Commercial Cable Company's System.)

While there is no panic, Berlin reports indicate that there is the greatest uneasiness in Berlin, where the news of the Russian advance toward Posen is no longer concealed. The isolation of Antwerp is complete, and there is no communication with Brussels. The greatest opposition being of

### Prussians Retreat as Tsar's Army Sweeps on Through Germany

Russia Has 20,000,000 Men Ready.

St. Petersburg Thursday.—Russia has, with the nation heart and soul for this war, an inexhaustible supply of men capable of bearing arms. There would be no difficulty for Russia to-day in finding twenty millions of such men fit to complete the work begun by the trained fighting forces. Over the furthest extended points of the Polish frontier army after army can pour into undefended Prussia. General Spidlovich, of the Russian general staff, who has left Milan for the front, declares that Russia has three million men moving into Galicia and East Prussia, with five millions of reserves mobilized and ready to follow.

Trains from Koenigsberg Reach Berlin Filled with Fugitives. Who Say

### REFUGEES FLOCKING INTO LONDON DESCRIBE TIE-UP ON CONTINENT

Tourists Declare That Special Trains Carrying  
Wounded and Supplies for Troops Delay  
Traffic—Princeton Man Is Arrested.

London, Thursday.—Refugees, by the train to Berlin, found their way to London to-day. They told their story, which they related, they said, they had all seen of the Continent, and in London, Mr. and Mrs. Tilly Williams, from their arrival from Fribourg, in June and August, from the same city, and everything and were glad to get away from the traffic in Belgium and France is tied up to a great extent by special trains carrying the wounded and supplies for the army in the field. Based on the great European fleet over Antwerp and through the North Sea, there, thousands of British have left their homes.

The "Evening Telegram," New York, of August 27, 1915, is an interesting study in contrasts. Page 1 begins with a heading "Gates to Paris Fall to Kaiser." The "news" describes advance of the Germans, but each item is followed by another indicating the alarm over a Russian advance on Berlin, of which there was no danger. Thus the sting of the truth in France was modified by the balm of falsehood in Russia.

On page 2, across the whole page, a "Huge Russian Army Presses on Toward Berlin." Smaller headings bolster up this "news," each of which, though untrue, lends a certain confirmation to the main falsehood. Finally comes the assertion, "Russia has 20,000,000 Men Ready," followed immediately by an item which itself disproves that statement as that number are by no means ready.

He who runs may read, but if he reads the Evening Telegram he would be better off to run without reading. (Continued on page 97.)

# Papers of the Clark University Historical Conference

## IV. Results of Military Preparedness

By DR. WILLIAM J. HULL

HERE must be no misunderstanding of the full significance and certain results of getting down to business on the military programme. If we give ourselves wholeheartedly to it, we must bid farewell forever to those American ideals of peaceful industry, of genuine education, of real democracy, and of international relations dominated by law and justice. The military powers of the Old World and of all history have shown us but too plainly by precept and example the necessary consequences to industry, education, democracy and international morality, of a whole-souled devotion to a consistently "adequate" military programme.

\* \* \*

Many events have proven the truth of reason's prophecy that on the occasion of every international dispute the country "prepared" with big armaments rattles the sabre in its sheath, or draws the sword from its scabbard, in its effort to back up its diplomacy and incline "justice" to its side. In this era when the whole world is a neighborhood, such preparedness on the part of one nation is emulated by the others who regard the iron fist as a necessary concomitant of their own diplomacy.

But "preparedness" instills the poison of militarism not only into international relations; it militarizes national and individual life and character as well: "The Earth rests not more securely on the shoulders of Atlas than Germany on her Army and Navy," so said one of the prime supporters of military preparedness, the Crown Prince of Prussia. "After all," said the editor of a great London journal, "the British Empire is built up by good fighting by its Army and Navy. The spirit of war is native to the British race. . . . Only by militarism can we guard against the abuses of militarism." Such are the natural fruits of military preparedness; and their counterparts are already pressing upon public attention in our own Republic.

\* \* \*

One of the prime characteristics of the progress of civilization is a growing respect for law and for the sanctity of human life; and yet our Republic is summoned to prepare to engage in international anarchy and in the wholesale destruction of human life. One of our leading preparednessers, in a public debate in Boston, pictured Uncle Sam with a chip on each shoulder (the Monroe Doctrine and Mongolian Exclusion), and with both arms (the Army and Navy) in a sling. To such an ideal of our Republic does the demand for "preparedness" logically lead. Shall it be permitted to eclipse the traditional ideal of Uncle Sam with international rights on one shoulder and international duties on the other, with one hand bearing the torch of liberty, education and industry enlightening the world, and the other pressing upon the nations the scales of international justice?

### The American Programme.

Is it possible that we are going to permit our own beloved Republic to enter upon that foolish, fatal, bloody, brutal path of militarism which has led the nations of today into the abyss—which inevitably has led and must lead always to the abyss? We are standing today at the parting of the ways. Which shall we take? The irrational, anarchistic, inadequate, uncivilized, un-Christian, un-American path of so-called adequate armaments? Or the rational, legal, adequate, civilized, Christian and American path of adequate justice?

The United States has today an opportunity unparalleled in its history—in all history—of answering this question aright, and of leading the world along the better way.

The American people have not yet become a blood-thirsty, a militaristic nation. They will assuredly reject with scorn and contempt the irrational anarchistic, inadequate, uncivilized, un-Christian, and un-American programme of the militarists, and accept gladly and eagerly the rational, legal, adequate, civilized, Christian and American programme of the Madisons, Hamiltons and Washingtons of our time. We have, once before in our history, faced the same great question and answered it aright.

In the gloomy "critical period" of our history, from 1783 to 1789, the burning question arose: Shall each of the Thirteen States build up its armaments on land and sea, to the utmost of its power, and by means of them defend its soil from invasion by the other jealous, rival, hostile States? Or,

shall the great experiment of the Constitution be tried, by means of which inter-State disputes may be settled by judicial process, and the armaments of each State be reduced to a minimum?

The answer was not so simple and easy and matter-of-course as it appears today, after a century and a quarter of successful operation on the part of the Constitution. Undoubtedly, as the Founders themselves acknowledged, the Constitution was "wrung from the grinding necessities of a reluctant people." There were many men then, in the various States, as there are in the various nations today, who declared that they would not entrust the safety of their State and homes to a "mere scrap of paper"; and insisted that the "good old plan" of adequate armaments and preparedness should be adhered to, and the new-fangled follies of the mollycoddle pacifists and poltroon legalists should be rejected. Fortunately for America and the world, the Founders of the Republic triumphed, and an end was put forever within the States of the Union to that policy of adequate armaments and preparedness which would inevitably, if allowed to continue, have made of the Constitution a mere scrap of paper, just as the adequate armaments and preparedness of today have made mere scraps of paper of treaties between the nations.

Of course, it is wholly undesirable and impossible for the world today to establish a national Union such as was established in 1789 between the States. The day for a world-empire, or even a world-republic, has probably passed away forever. But it is possible, practicable and mandatory for the world to adopt unreservedly and adhere to unwaveringly the national, legal, adequate, civilized, Christian and American programme which it entered upon at the two Hague Conferences.

This programme is not vaguely indefinite and purely theoretical, as is that of the militarists. On the contrary, every part of it is clear-cut and every part of it has been put into successful operation. Thus, back of it is the convincing force of sound reason, and the overwhelming proof of successful practice. Let us examine it briefly, and at the same time consider the relation of adequate armaments and preparedness to the programme as a whole and to each of its parts.

Its parts are four in number, namely, the limitation of armaments, the exclusive use of mediation and good offices, international commissions of inquiry, and international arbitration.

### The Limitation of Armaments.

The limitation of armaments has been tried for a century with pre-eminent success between the United States and the British Empire, and for a quarter century between Chile and Argentina. Its adoption in some form—preferably the conversion of all national armaments into an international police force—is absolutely essential to preventing the other parts of the programme from being torn into scraps of paper. The whole world of civilization, both within the belligerent and the neutral nations as well, is looking forward to the time when, after the demolition of adequate armaments in the present Great War, an end shall be put forever to the persistent and fruitful competition between the nations in the building up of adequate armaments, of preparedness, on land and sea. And even the terrible evils of this frightful war are borne with some equanimity in the prime hope of humanity that God may bring out of these evils the total destruction of the nations' means of mutual destruction.

Here, then, will be the first great opportunity of America to lead the world; but this opportunity will belong only to an America with clean hands and pure heart. In that future conference of the nations which is to put an end forever to competition in the building up of armaments, what possible influence for good can the American delegates exert if their country should have itself adopted in earnest the military programme? Would not the other delegates say, with entire justice and finality: "While we were destroying each other's armaments, you seized the opportunity of building up your own; go to, we will go and do likewise?" So far from influencing a world conference to limit armaments, the United States would give such an impulse to competition in the building up of armaments as the world has never known before. And it would thus become its own chief opponent in leading the world to adopt the rest of the truly American programme. It would be as if Virginia, the home of Madison and Washington, or New York, the home of Hamilton,



means of settling all disputes between us;" and had at the same time persisted in building up armaments on land and sea.

At the first Hague Conference in 1899, Russia earnestly advocated the limitation of armaments; but at the second Conference in 1907, after Russia's war with Japan had impelled it to undertake an enormous increase in its armaments, it refused not only to advocate limitation of armaments, but even to place the subject upon the program for discussion.

It will take the United States years, according to our military and naval experts, to reach even the standard of preparedness set by this present war. Meanwhile, immediately on the close of the war, the third Hague Conference must be held, and the delegation from the United States should be prepared, and enabled by their country's attitude on armaments, to accomplish that limitation of armaments which was defeated at the first two conferences by a reliance upon "adequate armaments," and which a bleeding and panting world will demand with a thousand-fold more imperiousness after armageddon that has followed the "preparedness" of past years.

#### Mediation.

Mediation and good offices were placed in the program by the Hague Conferences. They have been tried by the United States scores of time, both before and since the Conferences, and with conspicuous success. On many occasions, Latin-American wars have been prevented or ended by American mediation. Through the good offices of the United States, the Russo-Japanese war, up to that time the most terrible of modern wars, was brought to an end.

This means of preventing war is obviously capable of far greater use and success, and it was not only endorsed by the Hague Conferences as useful and desirable, but it was unanimously declared not to be an "unfriendly" act on the part of the mediator either before or after the outbreak of hostilities.

Why has it not been successful in preventing or ending the present great war? Because of adequate armaments. It was pressed repeatedly before the war began, but was rejected because of the belief on the part of the respective disputants that could gain more by means of their adequate armaments. Our own President was prompt and urgent in the extension of good offices and mediation on the part of the United States. His offer was rejected. Why? Because of adequate armaments. Our country and humanity is watchfully and hopefully waiting for a repetition of that offer. When will the opportunity to offer them again and with success occur? When, and only when, the adequate armaments of one side or the other shall have been smashed into smithereens.

The unanswerable logic of this proposition is fortified by the mediation at Portsmouth when it was found possible to mediate only after the Russian and Japanese armaments had been greatly reduced and when the financial resources of the belligerents prevented them from speedily renewing those armaments. As a man must sow what he reaps a country will assuredly get what it prepares for, whether it be a peaceful adjustment of disputes or war.

#### Commissions of Inquiry.

International Commissions of Inquiry were also endorsed by the Hague Conferences, and they too have been put into successful practice. Founded upon the principle of ordinary common sense that we should investigate before we fight, it has been found that, in nine cases out of ten, that if we investigate we will not fight at all. Among the supplications of this rational means of settling international disputes may be mentioned the famous incident of the Dogger Bank. On this occasion Great Britain, Japan's ally and Russia's suspicious rival, was prevented from going into the Russo-Japanese war, by an impartial, international investigation of an occurrence which had destroyed British lives and touched closely British honor.

How eminently suitable would have been the resort to an international commission of inquiry for the prevention of the present war. This war, it has almost been forgotten, was precipitated by the assassination of an Austrian archduke and duchess. Austria accused the Servian Government of complicity in the crime. Here was a question of fact, which an impartial, international commission of inquiry could have readily sifted and reported upon to the satisfaction of the world's public opinion. This rational course was repeatedly urged before the war began. Why was it not resorted to? Because of "adequate armaments." Because Austria and her allies, and Servia and her allies, believed that they had invincible or irresistible armaments, adequate to secure "justice" for their respective contentions.

#### Arbitration.

This is another pre-eminently American and rational means of settling disputes between nations, and it is one which has been applied with success many scores of times. One of the proudest pages in American history is that which records the success of scores of arbitrations of international disputes to which the United States has been a party. The Founder of Pennsylvania advocated two centuries ago the creation of an international court of arbitration, whose counterpart was established by the first Hague Conference, largely under American initiative and support. The Jay Treaty of 1794 provided for the arbitrations which ushered in the modern history of arbitration, and on the roll of such arbitrations, that at Geneva, which settled the Anglo-American dispute over the Alabama claims, stands out conspicuous because of the magnitude of the claims, the bitterness of feeling and the national honor and vital interests involved in the case.

More than two hundred disputes between sundry nations had been settled by arbitration before the first Hague Conference assembled. At that Conference a resort to arbitration was unanimously approved; and at that Conference the very Prime Minister of England who had condemned and derided arbitration as "a quack nostrum of our time," just a quarter century before instructed the British delegates to move the adoption of a court of arbitration and a regular code of arbitral procedure.

This court, the "Permanent Court of Arbitration," and the first truly international court in history, was unanimously agreed upon by the delegates and ratified by their governments. Four years later, on the initiative of the government of the United States, it was assigned its first case. A dozen years have passed since then—only a tiny span in history—and yet, already that court has settled sixteen disputes between the nations. Some of these disputes have involved grave issues of national honor and vital interests; and before this greatest of earthly tribunals have bowed not only the "little fellows" in the family of nations, like Venezuela and Belgium, but every one of the eight "great powers," with the single exception of Austria-Hungary. The United States repeatedly, Great Britain, Japan, Russia, Italy, France, Germany, each and all of them have recognized the jurisdiction of the court and yielded to its decision. One of these disputes was between the bitter enemies of a generation, Germany and France, and yet this dispute like all the others, was settled by the court, and settled so thoroughly that the world has well nigh forgotten that they ever existed. In fact, of all the two hundred and forty-odd cases of arbitration in history, there has not been a single one in which the award of the arbitral tribunal was resisted! Thus potent is the rule of reason and an enlightened public opinion.

Now why is it that arbitration did not prevent the present war? Because it did not do so, the work of the Hague Conferences has been condemned and derided, and their conventions called "mere scraps of paper." But here again, as in the case of the other measures adopted at The Hague, the existence of "adequate armaments" has been responsible for its rejection. Of course it could not be successful in preventing or ending the war, unless it were resorted to, and a resort to it, though repeatedly urged, was rejected by the belligerents concerned because of Germany's and of Russia's armies and of Britain's fleet.

Experience as well as reason proves conclusively that "adequate armaments" are inevitable, and insuperably opposed to arbitration. At the first Hague Conference, when the Permanent Court of Arbitration was proposed, a German military delegate declared: "Germany will have none of arbitration. It has an army ready to fight at the drop of the hat, and by means of that it will settle its quarrels." A British naval delegate said practically the same thing: "Great Britain has a navy that rules the sea; by means of that it will secure justice. Arbitration is merely a device to enable the other fellow to get ready."

Fortunately, the military and naval delegates were brushed aside, in this matter, at The Hague; the Permanent Court of Arbitration was established, and it has proved its efficiency, in preventing war and enforcing justice, by the unanswerable logic of accomplished facts.

#### The Two Divergent Paths.

These, then, are the two paths that stretch fatefully before our country and the world to-day. Which shall we take, and lead the world to take? Let us make no mistake about it. We cannot take them both. We cannot gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. If we sow the wind we reap the whirlwind; if we prepare for war we cannot preserve the peace. No nation can serve both the God of Battle and the Prince of Peace. Reason and experience prove conclusively that the military programme, if adopted in earnest makes impossible the desire to adopt, as well as the adoption of.

the American programme. And a military programme that is not adopted in earnest is mere foolishness and a criminal waste of money, brains and men.

To lead the world along the American path is difficult? Yes, so have been all of the world's great reforms. But it is **not** impossible, and there are considerations which make it most promising. If our own great Republic keeps the faith, and reassures the world both by precept and example that it has definitely turned its face away from militarism and towards judicial settlement of international, as of State and individual disputes, then indeed it will be in a position, not only to play a useful role in shortening the present war and influencing the terms of peace, but also in persuading the world to adopt the American programme. A generation of groaning under the terrible, increasing and apparently unending burden of competitive armaments; an unknown

period of suffering and dying in the throes of the present war; and the prospect of a long future burdened to the earth by the economic, physical and moral losses of this war, will assuredly incline the nations to the better way. The voice of democracy at home and of international law and equity abroad must infallibly and invincibly be heard. Let America prepare now and persist then in giving expression to that voice, which is its natural, its historic, and its destined role. Friendships, not battleships; statesmen, not men-of-war, must and can perform this great service to ourselves and to all mankind.

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!  
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!  
Humanity with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"

## Peace a Business Proposition, Thinks Colonel House

Washington Letter, By CHARLES FERGUSON

Washington, Feb. 3, 1916.

Mr. Garet Garrett's letter from Berlin, dated January 6, has just been published here. He points out that the war goes on because it has got out of the hands of the civil powers generally.

In each of the belligerent countries the military organization has absorbed the will and intelligence of the nation to such a degree that there is nowhere a sufficient civil initiative left to make peace overtures that all men of sense would welcome and approve.

Diplomacy is bankrupt. The peace initiative will have to come from business men—from men of large affairs who have a vivid sense of the pity and shame of the monstrous waste.

A group of officials in discussing these ideas after dinner at the Cosmos Club remarked that Col. House is at this moment in Berlin. Those who know Col. House, know that his diplomacy is of a new kind—a kind that has not gone bankrupt.

House understands that the great conflict cannot be settled either by war offices or foreign offices—that the problem of peace is at bottom a business proposition. How to make a beginning—to create the organic filaments—of a community-of-interest that shall cross frontiers? That is the question.

Pursuant to this view I offer here certain propositions that are being canvassed here in Washington by men who stand close to the Administration: First, that the modern business system, with its marvelous apparatus of credit-capital, free contract, corporate organization and instantaneous communications, is not only fully capable of working out a world-wide "community of interest" but is in fact unfitted for anything else. It is thrown out of gear by every attempt to localize or provincialize the benefits of its operation, mutuality of interest across all frontiers in the work of subduing the earth, building cities and advancing the practical arts has become a scientific and social reality that people can deny only to their very great hurt.

Second, that the cause of the Great War and of all other modern wars—the cause that lies behind the ostensible causes—is the fact that the subtle and powerful agencies of finance, industry and commerce have been misunderstood and misused. Unenlightened statesmen—and men of affairs who have yielded to the superstitions of an out-worn statesmanship—have committed us to the false and unbusiness-like assumption that it is possible for a nation to get rich at the expense of other nations.

Third, that the special task of civilization is to discover true principles of universal political economy, and to rectify the international business system in accordance with those principles.

Fourth, that the United States has already expressed—in the Pan-American Financial and Commercial Conference and in the Joint High Commission appointed to continue its work—our national adhesion to the cause of international community of interest. We have formally repudiated the false and suicidal policy of business-belligerency that has destroyed the wealth and happiness of European nations.

Fifth, that our overture of commercial and financial peace toward Latin America is in grave danger of being discredited, and can at best appear only as an attempt to array the Western Hemisphere against the Eastern, in one of those jealous and vindictive alliances that have proved so fatal to European states—unless we shall very speedily offer some fuller and more convincing demonstration of our faith in the cause of economic concord throughout the whole circle of commerce.

Accordingly it is suggested that the plan of the American Joint High Commission be expanded and revised by act of Congress; and that the nations of Europe and Asia, whether at war or peace, be invited to participate in its membership and in its work of commercial reconciliation.

If the authorities at Washington decline to take action in this way, or in some other manner of equivalent purport, it is possible for a representative group of citizens—influential in industry and commerce—to create of their own motion and without political sanction, an International Chamber of Commerce in which men of similar character from European countries and from Japan and China, may be induced to co-operate for the restoration of the peace and prosperity of the world.

Let due credit be given to the United States Chamber of Commerce for its commitment to the principle here contended for—as reported in the current news.

The writer has happened (in the prosecution of a public errand in Europe before the outbreak of the war) to make the acquaintance of a number of first-rate men of business in each of the principal belligerent countries, and continued communication with some of these, and has recent assurance that the ideas expressed here would, if put into action by Americans, meet with an eager response in at least one of those countries.

# Confidential Review of Washington Officialdom

By J. BENNETT MAXWELL

Washington, Feb. 3, 1916.

"Big Business," asserting its influence, is more and more becoming the dominant feature of Congressional proceedings. Examination of the external background reveals, supposedly, allied business, apparently, working at cross purposes—notably, in comparison, when traffic in war supplies is considered.

Manufacturers holding large contracts, with plants remodeled and new machinery installed in many instances, do not propose to give up golden opportunity if they can avoid it—and, they believe they can. However, the stumbling-block is assurance of future payments for deliveries in good, solid currency.

It is no secret that the "Money Ring" is not altogether certain that substantiality of foreign securities, for cash loans, is going to continue long enough to enable them to fulfill their tacit arrangements to finance American war-supplies' traffic—and the fact that troublesome times are indicated ahead, furnishes good reason as to "why" they may reasonably be expected to, at least, exert no effort for or against an embargo on arms—and to suspect they might be strongly inclined to favor embargo.

To forecast future probabilities, with accuracy, is only possible at the hands of the irresponsible guesser. With the administration committed to a much-mooted policy, the element of politics fails to have usual strength because party lines are utterly broken. It is proverbial that when "Big Business" "steps in" the individual politician "steps out," and there can be no question concerning unmistakable signs that the United States will no longer tolerate England's vicious commercial policies, as evidenced by the official declarations of members of Congress. The national enigma

only becomes more complex when we consider national movements for peace, preparedness, and Americanization of the hyphenated, and that there is confusion of ideas and claims—all having congressional exponents to some degree—is evident while demands of injured "individual business" for reprisals against England and her Allies, by placing embargo on arms, seems to have struck a popular chord.

An element of munition makers already views the profits of lucrative contracts, through the Government—in the prosecution of some preparedness plan—which is bound to accrue, so that it is not altogether certain they will go out of their way to avoid favorable action on an embargo, so it can easily be seen that an embargo is not without the possibility by any means.

Other surprising indications are that the administration would not hesitate to seize opportunity to clash with Germany, but powerful anti-English feelings seems to be an effective barrier against such developments, because everyone knows that German and American interests are largely identical as against British dominance of world's trade and commerce.

That President Wilson's stern realities have forced him to conclusion that we must meet these National and International problems with a firm hand is evidenced by his public pronouncements, which at last assume a proper American attitude, and repudiate previous mistaken theories through open admission.

This together with a non-partisan Congressional attitude, absolutely forecasts the full national realization of the fact that we "the people" of the United States of America must take the decisive stand in relation to world questions and settle them from our own viewpoint, in so far as national honor will permit.

## Miss Cavell and Vrouw Van Wauterghem

### Justice, a Corrupted Press and False Sentiment

By R. L. ORCHELLE

Despite their numerous and terrible disillusionments the Germans still persist in counting upon the sense of justice and the common sense of their foes. They still credit their enemies with a logic, a magnanimity and a spirit of fairness which vanished long ago beneath the awful exactions made upon the public conscience and the national reason by a false cause defended by a vicious and fanatic press.

These points have been proved by the conduct of the English journals following upon the execution of Miss Cavell. That the sentence was just not even the English can deny—for this was acknowledged by the woman herself. That it was severe no one can doubt—for such are the drastic laws of war that severe penalties often follow upon minor transgressions and even noble acts of heroism and self-sacrifice. That the execution of Miss Cavell was necessary either thereby or indirectly is a matter which the German military authorities alone are able to decide. That this clever and dauntless woman with her extensive organization of spies and her "underground railway" for escaping prisoners was a dangerous menace to German security, none but idiots will dispute. That she had been repeatedly warned has been proved. It is certain that she knew the penalty for persisting in her action. She was one of the most dangerous of Germany's enemies,

waging war upon the power that permitted her to remain in the country and waging it under the cloak of the good Samaritan (which in many ways she may have been) and under the greater prerogative of her sex. For that she is not to be censured and may indeed be praised. But it was necessary that she be punished, nay, more, in the nature of things that the punishment be deterrent unto others, who, with a lesser penalty in store would have merely stepped into her place.

Nor can one blame the English for striving to glorify her secret activities into a heroism beside which that of the sainted Pucelle they burned at Rouen, pales into nothingness. If the war has brought no national hero to the English, one may at least grant them a heroine. But it was only death that conferred the final accolade of this heroism upon the courageous woman—and death by execution. Had she died of disease or old age, scarcely a whelp in Fleet Street would have emitted a whine. In war a nurse may be a spy and a spy a nurse and serve his or her country well as either. But in war there are no women spies. There are only spies. And hard though the law may seem, death is the immemorial penalty for the spy.

There is, I repeat, no doubt that the German Court Martial was just in the sentence passed upon Miss Cavell—according to the stern decrees of war. They

did not believe that the absolute justice of the sentence would be called into doubt any more than Germans themselves had questioned the correctness of the sentences carried out against certain brave German women in the enemy's hands.

The execution was not an injustice. It was not even an inhumanity—for the mercy "that droppeth as the gentle dew from heaven"—must,—is it even necessary to mention this?—undergo another interpretation in times of war. But was the execution a mistake?—a mistake—because it ignored the base uses to which the incident might be put by Germany's unscrupulous enemies? There is no denying that, owing to their control of the cables and the press of the world, Germany's enemies hold her good name as a hostage, and that no matter how just her cause may be, some consideration must be paid to this painful fact.

The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, No. 334, has just published the following fac-simile of a letter found in Antwerp. It bears a date prior to the German occupation and the signature of the Minister of War and the Auditor-General. It was destined to be sent on to Louvain but was never delivered:

~~Antwerp~~ Antwerpen.

Antwerpen, 20 August 1914.

Mynheer de Burgemeester,

Wanens den Heer Generaal-Bevelhebber der Provincie. heb ik de eer u te verzoeken zoo spoedig mogelyk, volgend uittreksel uit een vonnis door den Krygsraad der 3de Legerscheiding geveld in uwe gemeente te doen aanplakken

"De Krygsraad der 3de Legerscheiding, zitting houdende te Leuven, heeft, in dato van 17 August 1914, in zake van

1° TROUPIN Karel, dagbladenschryver, geboren te Luik, den 24 Februari 1873, gehuwd te Brussel, Noordlaan Nr 8;

2° ROMEL, Frederik-Willem, geboren te Verviers, den 12 April 1887, ingenieur-electricien, gehuwd te Parys

3° VAN WAUTERGHEN, Julia, geboren te Brussel, den 26 Januari 1872, echtgenote HONTANG, Eugene, gehuwd te Brussel, Noordlaan Nr 8

Overtuigd den eerste van verraad en spionnering de twee anderen van spionnering

Ben vonnis uitgesproken de drie betichten ter dood verrijpende

Het vonnis werd uitgevoerd te Leuven, den 18n derzelfde maand

De Auditor Generaal  
(Get ) BON DURUTTE

De Minister van Oorlog.  
By bevel  
Voor den Algemeenen Bestuurder  
(Get ) V de Longueville

De Gouverneur,

*Am van de Wier en van Schijf.*

The translation reads as follows:—

Provincial Government of Antwerp.

Antwerp, August 20, 1914.

Mr. Mayor:

In the name of the General-Commandant of the Province, I have the honor of requesting you to affix as soon as possible the following excerpt from a judgment passed by the War Council of the Third Army Division, in the public places of your community.

The War Council of the Third Army Division in its session at Louvain on August 17, 1914, has decreed in the cases of:

1. Troupin, Carl, journalist, born at Liege, February 24, 1873, residing at Brussels, Noordlaan, No. —.

2. Romel, Fredrich William, born at Verviers, April 12, 1887, electrical engineer, living at Paris.

3. Van Wauterghem, Julia, born at Brussels, January 20, 1872, wife of Eugene Hontang, living at Brussels, Noordlaan, No. 8.

Judgment as follows: the first convicted of treason and espionage, the other two of espionage—the three accused have been sentenced to death.

The sentence was executed at Louvain on the 18th of this month.

The Minister of War,

By Command,

For the Chief of the

General War Administration,  
signed: de Longueville.

The Auditor-General.

signed: Baron Durutte.

The Governor.

Baron van der Nerve  
en van Schide.

"We will assume," says the Norddeutsche, "that this stern decree was as equitable as that delivered in the case of Miss Cavell. It was carried out as rapidly and as inexorably against citizens of the country in one case as against a hostile foreigner in the other. We shall not seek to emulate our enemies and paint in lurid colors possibly harrowing details of the execution of a woman. Nor shall we assume from this triple death sentence that a reign of terror had been spread by the Belgian government. We know all too well that he who in the service of the enemy transgresses against military necessity, must be put beyond the possibility of doing further harm, and that softness and consideration shown towards such actions are turned into a punishable jeopardizing of one's own security."—"Continental Times."

### THE LOYAL SHERBORNIANS AND THE LADIES' COLLEGE.

Sherborne is an old-world Dorset town, but there is ample evidence that its leading citizens are alive to every aspect of the German peril. Locally, matters were recently brought to a head by a threat on the part of certain excitable residents to raid the premises of the Sherborne Ladies' College, where the retention of several German women as teachers has affronted the patriotism of loyal Sherbornians. In this connection an unpleasant crisis might have been reached, but for the prompt and effective action of Mr. H. J. Seager, who at once summoned an emergency meeting of the Urban District Council, of which he is the Chairman for the current year. Outlining the circumstances which had seemed to justify this unusual step, Mr. Seager speedily proved himself equal to the situation. It was essential, he insisted, that the College authorities should be warned of the consequences likely to ensue from the retention of Germans upon their staff, while at the same time a protest should go to the Home Office in the name of the town against "a German woman being harbored in a school for the children of English parents." These practical suggestions seem to have commanded the general assent of the Council, although one member wanted "to make the matter less personal," while another thought the German ladies "should be asked very kindly to leave." Ultimately the following resolution was carried without dissent:

That a warning be sent to the Head Mistress of the Ladies' College (Miss Mulliner) and the Council of the College, stating that if they persist in their unpatriotic act of employing German women, upon their shoulders will rest the responsibility should any rioting take place and any damage be done to the school buildings or injury inflicted upon the teachers and scholars.

And:

That a notice be sent to other German residents, saying that their names are being sent to the Home Office.

"How does that apply to naturalized Germans?" inquired a Councillor. "That applies to all: naturalized or not," explained the Chairman.

Bravo, Seager!

—John Bull.

# Issues & Events

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ready to help all who fight for

PRINCIPLES, IDEALS, HONOR AND JUSTICE

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## LIES OF THE ALLIES.

As a sequence to our first exposure of "lies" promulgated by England and her allies, **ISSUES AND EVENTS** presents a further expose as a result of insistent demands by a multitude of fair-minded Americans. And it is with supreme gratification, because it is notable that as a result of our "fight" for honesty in news portrayal, we have received not only remarkable results, but general commendation throughout the journalistic field.

## WASHINGTON IS CHANGING ITS MIND.

Washington is changing its mind about the war. It is drifting away from the Anglo-Franco-American entente for which Stephen Pichon pleads in the "Paris Matin."

It is this changing mind of Washington that made the sharp **volte face** in England on the question of tightening the blockade. The English Cabinet was given to understand the United States is near the end of concessions concerning lawless seapower. A fortnight ago the British press was ready to let neutrals all "go hang." But prudent men have thought best not to declare a "Lincoln blockade"—foreseeing it could not be recognized.

Another sign is the proposed munition embargo. But beyond all ostensible signs is the fact that deepest human interest of the United States fights against plutocracy.

After all, when the sophistications have been swept away, what could be clearer to plain men than that the strength of Germany is the strength of good workmanship, while the strength of England is that of the negotiator, the money-lender, the country-side of which has become infected with a cancerous growth she has spun herself—spider-wise—into the center of the world's credit and commerce—where she lives not by creating values, but by levying tolls of interest, tonnage and mortgage-foreclosure upon all workers of the world.

The mass of the American people are coming to realize this, and Washington responds to all the deeps and shallows of American feeling.

## OUR POLICY VINDICATED AGAIN.

The powers have been notified that unless they subscribe to removal of all guns from merchant ships they will be denied entry to American ports, except under conditions which apply to warships. At last the administration has accepted the position advocated so persistently by **ISSUES AND EVENTS**, which is only another vindication of the correctness of our editorial policy.

## THE AMERICAN HUMANITY LEAGUE.

The historic petition signed by more than a million citizens of our republic which has been presented to the Senate on January 27th, praying for an embargo on ammunition, will be remembered for ages to come as one of the noblest outbursts of the American people. William Bayard Hale's spirited letter, printed in this number, gives a most splendid account of that great scene in the Senate, and its deep significance, and there would be no necessity for us to dwell upon it any further were it not for the share readers of **Issues and Events** have taken in that humane enterprise.

Thousands of signatures and petitions from our readers have been forwarded by us to the American Humanity League and we were very glad and proud to assist a great cause and to give expression to the real feelings of America. To-day it is a most inspiring thought for us to know that a large part of that petition has been brought about by our readers and we wish to thank them most heartily for their manly support of the cause of real and unsophisticated humanity.

## ITALY FOR "ITALY"—FIRST.

Evacuation of all Albania, except Avlona, by Italians and Serbs, is conceded to be a movement of first magnitude concerning the war. It not only exposes Italy's Balkan course, but convincingly shows German dominance, of a substantial and permanent character, of the Balkans—and concern for the nation's well-being itself precludes Italy's participation in chasing the Balkan phantom of Great Britain. Germany and Austrian control has long since been accepted by sane diplomats.

## ANTI-WILSON CLOUDS GATHERING.

President Wilson's public plea to the foreign born will hardly prove fruitful at this late day. Its political significance is plain, while action by the North-eastern Saengerbund, at Baltimore, taking exception to presidential use of the word "traitor," and its applied inference, shows there can be little hope of German-American support of Wilson at the polls in the coming presidential election.

## OUR CLAIMS SUBSTANTIATED.

**ISSUES AND EVENTS**, after vigorous condemnation of the criminality of England's tampering with the mails—and pointing out the ulterior motive of commercial greed—is now fully supported through Senator Walsh's exposure of British orders, to blockade vessels, to obtain trade secrets from illegally opened American mail. There is no surprise at this proof, but there is astonishment in the fact that the administration has been so slow in realizing a truth that has been self-evident to all well informed persons.



**BREAKERS AHEAD.**

Shorn of distortions, conspiracies and betrayals, our country finds itself in precisely this position:

While presuming to champion the cause of Neutrals and Humanity, we are walking straight into the jaws of war on the side of England.

If events, practices and policies of the recent past can be accepted as a criterion of what we may expect in the future, there can be no other alternative—that of war as an ally of Great Britain—and, in view of conditions, it is not hard to conceive America vaingloriously rushing to the salvation of the English-speaking race.

There is strong evidence of such a conspiracy against the nation and its evolution has risen to a stage where the great veil obscuring the people's vision is fast assuming concrete form, while the underlying reasons are all too evident to the thinking citizen who troubles himself to seek the truth.

Today, England falters on the brink of ruin. Her record of military, diplomatic, and financial blunderings and failures more than counterbalance her claims to "Divine Might of the Seas." Even this supremacy hangs in the balance, while a compulsory resort to conscription threatens internal revolutions and an overthrow of the government itself.

Her "weakest link" is the policy pursued in deluding her people, which has been so well emulated in this country, and the fact of their awakening has brought about the present crisis.

With her national debt nearly tripled, war expenditures beyond \$27,500,000 a day and steadily increasing, securities for loans repudiated, income tax advanced to 17½ per cent. and to 34 per cent. when the "super-tax" on large incomes is included, freight rates on importations advanced to almost prohibitive figures (in some instances almost seven times the prices prevailing in 1913), food prices soaring to famine quotations, currency of the realm inflated by paper issues, gold streaming from the Empire for war supplies, newspaper campaigns of lies, distortions, and false promises and hopes, the new conscription bill only able to bring 500,000 additional men into the army, and a nightmare of blunderings and failures. It is no wonder a condition of acute alarm has forced itself into the minds of the English Government and populace, nor is it surprising that they should cast longing and beseeching eyes toward their **supreme benefactor**—the present government in power at Washington.

**QUESTIONS WORTH ANSWERING.**

It is no wonder that Congressman Flood, chairman of the foreign affairs committee, has reversed his former attitude and decided to start a series of public hearings on the proposition of placing an embargo on arms and munitions of war to England, as a measure of reprisal against Great Britain. Early last summer when the Southern farmers were feeling the pinch of the restricted export market for cotton, and England was seizing cargo after cargo of American cotton consigned to neutral European nations and withholding payment for them—although at the same time selling cotton freely to these same nations itself—congressmen of the South were flooded with letters and petitions urging measures of reprisal.

Evidently the voice of the Solid South has been heard, but it is likely to be cracked in its pleadings without accomplishment—and just as likely to be broken at the next presidential election in its disgust of Wilsonism and John Hog's dictatorship over American commerce.

It has indeed come to a case of "America save England," rather than the previous notion of helping her "crush" Germany—and it is the acute seriousness of

this undeniable situation that brings the "crisis" dangerously close to the United States.

If every true American will ask himself a few plain questions, and apply ordinary common sense in their solution, the light of knowledge and reason will soon illuminate our country, and it should result in driving to perdition the chief conspirators on American soil who would make the nation a tool of England.

1. Why such grave concern over the loss of several lives of American citizens on the high seas, when we view with such complacency the murder of hundreds of non-combatants, American citizens, and even our soldiers in uniform on United States soil, at the hands of Mexican insurrectionists?

2. Why such "stern notes," impolite crude language and threats to Germany and Austria, when the chief violator of American rights and honor on the high seas is Great Britain?

3. Why should we be so insistent on "prompt replies," "disavowals," from Germany and Austria, while we patiently wait for ten long weeks and more for a reply from England concerning her outrages to American rights?

4. Why do we feverishly aid Great Britain in every conceivable direction, by stretching neutrality interpretations to the breaking point, while she, above all others, is actively engaged in throttling American rights?

5. Why do we permit our citizens to sail on belligerent vessels engaged as troop transports and in carrying war supplies, thus inviting death at the hands of enemies sworn to sink the vessels transporting them?

6. Why are we so careful to refuse passports to **Peace** propagandists to enter belligerent countries, while we silently allow women and children to take passage on vessels marked for destruction?

7. Do we complacently view the newspaper campaign of distortion, bias and vilification against Germany, only because the known results of such infamy benefits England?

Why? A thousand times "why"? Are we in the hands of traitors or imbeciles? Has plain, every-day common sense become an unknown quantity at Washington or are we witnessing an awful conspiracy?

Let the common sense and fairness of the average American citizen answer, and the reply will forecast an upheaval and reversal in public sentiment and individual lassitude, that will soon abolish such dangerous heresies as now practiced by a certain set of selfish schemers.

**JOURNALISTIC FUTILITY.**

It is refreshing to note the extreme endeavors of a pro-English "Press" to insist on maintenance of traffic in war supplies, and it only emphasizes a full realization of the fact that there is powerful reason for believing that **we must alter our policy, for our own protection.** Endeavors to discredit the voice of the people, as expressed in monumental petitions poured into the Senate chamber, through auspices of the "Organization of American Women for Strict Neutrality," only proves the seriousness of consideration of an "Embargo on Arms." An embargo is not unexpected—it is almost imperative.

**ENGLAND—THE COSMOS?**

Little drops of water,  
Little grains of sand  
Make the mighty ocean  
And the beauteous land.  
Here comes brazen England  
The haughty pirate-band  
Claiming all the oceans  
Also all the land!

## Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

### Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

#### NATIONAL CITY BANK ON "FICTITIOUS PROSPERITY."

The National City Bank in its January circular continues to sound the note of warning regarding "fictitious prosperity" which it struck several weeks ago. It points out that the nations of Europe are wasting their substance and their men in the great struggle now going on, and as an illustration of the enormous strain under which the belligerents are laboring notes that the expenditures of Great Britain have increased from \$2,250,000,000 in the first year of the war to more than \$6,000,000,000 per annum at the present time. It adds that, considering the interruption of normal industry and trade and the vast absorption of capital, it is remarkable that the affairs of the world are going on as well as they do.

After comparing the bank statements of the great European nations for 1915, 1914 and 1913, and commenting on the tremendous quantities of goods which the Allies are purchasing in this country, which purchases have had much to do with our suddenly renewed prosperity, the circular says:

"It is evident that there must be something fictitious in a prosperity which arises from vast expenditures which have no permanent economic value, and which come in part from a saved up fund which may be eventually exhausted. A spendthrift is not enjoying real prosperity while he is dissipating his inheritance. We know that the countries engaged in the war have all sold large amounts of American securities and are poorer in capital by having done so. Some of them have borrowed extensively in this country and are the poorer for these obligations.

"Moreover, heavy losses may be suffered within the belligerent countries without buying or selling abroad. There is an exhaustion of merchandise stocks, unless they are replenished, and there is a wearing out, deterioration and obsolescence of equipment, structures and every kind of property unless repairs and replacements are made. Moreover, if the savers of capital and owners of property, who are the leaders and organizers of industry, pledge their credit for the support of the Governments,

and later have to pay most of the taxes entailed by the war, the effect will be the same as the cancellation of a large part of their advances, and will leave them with less capital for conducting industry and for the advancement of industry than they had before.

"Therefore, the progress of the world will be slower, not only during the war but after the war, because of the diversion of capital to unproductive uses and the pledge of anticipated income for years ahead. The greatest loss by the war undoubtedly is in this check upon normal progress, rather than in a retrograde movement from the position occupied by the world when the war began."

Referring to the results of the European war in this country, the circular says:

"The war has effected a revival of industry in the United States, and general opinion the world over holds that this country will occupy a much stronger position relatively in international trade and finance hereafter. Certainly it will have bought back a large share of the securities representing American properties that have been held abroad, and very likely the balance of payments on account of interest and dividends will be in our favor. But whether this signifies a gain over what our position would have been without the war is a different question."

#### FORD PARTY A "VOYAGING LUNATIC ASYLUM."

George Brandes was asked about his opinion on the Ford peace propaganda and the attitude of Denmark. The famous critic made the following significant statement:

"Denmark's position is extremely delicate. She cannot afford to do any blundering, and she feared that a violation of neutrality or a Danish demonstration at the Ford peace meetings might be misconstrued.

"But Denmark is really kind to the Ford party in not allowing the meetings, because the Ford party has nothing to say more than commonplaces about peace, humanity and justice. All sensible people want peace. I regard the Ford party as a voyaging lunatic asylum."

"Humanity is growing more stupid every day and cruelty is ever increasing. We are reproached for not being optimistic. In America optimism is regarded as the greatest quality and symptom of civilization and progress, but optimism checks progress by hindering the struggle against injustice.

"Ford is an optimist, therefore he is ineffective. I cannot understand why he did not see Sir Edward Grey, Von Bethmann-Hollweg and the other diplomatists. He would then learn the situation.

"Ford's leaving secretly made the expedition still more ridiculous, but the results would have been the same. The situation would not have been affected in any event, except to hinder the peace idea, for now people will smile whenever peace is mentioned.

"I always believed American millionaires were clever and understood human nature, otherwise they would be deceived by their lieutenants, but Ford puzzles me. If a premium were to be awarded for stupidity Denmark could secure it, but we have no men so naive as Ford."

\* \* \*

#### AVE, IMPERATOR CAESAR ET REX, VICTOR ET GLORIOSUS.

After having died twice within the last four weeks Kaiser Wilhelm II recovered from the newspaper deaths and proceeded to Nish, where King Ferdinand of Bulgaria welcomed him in the following words:

Ave, Imperator Caesar et Rex, Victor et Gloriosus! Ex Nissa antiqua omnes orientis populi te salutant redemptorem ferentem oppressis prosperitatem atque salutem; vivas!

(The peoples of the East salute thee as a redeemer bearing prosperity and safety to the oppressed.)

\* \* \*

#### REPRESENTATIVE CAMPBELL AND PORTO RICO AS THE WORLD'S CAPITAL.

Washington.—A peace resolution by Representative Campbell of Kansas provides for the establishment of an "International Confederation of the World" to enforce international law with an international army and navy.

"That each nation elect and send delegates to a 'world's congress,' comprising a Senate and House, sitting in Porto Rico, to make and administer international law and by its navy and army, contributed pro rata by the various nations, enforce peace, is proposed. The confederation would have a president serving for twelve years."

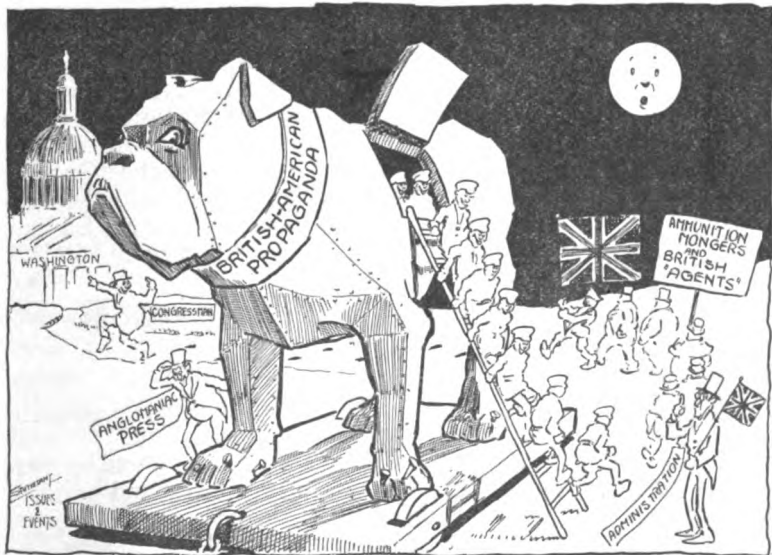
Some of our Representatives seem to be some Representatives.

\* \* \*

#### A SUBMARINE WHITE PAPER AT LAST.

London, Jan. 27.—Since the outbreak of the war to the end of last October 254 British merchant steamers, aggregating 542,648 tons, were lost "through enemy action," according to a White Paper issued tonight. Of these 171 were sunk by submarines, forty-six by warships, and thirty-seven by mines.

Nineteen sailing ships, of a tonnage of 15,542, were sunk. The fishing vessels sunk numbered 227, of which 158



were steam and sixty-nine sailing. Their aggregate tonnage was 14,104. The total number of vessels known to have been lost through "enemy action" is 500.

In the same period 167 steamers, aggregating 143,992 tons, were lost "by ordinary marine casualties, of which fourteen, of a tonnage of 14,133, were returned as missing."

The loss of some of these, says a footnote, was "probably due to mines or other enemy action."

Sailing vessels to the number of 229, and of a tonnage of 31,253, were also the victims of ordinary marine casualties. This puts the total losses up to the end of October at 896 vessels.

According to this official English report the mercantile marine of England has suffered a loss of about 900 vessels, aggregating about 750,000 tons, to the end of October, 1915. Since then three months more have passed of very lively submarine activities in the Mediterranean. And yet all American newspapers go on babbling about the failure of the submarine.

\* \* \*

### FLEMISH SNIPERS AND THE SAVIORS OF BELGIUM.

Montreal.—Sniping by Flemish residents of Belgium has been the source of much trouble to the British and French armies, according to Charles Gaudet, K. C., who arrived here today from the western battle front. Mr. Gaudet said that the sniping in and about a certain Belgium town occupied by the British, had caused his brother, a colonel commanding the Twenty-second Regiment, composed of French-Canadians, to threaten to hold the town's authorities to accountability if the practice continued.

The majority of the Flemish residents of Belgium are closely related to the Germans, he said, and for this reason are strongly sympathetic with them.

\* \* \*

### ENGLISH SHIPBUILDING ONE MILLION TONS SHORT.

London.—According to Lloyds' summary of shipbuilding in 1915, Great Britain's output in mercantile tonnage was 1,032,629 below the previous year.

Three hundred and seventeen steamers, aggregating 648,629 tons, were built, and ten sailing vessels, totaling 2,290 tons.

On December 20 last the German Admiralty announced that since the beginning of the war up to November, 1915, a total of 624 British ships, with a tonnage of 1,231,944, had been destroyed, which meant a loss of 5.9 per cent. of the total British tonnage. Since then by official announcement and unofficial estimates, these totals have reached 699 ships and 1,331,944 tons.

\* \* \*

### REMEMBER THE ARMENIANS!

Blakely, Ga.—Excitement, caused throughout this section by clashes between white men and negroes near here, in which seven negroes were killed and two whites severely hurt, had not entirely died down. Influential white citizens, who were busy until late last night in efforts to prevent further possible outbreaks, expressed the belief, however, that there would be no more trouble.

Five of the negroes were shot and killed and two others were burned to death, according to reports here, as a result of three fights between the negroes and various bands of whites seeking to capture Grandison Goolsby, a negro farmer, and his two sons, Mike and Ulysses, accused of killing Henry J. Villipigue, an overseer, who had thrashed one of the younger Goolsbys. Villipigue was shot in the back on Wednesday night, his wife narrowly escaping death from several other shots fired after he fell.

The negroes reported dead as a result of an all-day hunt, which started on Thursday morning when news of Villipigue's death spread through the county and culminated in pitched battles in the afternoon, were Grandison Goolsby, his two sons, both of whom were burned in a cabin in which they sought refuge; "Hosh" Jewell, Charles Holmes, James Burton and Early Hightower.

\* \* \*

### COAL SHORTAGE IN THE ALLIED COUNTRIES.

The production of coal in England decreased about 22,000,000 tons in 1914, compared to 1913. That this decrease was mainly caused by the disturbance wrought in British industry by the war is shown by the fact that the loss amounted to 15,000,000 tons in the second half of 1914. In the first half of 1915 the British Board of Trade reported a production of 127,000,000 tons,

i. e., 15,000,000 tons less than in 1914. The English mining industry has been hampered by strikes, transportation difficulties, lack of mine timber and most of all by enlistment of miners in the army. Should conscription be enforced, the latter handicap might prove disastrous.

On the other hand, the consumption of coal in the English navy, by the railways and the plants for manufacture of war material has increased considerably. As a consequence, the export of coal to neutral countries was at first curtailed and afterwards entirely forbidden. Great hardships have thus been inflicted upon countries like Spain, Greece, Norway, Sweden, whereas Switzerland and Holland continue to be sufficiently supplied from Germany.

Yet not only the neutrals but also England's allies are suffering considerably from a coal shortage which Great Britain seems unable to relieve. Italy's coal production being almost nil she used to draw her coal from England while large quantities of coke came from Germany, for which after Italy's entry into the war England was supposed to make good. But far from doing so England had to curtail even her ordinary deliveries of coal to the extent that during the first eight months of 1915 2,000,000 tons less were delivered than in 1914. Loud complaints by the Italian Government as well as by Italian manufacturers have been the consequence. According to reports received from Rome, prices have at times advanced between 600 and 700 per cent.

A considerable quantity of France's coal production is unavailable for the French industry as the coal fields are in the hands of the Germans. France ordinarily consumed 61,000,000 tons, 41,000,000 of which were her own production. England supplied 12,000,000 tons, Germany nearly 6,000,000 tons, and the remainder came from Belgium. The occupied parts of northern France furnished ordinarily 27,500,000 tons, the southern district only 13,500,000 tons. In view of the enlistment of workmen and the transportation difficulties, the total output of France is estimated at only 6,000,000 instead of 41,000,000 tons. That England is unable to supply the needed quantities is proved by the recurring news of a coal famine in Paris.

European Russia in peace times produces 31,000,000 tons of coal. In 1913 she imported 10,000,000 tons, 6,000,000 tons of which came from England and 2,500,000 tons from Germany. The Dombrova basin (in Poland) has long been occupied by the Teutonic allies, which means a loss of 7,000,000 tons.

The output of the Denez basin (Cherhoff) has diminished 30 per cent. since the war. English imports through the Baltic and Black Sea have ceased. Little comes over the congested ports in the northern ice sea. Via Vladivostok the railway freight is prohibitive. Thus Russia is compelled to use her domestic substitutes—naphtha, wood and peat. But only machines with specially fitted fire grates can use these substitutes; hence the coal question is critical for Russia also.

The European shortage could be easily supplied by American coal. But England's maritime policy of driving the American ships from the high seas has caused such a shortage in vessels that bottoms for such bulky freight as coal are not available.

R. J. Oberföhren.



**Mr. Serge Diaghileff's Harems.**

Mr. Serge Diaghileff, the famous Russian ballet master, has been compelled by the New York police authorities to modify certain scenes in two of his most accomplished productions. A number of playgoers had complained about the indecency of the harem scenes in "Sheherazade" and of the final aspect in "L'Après-Midi d'un Faune." After a brief consultation at headquarters, the dancing authorities surrendered to the puritan police authorities and there are now thousands of New Yorkers who are grief-stricken for not having witnessed the first performances.

After having made the cuts demanded by our watchful, though not waiting, police, Mr. Diaghileff remarked that "America is saved" and that an orgy in a harem is "not a pink tea." He must have been very much surprised to encounter such a strict censor in this country of freedom and liberty and he must have thought of the adventures of his famous friend, Maxim Gorky, who was chased from one New York hotel to another and finally out of the country because his private matrimonial affairs did not find the approval of certain hypocrites. Needless to say that both of these ballets have been produced in London, Paris and St. Petersburg with tremendous success and no moralizing opposition whatsoever.

However, Mr. Diaghileff has been treated very kindly by our precious newspapers and he is to be congratulated for being a Russian and not a German. It should amuse him very much to read the imbecile comments made upon Richard Strauss when similar objections were raised to a harmless bedroom scene in the "Rosenkavalier." Art and America is a curious chapter, Mr. Diaghileff.

**STEPHEN PICHON IS NOW SHRIEKING FOR U. S. HELP.**

Stephen Pichon, a former Foreign Minister of France, has made himself conspicuous during the first year of the war by a great journalistic campaign in favor of a Japanese army for the battles in Flanders. Day by day articles of his and of some other ex-ministers (George Clemenceau among them) appeared in two of the leading papers of Paris advocating a more intense military participation of that yellow ally in the war. The whole scheme collapsed because the Japanese are by no means fools and they simply laughed at the idea of coming to Europe to die for la grande nation and for perfidious Albion.

Not satisfied with having made himself and his country ridiculous in the Far East, benevolent Mr. Pichon is now attempting to draw this country into the war. He speaks of a "speedy moral, economic, financial and diplomatic rapprochement, or even co-operation." He is some diplomat. He starts with good old morality and finishes with co-operation. Oh, you little flirt!

**JEWISH FREEDOM—AN ABSTRACT PRINCIPLE.**

M. Khvostoff, the Russian Minister for the Interior, has uttered a few mild words which will make all the Jews of Russia shiver. While he maintains the benevolent principle that all nationalities in Russia should live happily together, he favors but a gradual achievement of that purpose. These are his veiled words:

"I am the enemy of an aggressive policy, and I do not propose to undertake any measures tending to the complication of the life of the Russian Jew. That which was done by Prince Shcherbatoff in the sphere of the solution of the Jewish problem remains in force, and I will continue this policy, and develop it in the same direction, but gradually. The present is not the time for the promulgation of abstract principles and political programs. We must think only of one thing—the complete union of all the Russian people."

\* \* \*

**PAUL POIRET, THE FRENCH FASHION SYNDICATE AND AMERICA.**

Below is presented part of the recent speech by Paul Poiret, the famous French fashion designer, to members of the big fashion syndicate of which he is president and those in sympathy with them, urging them to back him up in a bitter war against foreign competitors.

Mr. Poiret's bitter words show the esteem which Americans, rightly or wrongly, enjoy in Paris. We can imagine from this eloquent sample what French propaganda literature would be like should there ever a quarrel arise between the two great republics which are so happily separated by the Atlantic. Now, for Monsieur Paul Poiret:

"We have given a general idea of the services rendered by our Syndicate of Defense during its first year of existence.

"In view of what has occurred, it might have been reduced to complete impotence, since mobilization deprived us of the means of corresponding regularly with our representative, M. Ortiz. We ought to be deeply grateful to him, because, despite this situation, not only has the Syndicate proved its existence in America, but it has also raised our banner successfully and won certain advantages the importance of which I will explain to you later.

"I wish now to take advantage of your presence to glance with you over the new course upon which our Syndicate should embark in order that it may render further service, not only in America, but in France, Europe, and the whole world, not only next year, but especially dating from the end of hostilities, when our business will again become normal.

"Last year, when we recognized the necessity of banding together, war, which did not seem probable, suddenly broke out, and not only showed up our adversaries in a new light, but also determined the character of the struggle which we must undertake.

"In short, we now know the position, organization, strength, number and quality of our adversaries.

"We have had terrible revelations of the means which they have not hesitated to employ against us.

"They have not shrunk, after having been our customers, from competing against us unfairly, in this very place, with our own weapons.

"Brushing aside all respect for the general interests of our corporation, they have spoiled all they have touched.

**"They have resorted to the lowest methods in seeking to win away our employes.**

**"They have not merely solicited, but actually pursued, our valuable customers.**

**"They have stolen our ideas and copied our models.**

**"They have perverted and vulgarized our designs.**

**"They have cut under our prices.**

**"They have caused our elegant fashionable and sporting reunions of former times to degenerate into a sort of costume fair, where both women and their dressmakers are villified and turned into ridicule.**

"In order to defend ourselves, we have been obliged to battle in a manner incompatible with our dignity and world-wide prestige.

"We sought to check this gangrene. Too late! Our adversaries, from the very heart of our syndicates, foiled our protective measures."

\* \* \*

**SENATOR CUMMINS FOR ELIMINATION OF WAR PROFITS.**

Elimination of private profit as an influence for war, by Government manufacture of all war munitions, was urged in the Senate by Mr. Cummins of Iowa, Republican. He pleaded for prompt adoption of his resolution which would authorize a special committee to inquire into the most feasible plan for acquiring and constructing plants to supply the army and navy with all arms, ammunition and equipment, including ships, and to report on the legislation necessary to prevent private manufacture of such products.

"In this critical moment," the Senator asked, "what is the attitude of the makers of arms and munitions? Without exception, as far as I know, they are insisting upon the most comprehensive program which it is possible to conceive, and they are employing through all the channels and all the instrumentalities which mould public thought, all the forces at their command for a completeness of preparation that would turn this country into a military camp and practically destroy all ambition, save the ambition to overcome by force of arms the entire world."

Without discussing preparedness in detail, the Senator said he believed that "somewhere between the armed camp of William of Germany and the open dove cote of William of Nebraska there must be an honorable abiding place for a great nation which is prepared to lead the world toward peace, but will not submit to injustice or indignity."

Senator Cummins declared that since the war began 174 new corporations had been organized in this country for the manufacture of munitions and the value of arms and munitions exported in fifteen months had aggregated \$161,964,278. He submitted a table showing the following estimates of the amounts of war contracts of some of the largest corporations:

Crucible Steel of America...	\$10,600,000
General Electric .....	68,000,000
New York Airbrake.....	20,242,000
Westinghouse Airbrake.....	20,000,000
Westinghouse Mfg. Co.....	100,000,000

"This does not include," the Senator continued, "the contracts of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company of shrapnel shells, or the du Pont Powder Company of explosives, or the Electric Storage Battery Company, or the General Chemical Company, or the General Motors Company, or of the Lackawanna Steel Company, or of the Tennessee Copper Company."

Mr. Cummins read from another table to show a score of concerns in which stock values had increased in the aggregate \$432,056,500.

# The Lies of the Allies

(Continued from page 86.)

## A Masterpiece of Editorial Impudence

(ARTICLE VIII)

Under the heading "For the German People, Peace with Freedom" the New York Times of December 15, 1914, printed an editorial which was much commented upon by the press of the Allies and which appealed strongly to the sense of humor of the German press and the German-Americans in general. If any editorial ever caused amusement among those acquainted with German organization, the high efficiency of the German Government, the German strength in general and German possibilities, it certainly was this editorial of the New York Times. Below are given some paragraphs of this wonderful editorial conception.

"Germany is doomed to sure defeat. Bankrupt in statesmanship, overmatched in arms, under the moral condemnation of the civilized world, befriended only by the Austrian and the Turk, two backward-looking and dying nations, desperately battling against the hosts of three great Powers to which help and reinforcement from States now neutral will certainly come should the decision be long deferred, she pours out the blood of her heroic subjects and wastes her diminishing substance in a hopeless struggle that postpones but cannot alter the fatal decree. Yet the doom of the German Empire may become the deliverance of the German people if they will sometimes but seize and hold their own.

"They have their full justification in the incompetence and failure of their rulers. German diplomacy and German militarism have broken down. The blundering in-

a fight, the Danes, the Greeks and the men of the Balkans will come to their aid and make sure that the work is finished, once for all. For their own peace and safety the nations must demolish that towering structure of militarism in the centre of Europe that has become the world's danger-spot, its greatest menace.

"The only possible ending of the war is through the defeat of Germany. Driven back to her Rhine strongholds, she will offer a stubborn resistance. Even with the Russians near or actually in Berlin she would fight on. But for what? Why? Because the German people, the very people, are resolved to get themselves all killed before the inevitable day of this enemy's triumph?

"But why should the German people make further sacrifice of blood to save the pride and the shoulder-straps of German officialdom?

"We have aimed here to make clear the certainty of Germany's defeat and to show that if she chooses to fight to the bitter end her ultimate and sure overthrow will leave her bled to exhaustion, drained of her resources, and under sentence to penalties of which the stubbornness of her futile resistance will measure the severity. We could wish that the German people, seeing the light, might take timely measures to avert the calamities that await them.

"It may well be doubted that they will see the light. But have not the men of German blood in this country a duty to perform to their beleaguered brethren in the old home? Americans of German birth or of German

HOME EDITION

# The Evening Sun.

HOME EDITION

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PRICE ONE CENT.

## ALLIES ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH APOLOGY BY TURKEY

<b>Germany Strikes Hard At Verdun's Infantry Screen</b> Both Sides Heavily Reinforced—Night Attacks On Western Wing Without Material Gain. FERN, Nov. 3.—The Germans continued their assaults in the Artois sector, to the westward of Lille, and along the Belgian front throughout last night without material gain. The fighting on the western battle line, according to the information reaching military headquarters here, is confined to the Artois sector.	<b>Submarine and Destroyer in Fight Off Dover Coast</b> Thunder of Gun Shatters Windows of British Seaside Town. LONDON, Nov. 3.—An account was reported today of a fight in the Channel between a submarine and a destroyer off the Dover coast. The submarine was reported to have been seen by a British destroyer. The submarine was reported to have been seen by a British destroyer.	<b>KAISER AND HIS HEIR NOW IN EAST PRUSSIA</b> Married Visit to Cheer Army Retreating Before Czar. BERLIN, Nov. 3.—A Berlin dispatch today says that the Kaiser and his heir are now in East Prussia. They are reported to be on a married visit to cheer up the army retreating before the Czar.	<b>DISARM FLEET, OUST GERMANS, OR FIGHT, IS ORDER TO PORTE</b> Turkish Charge: d'Affaires Leaves Petrograd—Russia's Black Sea Fleet Is Ready For Turk's Attack. CONSTANTINOPLE, Nov. 3.—The Turkish government today issued an order to the Black Sea fleet to disarm the German fleet, oust the Germans, or fight, if necessary. The order was issued by the Turkish government.
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According to the Evening Sun of November 3, 1915, the "Allies are not satisfied with apology by Turkey." "Disarm fleet, oust Germans or fight, is order to Porte." The fact that the Turks chose to fight probably is still less satisfactory to the Allies.

According to another dispatch, the Kaiser and his heir are "now in East Prussia" to cheer up the Germans retreating before the Czar.

One of the favorite amusements of the newspapers during the war has been to shunt the Kaiser back and forth between the east and west fronts. If the German army suffered as many defeats as are inflicted on it in the newspapers, the Kaiser would have a hard job to cheer it up, in fact, Germany would need hundreds of Kaisers for the purpose.

capacity of the Kaiser's counselors and servants in statecraft at Berlin and in foreign capitals committed Germany to a war against the joined might of England, France and Russia.

"When the invaders were driven back from the Marne to the Aisne and the Belgian frontier, Germany's ultimate defeat was registered in the book of fate and heralded to the watching world. . . . Kitchen's new million of trained men will be in France before the snows have melted in the Vosges, and Russia is inexhaustible.

"There is within the German view an even more sinister portent. The world cannot, will not, let Germany win in this war. With her dominating all Europe peace and security would vanish from the earth. A few months ago the world only dimly comprehended Germany; now it knows her thoroughly. So if England, France and Russia cannot prevail against her, Italy with her two millions, the sturdy Hollanders, the Swiss, hard men in

descent should see and feel the truth about the present position of Germany, the probability for the near, the certainty for the remoter, future. At home the Germans cannot know the whole truth; it is not permitted them to know it. It will be unfriendly and most cruel for German-Americans further to keep the truth from them, or to fail in their plain duty to make known to them how low the imperial and militaristic ideal has fallen in the world's esteem, and to bring them to understand that the enemies they now confront are but the first line of civilization's defenses against the menace of the sword that forever rattles in its scabbard. The sword must go, the scabbard, too, and the shining armor. If the Germans here have at all the ear of the Germans there, can they not tell them so?

"Have they ever tried to get into the heads of their friends in the Fatherland some idea of the comforts and advantages of being governed in that way? Instead of



vainly trying to change the well-matured convictions of the Americans, why not labor for the conversion of their brother Germans?

"If the German-Americans prize the privileges they have enjoyed under our theory of the State, ought they not to tell the Germans at home what it means for the individual to be free from quasi-vassalage? There is no people on earth more worthy to enjoy the blessings of freedom than the Germans.

"It is not in the thought of Germany's foes to crush the German people; the world would not let them be crushed.

"When representative Americans and men of peace like Dr. Eliot and Andrew Carnegie insist that there can be no permanent peace until an end has been made of German militarism, sober-minded Germans, here as well as in Germany, ought not to turn a deaf ear to such voices, for they speak the opinion of the world."

#### Self Congratulation.

This Times editorial was much discussed, particularly by Germany's enemies, and the New York Times was greatly elated over the many comments received in the French, English and Russian press. The Times, of course,

### LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROUSSET SAYS GERMAN GENERAL STAFF'S DESPAIR CAUSED RAID ON ENGLISH COAST

### LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROUSSET SAYS ALLIES MAKE CONTINUOUS PROGRESS

### LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROUSSET SAYS THE GERMANS HIDE THEIR REVERSES

### FRANCE SOON TO TAKE INITIATIVE, SAYS LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROUSSET

### LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROUSSET SAYS GERMAN AFFAIRS ARE GOING BADLY

[Special Cable to the Herald.]

#### LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROUSSET

These headlines from the "New York Herald" during December, 1914, show the opinions of Lieutenant Colonel Rousset. This particular Lieutenant Colonel is nobody in particular and his views, though featured, are not particularly sound. They have not stood the acid test of time and German affairs are not going so badly after all, certainly not as compared with the affairs of Russia, for example.

The "Herald," if it must devote space to opinions, at least should pick a better guesser than Lieut.-Col. Rousset.

did not fail to congratulate itself, quoting the comments of the Allies' press. The London Star said:

"We agree with the New York Times in its view that 'there is no people on earth more worthy to enjoy the blessings of freedom than the Germans. Freed from the double incubus of imperialism and militarism, the German genius would have a marvelous development.' We agree that 'it is not in the thought of Germany's foes to crush the German people.' The Allies have no quarrel with the German people. Their quarrel is with 'the blindly arrogant ruling class,' with the Emperor and his Byzantine parasites flown with the insolence of pride and the wine of military domination.

"The story told last night by Earl Grey illustrates the besotted banality of this military caste. A German, it seems, told him that 'deep at the bottom of every German's heart is the desire to take from England the empire that you are not strong enough to hold. In the opinion of the German people you are rotten through and through. You are sunk in sordid sloth and sensuality, and we mean to take from you some day the empire which is ours by right.' That is the voice of Treitschke and Nietzsche and Bernhardi. We do not believe that it is the voice of the German people, now that they know—what they know.

"The German people pride themselves upon their political realism. They are now up against hard facts, and all the oratory of the Kaiser and all the bluster of a spoon-fed press cannot deceive them. They know that the 'mailed fist' has beaten itself into pulp. They know that the 'shining armor' has been shattered and battered. They know that Austria is a broken sword and Turkey a broken

reed. Why prolong their own agony? Why make bad worse? Other nations have gotten rid of despots and tyrants. Perhaps the German people will do in 1915 what they failed to do in 1848. It is their only way out."

To anyone familiar with German conditions and the German point of view, it would be difficult to imagine more preposterous editorials than these.

The situation would be parallel in a measure for Americans by imagining a Mexican newspaper exhorting Americans in Mexico to prevail upon Americans in the United States to overturn the American Government during a war with Japan, were such a war in progress.

The TIMES' editorial is based upon three fallacies:

That the Germans are going to lose.

That Germans in Germany are dissatisfied with the German Government.

That German-Americans can exert any appreciable influence upon Governmental affairs in Germany.

The TIMES should see now what has been obvious to Germans from the first, that the Germans are going to win. This realization will gradually and painfully be forced upon it, and the TIMES will ultimately find its editorial a boomerang.

### *Lieutenant Colonel Rousset Says the German Reverses Will Not Encourage Troops*

### LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROUSSET REGARDS GERMAN RETIREMENT FROM BELGIUM AS CERTAINTY

Eminent French Military Authority Believes Kaiser Will Not  
Sacrifice Territory Long Belonging to Germany in East  
for "Ephemeral" Domination of the Belgians.

[Special Cable to the Herald.]

The glaring ignorance exhibited by the TIMES in assuming that the German people are dissatisfied with the German Government would be offensive were it not so ridiculous. The assumption that America has a better form of government or one to which the people are more

## **Kaiser Loses Two-Thirds of Army in Poland; Sons Escape in an Aeroplane**

Experts Report a Terrific German Disaster in the Operations  
Around Lodz, and Prince Oscar and Prince  
Joachim Barely Elude Capture.

The "New York Herald" of December 12, 1914, published the foregoing romance. Here its sense of proportion was at fault. Surely, the loss of two-thirds of the Kaiser's army, upwards of a million men at the lowest estimates, deserved more than a two-column head. The picturesque escape of his sons in an aeroplane deserved more space, too. Surely such an incident could have been amplified even in New York editorial rooms if it did not appeal to the imagination of the foreign correspondent.



# The Evening Telegram



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THE WEATHER—GENERALLY FINE; MONDAY, FAIR AND MILD.

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## FLEETS FIGHT NEARER TO CONSTANTINOPLE TURKS DEBATE SURRENDER TO AVERT DESTRUCTION OF CITY

London Military Experts Believe Precedent of

According to the "Evening Telegram," New York, of Feb. 28, 1915, the "Turks debate surrender to avert destruction of city." Six months later the Turks are evidently still debating, as they have not surrendered. The Turks were always a very argumentative lot.

Probably the "sick man of Europe" needs to have ample leisure for the argument. He may be a very sick man but it is hard to get the Australian forces on Gallipoli to think so.

loyal or with which they are better satisfied than are the German people with the German Government is highly grotesque. No German, or German-American especially, having seen the two systems in operation would dream of exchanging the German for the American system.

The assumption that German-Americans can exert any appreciable influence in Germany is one that need not be considered since they are not disposed to do so.

The TIMES, however, eight months later, when the logic of events should be beginning to be apparent to it, still continues in the error of its ways. Witness the following from an editorial, "The Reckoning," of August 1st, 1915:

"Germans at home are now thinking and saying what German-Americans here should have thought and said many months ago—it is one of the greatest marvels of all history that they did not. They came here to find freedom and they doggedly cling to the monstrous anachronism of a dynastic tyranny, of a ruling class demanding of the people their lives, their all, for its own ends and advantage. The fathers of some of our citizens of that race came here from German prisons, yet they resent all censure of the immeasurably more oppressive jailers of today. Why did not our Germans give counsels of truth and wisdom of the Germans of the Fatherland? Why do they not give saving counsels now? They know that we of the United States condemn only militarism, im-

perialism, the Prussian spirit and the ruthless Prussian ambition. For the German people we feel only friendship, sympathy, pity. The German folk are not under the ban of the civilized world's detestation, they are not hated, not feared. Guided by their own thoughts and impulses, they would be like other peoples. They are in subjection to the senseless, sterile, impossible policy of world dominion, to a ruling class of strapping braggarts in gold lace of whom they should have rid themselves years ago. They can end their thralldom now.

"It is only by regeneration, by a new birth of freedom, that Germany can recover what she has lost. The odium of the gigantic war, of the deluge of blood poured out to insure the 'free hand' to ignoble Austria, will not attach to the German people after they have once subjected to their will and their commands the responsible

### *"Iron Wall of the Rhine" Can Only Delay Allied Army on Way to Berlin*

Colonel Roustam Bek Says River Cannot Stop the Victorious Advance of Anglo-French Forces, but Fortresses Will Allow the Germans to Hold Out Longer.

Col. Roustam Bey is reported by the New York Herald of March 26, 1915, in a special cable as saying "the Iron Wall of the Rhine cannot stop the Victorious Advance of the Anglo-French forces." There is a very good and sufficient reason for this. The "victorious" allied forces have not as yet given the Rhine a chance to show what it can do. Until then Col. Bey is welcome to his speculations, and the Herald to fill its columns with idle predictions instead of real news.

authors of the crime. It is only in that way that Germany can recoup her moral losses, can regain her place in the sunlight of the world's respect and friendship. Many Germans already see in the clear light of truth the real position, the real danger of the empire. The need is that light shall come to the eyes of more Germans, of the great mass of German people."

As a piece of editorial cant, this is unsurpassed. In the darkness of its own ignorance of German affairs the TIMES presumes to preach to German-Americans. It would point out the path of regeneration to them. From its soap box throne it condescends to lecture and to admonish. The old lady of Longacre Square was never more ridiculously employed—indeed, offensively employed, as the attitude is due not only to ignorance, but to an interested ignorance, the basis of which is to maintain the confidence of Americans in British hopes of winning and thus provide a market for British bonds.

This is a form of respectable wild-cat promotion which leaves an ordinary gold brick artist in despair. Some day the public will wake up to the hypocrisy of the TIMES and of its canting caption, "All the news that's fit to print." Surely its present editorials cannot be covered with that convenient mantle of hypocrisy.

## BATTLE RAGING TO OPEN CZAR'S WAY TO BERLIN

If Operations of Russians In New Engagement Are As Successful As at Lemberg, Austrian Forces Will Be Entirely Overthrown and Road to German Capital, Says Despatch.

In the rush to get sensational news into print, the New York Globe on Sept. 7, 1914, could not wait to complete its sub-heading. In "Austrian forces will be entirely overthrown," the English is clear, though the prediction is rather roseate, but in "and Road to German Capital, says Dispatch," isn't even plain English. What the headline writer meant to have the dispatch say must remain an unsolved mystery.

# The "Protector" of Small Nations

(ARTICLE IX.)

King Constantine, after the Greek Government had made repeated diplomatic protests against the landing of English and French troops, voiced his protest particularly against the tactics of the Allies on neutral Greek soil. According to the Associated Press staff correspondent, on December 4, the ruler of Greece stated:

"From the very outset of hostilities in the Near East, Greece's neutrality has been stretched to the utmost to accommodate the Entente powers, for whom we have always felt the keenest sympathy and the deepest gratitude. The Dardanelles operations were directed from Greek islands occupied by allied troops. When Serbia was endangered by the combined Austro-German and Bulgarian attack the allied troops landed unopposed on Greek soil, from which, with the second city of Greece as a base, they prosecuted not only unmolested, but aided in every way consistent with any sort of neutrality, their fruitless and too long delayed effort to rescue their ally.

"Finally, I myself have given my personal word that Greek troops will never be used to attack the Franco-British forces in Macedonia merely to allay unjustified suspicions.

"Yet, despite all these evidences of the good faith of Greece, the Entente powers now demand, in a form which is virtually an ultimatum, that the Greek troops be withdrawn from Saloniki, and that means all Macedonia, leaving our population unprotected against raids by Bulgarian comitadjis or all the horrors of war which laid Belgium waste, should the Allies be driven back within our frontiers.

"Why, the Entente Powers treat me as if I were the King of a Central African tribe, to whom the sufferings of his own people were a matter of indifference. I have been through three wars. I know what war is. I do not want any more if it can be honorably avoided. My people do not want any more, and if they and I can help it we shall not have any more."

## Venizelos Policy Not the People's.

"Then your Majesty does not believe that the intervention policy of the former Premier, M. Venizelos, really expressed the will of the Greek people."

"I know it did not," replied the King forcefully. "When the people re-elected Venizelos they elected him, not his policy. The great mass of the people of Greece did not, and will not, understand anything about the Venizelos foreign policy. They like him and they elected him, but it would be the maddest folly to assume that because they voted for a man personally popular they therefore voted to throw the country into the whirlpool of the European war. They did no such thing. War is the last thing they want. Ask them; they will tell you so.

"Another thing I want to make clear: It is said that M. Venizelos, with my assent, invited the allied troops to come to Saloniki. Nothing could be further from the truth. M. Venizelos may have expressed the personal opinion that if the allied troops landed at Saloniki Greece would not resist. How could she resist? But that M. Venizelos ever, as the responsible head of the Greek Government, formally invited foreign troops to enter Greek territory, is wholly untrue."

"If the Entente will assure me that when they are driven back into Greek territory they will consider the Balkan game ended, re-embark, and leave Greece, I will guarantee with my whole army to protect their retreat against the Germans, Bulgarians, or anybody else, and give them time to embark without being endangered. Then I would be legitimately protecting my frontiers, and it would not involve Greece in further risks. More I cannot do.

"The Entente's demand is too much. They try to drive Greece out of neutrality, they come into Greek territory, and waters as though they were theirs. At Nautlia they destroyed tanks of petroleum, intended to kill locusts, on the ground that they might be used by German submarines. They stop Greek ships, they ruin Greek commerce—as they have done with American ships, too. They want to seize our railways, and now they demand that we take away the troops guarding the Greek frontiers, leaving my country open to invasion or any lawless incursion.

"I will not do it. I am willing to discuss reasonably any fair proposals. But two things I will not concede: Greece shall not be forced or cajoled out of her neutrality, Greece will maintain her sovereignty and her sovereign right to protect herself at need."

After the combined forces of the British Empire and France were defeated by Bulgaria and driven back over the borders into Greece, England landed still more troops on Greek soil, and demanded freedom of movement for additional forces without the interposition of obstacles of any kind.

Under the spur of the added humiliation Premier and Foreign Minister Skaulaudis gave an interview to the correspondent of the London Daily Chronicle on December 20th, in which he bitterly accused the Allies and principally England. The Prime Minister among other things stated:

"The Allies have flouted and angered Greece instead of placating us. Instead of dealing with us frankly they have coquetted with Bulgaria while treating us disdainfully. The result is the Allies have fallen between two stools. The error of the allied powers' diplomacy have been many. They have suffered from the folly of divided

## BRESLAU SAID TO BE CUT OFF FROM BERLIN

Alarm in Kaiser's Capital as  
Wire Communication Suddenly Ceases.

## 1,100,000 MEN MASSED TO DEFEND CRACOW

**Special (via Rome), Sept. 22.**—All tele-

The Evening Sun, Sept. 22, 1914, stated the "Breslau" to be cut off from Berlin and that the Kaiser's capital was in alarm. Rome wired this report and had the audacity to state that it came from Berlin like all "German Defeats" are reported via "Rome" or "Petrograd." If you see it in the "Sun," it is so-so.

consels, and now there is an attempt to throw the blame on Greece.

"If the Allies had come frankly to Greece and her Premier; if they had said, 'Come in with us, we want your aid, and you may count on clearly defined recompenses at the end of the struggle.' Greece, I affirm, would not have hesitated for a single minute with this or any other Government in power. Instead of this, England and France began by demanding sacrifices from Greece.

"We were asked to co-operate with the Allies in the Dardanelles, and at the same time were asked to relinquish Kavalla and Seres to our bitterest foes, to give up, in fact, those of our richest provinces which had been won by Greek blood. We were free to shed our blood in an attempt to force the Dardanelles, but we were warned that on no account were we to dream of marching to Constantinople in the event of allied success. In fact, in deference no doubt to Russia, it was expressly forbidden in the event of your success for the Greeks to show their national flag within fifty miles of the ancient Byzantine capital.

"In proof of what I say I will tell you something not generally known. When you embarked on the Dardanelles

expedition we warned you of its difficulties and dangers. We emphasized the improbability of success on the lines you had chosen. We did more: The Greek General Staff long ago had worked out a perfect scheme of operation to be utilized in the event of war between ourselves and Turkey. We still believe you would have succeeded if you had been wise enough to adopt it. What came of it? Nothing. Once more Greece was flouted.

#### Typical English Tactics.

"Such has been our reward. We have been grossly misunderstood and misjudged. I think it right the people of England should know something of this. Because we saw no other reasonable choice, the Allies ignored and humiliated us. We decided to continue neutral, and latterly have been treated with the ignominy of a conquered people. We have almost been goaded into hostilities against you.

"Let us take the expedition to Saloniki. Whether Greece invited the Allies to come there or not is now beside the question, you are in possession; and I maintain this Government is listening to and accepting the ever-growing demands of the Allies' army of occupation has gone to the extreme limits of friendship compatible with neutrality. You have taken our railways and telegraphs, and built intrenchments in our territory. In return everything is done to increase the feeling of irritation at the presence of foreign troops on our soil.

"You have taken everything, yet you ask for more. The other day one of the Entente Ministers came here and

silent too long under aspersions. It is time the Greek Government was heard in its own defense."

The King of Greece resenting the cowardly and continuous attacks from the Anglomaniacs under date of December 30, according to a despatch to the London Daily Chronicle, stated:

"I see I am still misunderstood in England. I do not mind being attacked, but I insist on fair play being given to me. According to some of the smaller fry among the illustrated newspapers I am depicted as wandering round ever with a field marshal's baton clasped in my hand, chiefly, I presume, because the baton is German. These critics in their eagerness to score at my expense forget I also am a field marshal of the Greek army, and further, while charging me with being the Kaiser's brother-in-law, which is true, they forget something I never forget, that I am a cousin of King George of England.

"Why should my word be doubted? It has been pledged to benevolent neutrality. Neither my opinions nor my pledges have been in any way modified. Because I am a man of honor my word holds good today as it did yesterday.

"It is also said that Greece, after the war and final victory, which the Allies look upon as already theirs, will be isolated and sent to Coventry, because, by her present neutrality, she will have forfeited the friendship of the Entente Powers. I cannot help this. My duty is to my country, and that duty unmistakably calls upon me to be neutral.

"Speaking dispassionately as a soldier, I cannot see that the military results achieved up to today justify the En-

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The Evening Telegram

WAR  
EXTRA

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# SHELL ANTWERP TO SAVE KRUPP PLANT

The "Evening Telegram" of October 8, 1914, announced to a surprised world the fact that the Germans were shelling Antwerp to save the Krupp plant. This evidences a strange conception of geography on the part of the Telegram's headline artist. It would be much as if a British army having landed at Boston and having occupied Massachusetts and Connecticut with New York City as an objective, were bombarding Albany to save Boston.

With the whole Germany army between Paris and Essen, the taking of Antwerp was nothing more than catching a chipmunk in a fence corner. In addition, the "iron wall" of the Rhine and the defenses of the German frontier were still to be considered. Perhaps no more incoherent or wilder headline has ever appeared than this.

insolently told me the Government had broken promises made by our King. It was untrue, and I felt his language was an insult. I told him so and flung his written protest back. Further, my indignation went to the length of communicating officially with Sir Edward Grey and M. Briand and telling them in plain, undiplomatic language my opinion of the protest.

"Greece's friendship has been repaid in a singular way. An embargo has been laid on our commerce and our ships held up. A people friendly to the Entente has been within an ace of being starved for want of bread. Our cable communication, too, has been suppressed. In saying all this I am simply attempting to furnish the Liberals of England and the English people with what I consider an unbiased, dispassionate resume of the Greek case against the Allies.

"So," concluded M. Skouloudis, "as I see it, Greece is to be ravaged by a cruel, relentless war because the Allies badly blundered in a diplomatic as well as a military sense. Do I overstate the case when I say it is a tragic hour for my country? I think not."

Finally the Premier said: "It is more in sorrow than in anger that I have spoken in this way. I have remained

tente's belief in a final and crushing victory. It is no wish or desire of mine to join with either belligerent, because, as I have already said, I am convinced that the interests of Greece will best be served by standing aloof from the struggle.

"There is another thing, I don't quite see what the Allies are supposed to be doing in remaining. I could understand their presence as long as there was a possibility of aiding Serbia, but now that the object of their mission has failed why remain? No useful military purpose can now be served. Another thing, too. It is fairly obvious that if the Anglo-French army withdrew and sought a fresh and more profitable field of military operation the armies of the Central Powers would withdraw also, and the situation would solve itself."

England and France not satisfied with their landing and entrenchment at Saloniki recently occupied additional territory and the King of Greece in an interview with the Associated Press correspondent on January 18, expressed his indignation on "the unheard-of high-handedness of the recent action of the Allies toward Greece."

The King was greatly moved as he recited one after the other the long list of what he called "the Allies' en-



### WHAT THE TEUTONIC FORCES HAVE TO FIGHT.

The light shaded areas are the nations of the eight Allies, together with their colonial possessions, the natives of which are enlisted in the fighting armies. The dark shaded areas are those of the Teutonic forces, although the natives of their colonies are not enlisted in the armies. The dotted area is the "neutral" United States who furnished the ammunition for the Allies, thus the slaughter may continue while a few hyphenated Anglo-Americans may enrich themselves on the blood money with governmental sanction.

Before the war the Allies had a European population of 230,000,000 and the Central Powers 116,000,000. To-day the Allies have a population of 196,000,000 and the Central Powers 150,000,000. The Allies have at present but 46,000,000 instead of 114,000,000 more than the Central Powers. The Central Powers occupy at present 500,000 square kilometers of enemy territory, or about the size of Germany. For each day of war they have conquered 1,000 square kilometers. The Central Powers captured 2,400,000 soldiers, who are busily engaged in industry and agriculture. The war has cost the Allies \$25,000,000,000, while the Central Powers have spent but \$14,000,000,000, or about one-half.

The losses of the merchant marine of the Allies are 1,519,068 tons; of the Central Powers, 291,711 tons. In warships the Allies lost 477,308 tons against 119,707 tons of the Central Powers.

The tremendous fleets of Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy and their armies, with the Colonial troops of the "great" British Empire have not even been able to conquer "The Sick Man of Europe." How much less chance have they against the United Central Powers?

encroachments on the sovereignty of Greece culminating in the occupation of Corfu and the blowing up of the bridge at Demir Hissar."

"It is the merest cant," said the King, "for Great Britain and France to talk about the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg after what they themselves have done and are doing here. I have tried in every way I know how to get fair play in the British and French press and to obtain a fair hearing from the British and French public. No sooner had the British newspapers attacked Greece with the most amazing perversion of fact and misrepresentation of motives, than I called one of their correspondents and gave him face to face a full statement of Greece's position. I have given a most frank statement to the French press through one of the French newspapers, which had been most bitterly attacking Greece.

"The only forum of public opinion open to me is that of the United States. The situation is far too vital for me to care a snap about royal dignity in the matter of interviews, when the very life of Greece as an independent country is at stake. I shall appeal to America again and again, if necessary, for that fair hearing which is denied to me by the countries of the Allies.

"Just look at the list of Greek territory already occupied by the Allied troops—Lemnos, Imbros, Mytilene, Castelloriza, Corfu, Saloniki, including the Chalcidice Peninsula, and a large part of Macedonia. In proportion to all Greece it is as if that part of the United States which was won from Mexico after the Mexican war by foreign troops—and not so much as 'by your leave.'"

"What matters that they promise to pay for the damage done when the war is over? They cannot pay for the sufferings of my people, driven out of their homes. They plead military necessity. It was under the constraint of military necessity that Germany invaded Belgium and occupied Luxemburg.

### Neutrality Guaranteed by England.

"It is no good claiming that the neutrality of Greece was not guaranteed by the powers now violating it, as was the case in Belgium, for the neutrality of Corfu is guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria and Prussia. And yet that has not made any difference in their action.

"And what about that plea of military necessity? Where is the military necessity of destroying the Demir-Hissar bridge, which cost a million and a half drachme and which was the only practicable route by which we can revictual my troops in Eastern Macedonia? The bridge was mined. It could have been blown up on a moment's notice at the enemy's approach. It is admitted that there was no enemy anywhere near the bridge and no indication that any was coming. What military reason was there, therefore, to blow up the bridge now except to starve out the Greek troops around Serres and Drama?

"Where is the necessity for the occupation of Corfu? If Greece is the ally of Serbia so also is Italy, and transportation of Serbs to Albania and Italy would be simpler than to Corfu. Is it because the Italians are refusing to accept Serbs, fearing a spread of cholera, and that the Allies think that the Greeks want to be endangered by cholera any more than the Italians?

"They say that they are occupying Castelloriza, Corfu, and other points in search for submarine bases. The British Legation at Athens has a standing offer of £2,000, a great fortune to any Greek fisherman, for information leading to the detection of a submarine base, but never yet received any news about a submarine base in Greece, and never yet have any submarines been seen supplied from Greece.

"The history of the Balkan politics of the Allies is a record of one crass mistake after another, and now, through pique over the failure of their every Balkan calculation, they try to unload on Greece the result of their own stupidity. We warned them that the Gallipoli expedition would be fruitless and that the Austro-Germans would certainly crush Serbia. They would not believe and now, like angry unreasonable children, the Entente Powers turn upon Greece. They have deliberately thrown away every advantage they ever had of Greek sympathy."

Such are the protests of a small neutral country which is being prostituted by Great Britain, the "Protector of small nations."

Where are the protesting voices of Col. Roosevelt, Dr. Eliot, Mr. Poultney Bigelow and others of their stamp and the Anglomaniac press, all of whom insisted that the United States should declare war upon Germany as a protest against her march through Belgium.



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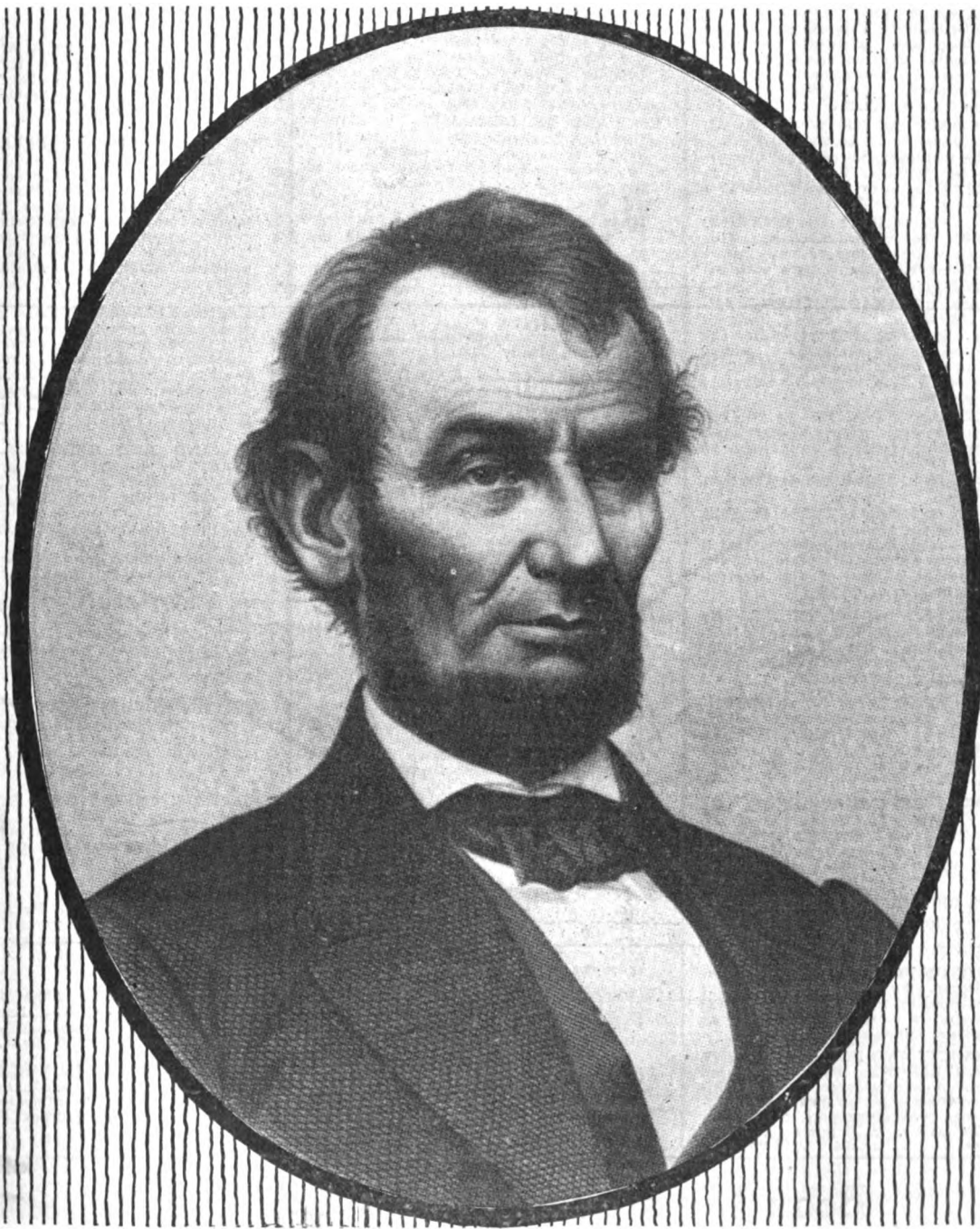
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By GEO. E. ROBERTS

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THE war in Europe has reacted violently upon the United States, and not in all respects as was expected. The man in the street who judged by superficial reasoning and what tradition said of the effects of past wars, seems to have been nearer right up-to-date in his forecasts as to the effects in the United States than the financiers and students of economics. It is a tradition that war makes good times, but the idea is so paradoxical, so evidently superficial in its broad application, that thoughtful men hesitate to accept it in even a limited or temporary sense. Any one who is convinced of the essential harmony of all human interests, and that the prosperity of every people is best promoted by the prosperity of all other peoples, is bound to be suspicious of any prosperity that is promised as an outcome of war. It is, however, evident that in the United States today business is better and the productive forces of the country are more fully employed than when the war broke out, or at any time within several years.

It was believed that the enormous demand for capital by the warring governments would raise the price of capital all over the world, that the holdings of American securities in Great Britain and Europe would be returned here for sale, and that their purchase would absorb the free capital of this country to such an extent that enterprise and improvements at home would be restricted, and that this would result in unemployment and poor trade.

But the credit resources of the warring countries have proved to be greater than anybody would have ventured to estimate; foreign holders of our securities have been less eager to sell them than we anticipated, and the enormous purchases of goods made in the United States have thrown the balance of payments heavily in favor of this country.

#### Our Securities Coming Home

The aggregate of American securities returned to this country is very considerable, and the movement tends to increase as our markets rise and the pressure on the other side increases. Moreover, the United States has taken during the year approximately \$1,000,000,000 of foreign loans, and, has received on balance over \$400,000,000 in gold, a movement of the standard metal that is without a precedent in history.

Industry is exceedingly active in the country today. While the initial impetus to recovery came from the war business, and the foreign orders are still an important factor, the country has developed a spirit of

confidence and ambition which has not been apparent for some years. The country is accumulating capital and enlarging its productive equipment faster than ever before in its history.

At the end of the war we shall owe very much less abroad than we did at its beginning, and as an offset to the remaining debts will hold an important amount of foreign obligations. If this position is maintained, less of our earnings in the future will be sent abroad as interest and dividends, and we will have more for investments on our own account. In some lines of manufacture we have been thrown upon our own resources, and new industries are being established here. During the war a considerable amount of trade has been diverted to this country and our manufacturers are having an opportunity to introduce their goods in new markets. Foreign dealers in some instances have found it advisable to open branches here both for manufacture and sale in international trade. An important amount of shipping has been brought under the American flag, and our ship-yards are crowded with ships under construction. The large additions of gold to our bank reserves have made the New York money market at the present time the lowest discount market in the world, and practically the only international market for any kind of financing. If we may accept the figures of our Census Bureau, the United States now has more wealth and productive power than any other two nations in the world.

#### Relative Values of Industrial and Political Strength

In some of the most important lines of production, particularly in steel products, machinery and all the appliances for the most effective equipment of industry, our facilities are just now being largely increased. This is the age of the engineer, of electricity, of steel and mechanical agencies, and the United States is prepared for leadership in these things. In the year of greatest iron production ever known, that of 1913, the world's output was 71,000,000 tons, and our production is now at the rate of 38,000,000 tons, with an important amount of new capacity under construction.

All of this is positive strength. Moreover, as a country's relative position in world affairs is determined not only by its own strength but by the strength or weakness of other countries, the losses which the countries at war are suffering must have the effect of making the United States a relatively more important factor in world affairs.

Undoubtedly general opinion, and that includes very intelligent and expert opinion, the world over



now holds that the United States is profiting by the war, and that it is destined as a result of the war to occupy a much more important position in world affairs than in the past. Naturally that view is shared in this country, and some people are sanguine enough to predict that the dollar is about to supplant the pound sterling in the international exchanges, and that New York will take the place of London as the financial center and clearing house of the world.

There is apparently much in the situation to support this view, but men who are familiar with the conditions that determine the flow of trade, the location of industries and the concentration of financial power are skeptical about the permanency of sudden changes effected by temporary causes. They know that there is a strong tendency to reaction from such changes, and that the final outcome will depend upon whether the center of gravity has been permanently moved.

### The Industrial Center of Gravity

What makes the center of gravity in industry and finance? Summed up, it is the net result of the various influences which make for economical production and distribution. Heretofore the center of gravity confessedly has not been in the United States. We have grown, prospered, and built up great wealth, out of the natural resources of this continent, but there has been a steady flow of raw materials from this country to Great Britain and Western Europe, to be there manufactured and distributed around the world. We have held, by means of a protective tariff, some of these materials for manufacture here, mainly for our own consumption. I mention the protective tariff not as a subject of controversy but as practical evidence that in the judgment of our people the center of gravity for manufacture and distribution has not been here. The sum of the influences for cheap production and distribution have been against us.

These influences have been labor supply, capital supply, experience in industry and world trade, and the prestige, good-will and facilities of an established business. The "experience and facilities" count for more than you may think. The superabundance of capital has caused an overflow from Great Britain around the world, and developed in that country a large body of investors accustomed to employ their capital in other countries, and those investments have been channels of outlet for the products of British industry.

Great Britain led the world in the application of steam-power and machinery to industry, and she has had a great career, supplying capital in the form of equipment, machinery, supplies for industry, and goods for consumption to countries that were behind her in development. She has not only sold machinery and

equipment, but she has sent out the skilled laborers to install and operate it, and the managers to direct it, and to a great extent she has retained proprietary control, so that the head offices of enterprises operating in all parts of the world are kept in London. These companies, managers and workmen are resident representatives of British industry and enterprise. They introduce and advertise British goods. British railways in the Argentine lay British rails, build British bridges, use British cars and locomotives, burn British coal under the boilers, use British tools in the machine shops, British pumps for pumping water, and so on. They accustom domestic mechanics to the use of British tools, and in a hundred ways serve as connecting links between the community of their residence and the home country.

### London as the Financial Heart of the World

Here you will see is a stupendous combination: A great industrial organization backed by a world's market for securities and a world's market for goods, served by shipping lines radiating to all countries, and branch banks, branch mercantile houses and tributary investments everywhere. There has been a great, free, readily accessible market in London for all the commodities of commerce—not simply a market for the country's own products and for what it consumes, but a world's distributing market. British ships have been in every port, British banks and traders in every market, British capital everywhere, ready to build a railway, buy a brewery, open a mine or move the products of the country to market. It has been all of these conditions together that has made London the clearing center of the world, and the pound sterling the standard of value. London has advanced money for American cotton before the crop was picked, and for our wheat before it was threshed, and then financed our purchases of coffee in Brazil and hides in Argentina to the docks in New York.

Now this has all been natural, legitimate and beneficial. With a superabundance of capital and labor in Great Britain, both have been forced out upon the sea and to other countries to find employment while the wonderful resources of this new continent have kept us busily employed at home. It has been an advantage to us, as it has been to other countries, to have Great Britain do this work for us while we were more profitably employed. She, upon her tight little island, and we upon this continent, have each been doing our appropriate work.

The question is whether a radical change has taken place or is about to take place in the position of the United States. To what extent has the center of gravity been shifted, and to what extent have we acquired the cosmopolitan attitude and habit of mind?

## The Protest Against Shipment of Arms

BY WM. BAYARD HALE

**S**IR—Seldom has there occurred in the history of the United States an event more significant than was the presentation to the Senate today of a petition signed by more than a million citizens of the Republic praying for the laying of an embargo upon the shipment from our ports of arms and munitions to the battlefields of Europe.

You gain an idea of what a million is when you remember that Mr. Wilson's vote for the Presidency was—let us not recall how few millions.

The signatures of this address to Congress cover sheets of paper which, pasted end to end, would stretch fifteen miles.

### An Impressive Scene.

Seldom, indeed, has the Senate Chamber witnessed a scene of more scenic impressiveness. A couple of automobile

moving vans had brought to the Capitol the rolls containing the petition and its signatures. The sergeant-at-arms of the Senate had never before had to deal with a like affair of equal magnitude. In big clothes baskets the rolls were brought in and dumped on and about the rostrum of the Vice-President and the desks of the clerks till the whole east end of the chamber was a mountain of manuscript, each roll tied with ribbons of red, white and blue, and each bearing the signatures of a thousand Americans who believe that their country should wash its hands of complicity in the killings that are going on in Europe.

And this astonishing evidence of the workings of the conscience of the people of the United States had been gathered by a handful of American women, some of whom had mortgaged their houses, some of whom had sold their jew-

clery to procure the slender funds with which to pay the postage bills of their humane effort.

#### A Tribute to Common Sense.

Any man with his wits and senses about him will put this refreshing and significant testimony to the essential honesty and intelligence of the American people as far above the dubious lucubrations of the gentlemen who at present happen to administer the Presidency and the Department of State as history places the rational and righteous verdict of the nation above the long-since abandoned sophistries uttered in support of witchcraft and slavery.

Sixty years ago the Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Augusta, Ga., was thundering from his pulpit the doctrine that the Bible authorized, legalized, sanctioned and made it immoral to interfere with what he described as "the Southern system of labor"; precisely the same factitious arguments on precisely the same ethical plane as those with which his son today defends those "legitimate American industries," namely, the making of shells with which to kill Germans.

The world's conscience speedily went beyond the preacher who defended the right of the Southern planters to hold human flesh in slavery; and it is swiftly leaving behind the President who champions the sacred right of the Northern

capitalist to trade in implements designed to mutilate human flesh and kill human beings.

Father and son belong to an easily recognizable Scottish sect of casuists, for generations so enmeshed in religious and political fictions, conventions and standardized superstitions as to be at last utterly unable to REACT in the sudden presence of a Big Fact.

The American people, however, reacted against slavery; and they are reacting now against shrapnel.

#### People Not Blind.

The fantastic pretense that a sovereign State must ask the permission of some foreign Power or other before it dare alter its export law does not impress us, nor is our conscience encumbered with the meticulous preciosity, the legal fastidiousness, which render it necessary to inquire what the effect of a humane and honest act is likely to be.

Mr. Wilson, of course, has been passing through an emotional crisis. But he will do well if he is able to take notice, from what happened yesterday in the Senate Chamber, that the people of the country are in full possession of their congenial gifts, commonsense and a straightforward conscience, and that THEY DO NOT LIKE BLOOD UPON THEIR HANDS.—N. Y. American.

## A Portrayal of America's Shame at the Hands of a Pro-English Administration

By GEORGE WEIGHTMAN

[Mr. Weightman presents a resume of true American feeling, founded on fact, that should strongly impress every reader, showing how "good intentions" have become a mockery, under influence of the "Almighty Dollar."—Editor.]

FROM childhood we have loved to look back on lessons in History and proudly recall our noble past. Love of Country is inbred, in its exhilarating beauty, while the mere mention of the "Starry Flag" has caused our hearts to beat with patriotic emotion—and the strains of our national anthem has brought tears to our eyes, more than once, as the great well-spring of patriotic devotion was touched by the martial strains of the "Star Spangled Banner."

Who has not felt their blood tingle as our sons have swung by in martial array, while the bugle's blare, and rattle of the drums, have almost given us a desire for more glories in the clash of arms. And—all this—not because Americans have the militant spirit and desire for conquest, but because we are conscious that our guns have been fired, and our sons and forefathers have died, only in the cause of righteous justice and in behalf of the oppressed.

We have realized purity of purpose when our powder flamed in war, and, to a large degree, have prided our selves on ability to not only "Fight for the Right," but to recognize it quickly and faultlessly. Hence, when the present disaster visited Europe, there was little concern in ability to determine a correct course—and, with "neutrality" proclaimed, we felt that, once more, our beloved traditions, and true American policy, were being faithfully followed—and experienced increase in National pride.

There was—and is—real sadness in our hearts at such a curse visiting beloved friends across the sea, and we were not slow in taking active and effective measures to impartially relieve distress and suffering we well-knew were sure to visit them. Our sympathy was—and is—just as sincere to one side as the other—regardless of a mistaken administration's policy to the contrary—and, knowing full well the bleeding hearts of thousands of aliens, as well as feelings of a multitude of naturalized citizens—with President Wilson leading the movement—we determined, in our sympathetic considerations, not to discuss the conflict in public places.

Americans felt, individually, that a great personal

obligation rested on them in their "neutral" position, and determined to exhibit to the World a purity of purpose as exemplified in a perfect and righteous "neutrality." It was looked upon as a supreme patriotic duty, and, many a man, almost bursting to exercise his usual and characteristic "Freedom of Speech," patriotically tightened his jaws in the face of desire.

#### This—Because of Love of Country—and of "Right"!

With simplicity and rugged honesty of the Pilgrims, every citizen felt and believed America had determined to do just what each individual conscience dictated to do—and that was, to strictly pay attention to our own business and give no support or aid of any kind—moral or physical—to any belligerent. This—we must do, and we did, for momentous events were happening so fast they dazed the public mind, and no man could foresee where it would all end.

#### We Felt Security in Our "Honesty"!

However, as the battle-lines were definitely drawn, political and financial machinators dexterously plied their arts, with the result that our "Beautiful Ideal" has been "Knocked into the Cocked-Hat." Now—we are engaged in exploiting a bogus impartiality and solving our National conscience with international law.

#### Our Pride Has Tumbled About Our Heels!

In the early stages of the war, any man predicting such a position as we now occupy would have been considered a first-class candidate for a lunatic asylum, and his predictions not only laughed at—but scorned. So, as we view our amazing attitude of so-called "neutrality" it is quite natural a feeling of deep concern should encompass the nation.

In exercising our God-given privilege of "Religious Liberty," we have had instilled into our minds a mighty clear conception of the "Wrong" and the "Right," and it is no burden for us to determine a betrayal of friendship. It would be hard to believe that any American feels proud of our traffic in munitions, and it is quite easy to feel that deep down in the heart of every "square-deal" citizen there is, at least, a lurking suspicion that we are stabbing a friend in the back.

# The Supreme Horror of the War

By SRINIVAS R. WAGEL

Much has been written about the horrors of war in general and of this war in particular; the physical sufferings of the combatants and non-combatants in the warring countries, starvation, death, murder, mutilation, and other species of inhumanity, besides the mental anguish, a more permanent and acute form of suffering which can hardly be cured or assuaged, have all been eloquently treated by many a facile pen. That the war presses hard upon neutrals, who have given no cause for offence, is also too well known. We have had experience of the utter disregard to neutral rights, exhibited by both sides. While one side has been notorious in its reckless inhumanity in the open seas, the other side has made itself famous for its bare-faced piracy. This aspect of the horrors of the war has also had sufficient attention paid to it.

But few have yet referred to the irreparable damage done—especially in neutral countries, and principally in the United States—to the two great virtues which have as great a significance in every other faith in the world as in Christianity; I mean Truth and Charity. Never before in the history of the world have these two great virtues been so lost, debased, and corrupted as during the past twelve months and more; and nowhere else is the pernicious canker of such corruption playing worse havoc among unthinking, innocent, and youthful minds than in the United States.

It is but human, although not praiseworthy, that two antagonists in the heat of the struggle should hurl the vilest of epithets at each other; and this is how it started at the commencement of the war. As a matter of fact, for at least a decade, England and Germany—unofficially, of course—have been attributing every sort of base motive to one another. The statements made by the antagonists have had to be accepted as articles of faith, for there has been as yet no standard of national conduct, and no example of any country which has ever attempted to keep up to the standard. There is a test for individual conduct, for there are recognized moral laws and commandments. There is no such test for national conduct, for even the most advanced of international laws take into cognizance only powerful nations and such other small countries as the big ones graciously permit to live unmolested for reasons of their own.

It has been a well recognized code of ethics, at least among European nations, that investing, conquering, and bringing under their dominance weak neighbors, go to add to the greatness of the nation. There has never been any question of rights, the only alternatives being, fight if you can, or go under. In recent times, until this war, this process of achieving greatness, of which Great Britain, France and Russia, are as good and great apostles as Germany or Austria, was confined to places outside of Europe, for there was so much plunder to be obtained, and nobody to question the nature of the methods employed. When the method was transferred to Europe by Germany invading Belgium, there has been a just condemnation of the method.

As a powerful neutral nation, the people and press of the United States have taken the only possible and honorable course, in condemning the act of Germany unreservedly. The condemnation was of a method; a particular course of action; unfortunately, the critics lost their balance in assuming at the same time that such method was that of Germany, and Germany alone. Beginning with this false premise, there has been a chain of premises and conclusions, which are all as false and gross "as the father that gave birth to it."

For one thing, it was only a step further to throw the Germans down into hell and make devils of them, at the same time to throw the Allies up, and make angels of them—without forgetting to include Russians and Servians, who have been canonized because of the good luck of being "Allies." News of the war was eagerly sought; what more easy to obtain inspiration from England, with the common ties of language and literature? What more natural that, when a neutral would help him to abuse the opponent if not to fight him, the combatant should pat him on the back for knowing the "real facts of the situation?" Not much harm would have been done, if there was not within the country

a small but powerful minority, who took their inspiration from Germany. The warfare was transferred to this country; beginning with a wordy warfare, it has developed into passion, hatred, disloyalty, anarchy, and lastly, plots against the security of the country itself.

It has come to this in its finality: The great majority of the people of this country have got accustomed to repeat parrot-like whatever is spoken or written in England, while a small minority adopts the same attitude toward whatever is spoken or written in Germany. The majority, conscious of its power, and at the same time finding itself unable to do much material harm to the Teutons, who are the butt of their abuse each day—following England and the Allies, of course—vents its wrath upon the minority in this country by roundly rating it, for all manner of conceivable crimes—because, according to them, everybody is a criminal who does not sympathize with the "just cause" of the Allies. The tyrannies of majorities are too well known to need a statement on my part; such bullying of the minority was to a large extent a cowardly act; and it has also to a large extent been responsible for making the unbalanced among the pro-Germans, criminals and anarchists.

How is it humanly possible to arrive at sane or right conclusions if the foolish idea should persist that we are witnessing a fight between angels and devils? If angels and devils should be fighting, we know that traditionally angels come out on top—only, however, with the aid of God; but we should not forget that the devils remain intact, with none of their powers of mischief diminished—at least, according to tradition.

It is the supreme height of folly to believe that one side or other is fighting for civilization, while its antagonist is plunging the whole world into misery for personal or dynastic aggrandizement. It is as well to remember that they are both animated by the same passions, same ideals, and the same lust for power. The fact that one party to the conflict has the power does not make it just that such power, fought and obtained by means, both unjust, unfair and despicable, should continue to be vested in its hands. Nor is it right that the one "that hath not" should prowl about the world, knocking every weak man or nation down. In this respect the blindness and prejudice of the pro-Allies is simply appalling.

The Allies are fighting for "democracy," it is shouted from the housetops. Is it by democratic means that King Peter of Serbia came to his throne? Democracy is being blazoned forth from Russia, by the indefinite postponement of the Duma, and the complete suppression of all news from that country. Even Belgium, to whom the sympathies of every individual in the world go in her present predicament, was not quite tender with the Congolese—the poor devils could not even be charged with resisting the Belgian authorities. France is using her iron heel in Indo-China. England is spreading democracy in Egypt and India—in the latter country especially, by punishing about 6,000 men in the Punjab, during the last few months—by the use of what is now called "German methods." Of course, we barbarians are not grateful to England for all the pains she is taking to spread civilization. Here again, there is a curious logic. Anything wrong or unfair is put to the credit of the march of civilization; credit for even the slightest amelioration of conditions is, however, claimed punctiliously.

It is a peculiar characteristic of the crowd that it is easily led away, and repeats with vehemence whatever it is told—each repetition going to add to the acceptability of a palpable lie as truth. That is what has happened in this war. Why has no one mentioned the fact that thirty years ago England feared France so much as to propose a conscript army to fight her, and give all her colonies away to Germany? Why is the tearing of the Algeiras treaty never mentioned at all?

The fact is that fights and friendships undergo kaleidoscopic changes in Europe. It is their game, and they do not hurt themselves playing it. It is impossible, otherwise, that the nature of the alliances and ententes should be changing constantly. The European nations abuse each other to their heart's content, and forget it at a later date, just as the parties in England or France do let themselves go at election times, and forget the whole incident afterwards. The fact that there is also some blood-letting does not worry them so much as the outside world thinks it does.

Let me give one example: English statesmen and the English press have been inveighing against Germany for her alliance with Turkey, and point with repellant horror at the

**Armenian massacres.** The massacre of the Armenians is not a new incident in Turkish history, and these people have been suffering martyrdom at the hands of the Turks for quite a century. Is it not a fact that, in spite of protests of enlightened English philanthropists, Turkish power was maintained in Europe for over half a century by the aid of British arms? If England had not supported Turkey in the past through thick and thin, there would not have been the slightest chance of the appalling massacre that has obtained during recent months.

But the public and press of the United States is playing with fire in embarking upon the game of vilification—I speak both of pro-Allies and pro-Germans. The combatants have license, and they are chastened by suffering. A third party, who is not directly concerned in a dispute, would be committing a decidedly foolish act in indulging in vituperation, at the behest of one or other of the combatants. **It is a cowardly act, because the party abused is not free to attend to that champion.** No better advice has ever been offered than that of the President. Truer words were not spoken in connection with this war than when he said that America had nothing to do with the policies that led to this war, and that she must be neutral. The President's denunciations of the two categories of disloyal Americans has been miserably twisted by both the pro-Ally and pro-German press. While the papers made much of the President's just denunciation of the plotters and anarchists, not one paper has even made a brief reference to the following admirable sentiment:

"Some men among us have so far forgotten themselves and their honor as citizens as to put their passionate sympathy with one or the other side in the great European conflict above their regard for the peace and dignity of the United States. They also preach and practice disloyalty."

It is stupid, nay vicious, to make too much of the fact that the plotters are Germans and their sympathizers. It is so, because the Allies get all they want without plotting; if necessary they would not hesitate a moment to adopt the same, or worse, methods. That the plotters should be pun-

ished and severely, is but bare justice, because they ought to know the consequences of their activities. But to vilify German-Americans and Germans on that account is the commission of a worse crime. The pro-Ally parties have been driving the minority of German-Americans into crime. They must remember that while the kaleidoscope of European politics may easily present new and strange combinations, the pro-Allies in the United States will have to continue to live with the pro-Germans in the future. To hound the latter is a most unpatriotic act, nay, worse, dangerous. Above all, untruth and hatred consume more the party uttering them than the one against whom they are directed.

A very important point of view is the moral aspect of the attitude of the majority of the people. Even granting, for argument's sake, that Germany is a compound of the worst vices and villainy in the world—as the pro-Ally would have us believe—what good does the constant contemplation and repetition of these statements do? The cumulative effect of the repetition of the statements which we see every day in the press is to degrade the whole population. The horror of it is intensified by the fact that most of such statements are false or exaggerated. These statements are issued in England or France with a purpose, and is forgotten soon after the purpose is achieved. **It is a very sad commentary on the guidance of public opinion in the United States that a moderate or sane opinion on any subject connected with the war is a desideratum.** If you are seeking a sane estimate of the Germans, during this war, you can find it only in a few English journals; on the other hand, if you need a sober estimate of the Englishman you will have to go to Germany; **you certainly cannot get it in the neutral United States.** Although they are at death grips, as it were, the German and the Englishman are equally aware of the fact that they are essentially human and subject to the same human passions, ambitions and foibles. The want of such understanding in the neutral countries, especially in the United States, is the supreme horror of the war which we see every day.

## Confidential Review of Washington Officialdom

By J. BENNETT MAXWELL.

Washington, Feb. 10.—All the world knows the United States is going to have a Big Navy—"Big" only in the sense of necessity to provide protection for both coasts and the Panama Canal, and the world also knows that the only significance of President Wilson's "Big-Navy" speaking tour, in the Middle States, was purely political.

"Big Business" some time since has decided to build this navy. Developments, appearing from day to day in the press, only indicate the evolution of this decision on the part of high finance. Fortunately, this is one instance of which it can be said, without reserve, that the "Money Ring" is performing a patriotic service, and it is only fair to assume that, at least, in this case, profits have not entered the consideration.

Capitalization of the "Big-Navy" scheme rests entirely in the hands of the administration. Wilson intends to tell the whole country, and to take his good time in telling it, laying out an itinerary that will conveniently span the interim between now and election day.

It is not surprising to note that all Washington knows that the glaring, personal, political ambitions of our present incumbent of the White House, is only a reflection of the monumental success of Representative Gardner, of Massachusetts. Mr. Gardner has won his place in the Hall of Fame as a far-seeing patriot, whose indomitable persistence and courage has literally forced the administration into the position it now occupies—and which our dear President is "fog-horning" about the country.

Astute politicians are gleefully opining that when the reaction comes, Representative Gardner may be the recipient of all this political propaganda and walk away not only with a presidential nomination, but a chair in the White House—practical politicians positively concede that this is not without the possibilities.

It is hard for one to reap the reward of another individual's efforts, especially in public life, and no matter how popular the movement for a "Big Navy"—and a "Big Army"—may be, it will be hard for any combination—political or financial, or a combination of both—to wrest from Representative Gardner, the pioneer of this movement, the laurels that are his.

It is hardly necessary to say that the biggest proposal of the administration, at this time, has been created by our Massachusetts Representative in utter defiance of the strongest antagonism of the administration. Just how this nation-wide, political propaganda has figured to hoodwink the people, is beyond the conception of Washington officialdom—and it is generally conceded that this unexplainable situation is only in line with other policies that have not only disgusted the nation, but astounded the world.

As a digest of White House policy, it need only be said that the principal of special, personal investigators, comprising personal friends, has been a repudiation of our diplomatic service—and its competency and trustworthiness—which distrustful practice has been reflected in other directions. Repudiation of mistaken policies, and erroneous theories has become the strongest practice of the "powers that be," and there's much to follow.

# Reconstructing Serbia

## Problems Confronting the Balkan Victors

By EDWIN EMERSON.

(Delayed in Transmission.)

Orsova, Dec. 31.—As I am writing this an interminable string of huge Danube barges laden with captured Russian rifles, ordnance, and ammunition is passing through the Iron Gate bound for Lom Palanka, whence these cargoes go by rail to Turkey. At the same time Bulgarian and Roumanian barges laden with grain are passing up stream on their way to Vienna, Passau and Regensburg. All the available merchant steamers and tugs of the Hungarian, Austrian and Bavarian Danube shipping concerns are now busily engaged in this traffic, while the passenger boats are serving as military transports. Down stream they carry troops; on their return trips up stream they serve as floating hospitals, or refugee ships, carrying thousands of fugitive Servian peasants with women and children. Besides these hundreds of ships passing steadily through the Iron Gate there are to be seen also splendidly equipped Red Cross steamers, which ply up and down the Danube within the war zone. These serve exclusively for medical and hospital purposes.

In addition to this lively river traffic that has newly arisen from the victorious opening of the Balkans, there is equally lively road traffic passing over the Szechenyi highway along the north bank of the Danube. All yesterday, while steaming down the Danube on a Hungarian transport, I watched an unbroken caravan of military wagon trains and supply columns plodding along this splendid river road.

Besides this there is also all the traffic now passing over the several bridge and ferry crossings at Belgrade, Semendria, Rama, Gradiste, Moldova and Orsova. These crossings of the Danube directly connect with Servian railroads at Belgrade and Semendria, and with Hungarian railroads at Semlin, Kevevara, Bazias, Orsova and Turn-Severin, so that the immense steam ferries at those points cannot complain of lack of freight nowadays. As a matter of fact they are running day and night.

When I was at Semendria the other day watching a complete division of new German reinforcements crossing over to Servia, the pilot of one of the many ferry boats there told me that he had been carrying such boatloads of troops, over a thousand men per load, over to Servia now for more than a fortnight at the rate of twelve trips a day, i. e., one boatload every two hours.

In Servia a large army of laborers, among whom are many thousands of prisoners, are working furiously at the restoration of roads and bridges. The big railroad bridge at Belgrade is already reconstructed and open for railroad traffic. Within a few days it is hoped to restore the direct railroad over Nish to Sofia by reconstructing three blasted bridges that still bar the way for rail traffic. Already emergency bridges have been thrown across these gaps by the German and Bulgarian military pioneers, but the pontoon bridges are now to be replaced by regular cantilever railroad bridges of steel. This work, indeed, has assumed the sporty aspect of an international engineering race, since one bridge is being rebuilt by the Austro-Hungarians, one by the Germans and the last by the Bulgarians. Each party is known to have pledged one another to get its bridge done within ten days. Accordingly there is some high betting about the probable winner among the various officers' corps of the three armies now engaged in cleaning up Servia.

### Cleaning Up Servia.

I use this term not only in its slang meaning, but also in its true sense. Much military cleansing must be done in Servia before that country will be fit for the blessings of peace. At present the surgeons of the victorious armies have to struggle with sporadic epidemics of common typhus, hunger typhus, typhoid fever, dysentery and cholera, which have inflicted such ravages on the Servian native population throughout this war. For the extermination of the disease carrying vermin of lice the same thorough-going measures are being taken as elsewhere on the German and Austro-Hungarian fronts in Galacia, Poland and Russia.

What are the present conditions in Servia may be judged from the circumstance that since my arrival in Servia last month I have been unable to get any clean water or to find any clean toilet facilities. Most human beings in Servia now—the natives as well as the conquerors—have to go habitually unwashed and must drink boiled water if they value their lives. One is lucky if one can occasionally change one's clothes. Few soldiers get a chance to change their underclothes throughout the campaign.

Among the stricken natives there is a lack of everything—of food, medicines, warm clothing, domestic animals, and often of shelter. The Servian soldiers, left without succor by their allies, in their retreat had to rob their own countrymen of all their food and supplies in order to keep body and soul together. Most domestic animals were either slaughtered on the spot or were driven off by the famished Servian soldiers. Nobody was left to look after the women with their children and the aged folk, because every able-bodied Serb joined the army. This is one of the reasons among others why there has been next to no guerilla warfare of franc tireurs in Servia like that in Belgium last year. All Servian physicians and nurses likewise went with the troops. The result is general abandonment and utter destitution.

### Need of Doctors.

Why our American Red Cross doctors and nurses should have been called off from their work in Servia at this, her greatest hour of need, is quite incomprehensible to me. There never was a time when their services were more bitterly wanted.

Every day since I have been in Servia I have seen thousands of starving civilian refugees being cared for by the German and Austro-Hungarian military authorities. The appearance of these poor people is pitiable in the extreme. The mere smell of food makes their deep sunken hungry eyes glitter like those of ravening wolves. Their garments are in rags, and their feet, which are often bare in this bitter cold weather, are a mass of open sores, so that they can barely drag themselves along. The sufferings of civilians that I saw in Belgium and Poland during this war were insignificant compared to the present woes of the Serbs.

The conquerors of Servia have nothing but pity for these poor people, who have to suffer from their country's misfortunes without having borne any part in their government's guilt. Wherever I come upon a German or Austrian field kitchen in the Balkans, there I always saw a ring of famished Servian refugees or prisoners of war being fed by the kind-hearted soldiers from their own rations. The Bulgarian soldiers do the same.



A German staff officer, after watching such a scene with me for a long while, remarked with feeling: "Such misery goes to the heart. These poor people, knowing nothing of Sarajevo or of the Entente, have to pay for the misdeeds of their rulers. Of course our government will try to do what it can for these poor starvings, but naturally the needs of our own soldiers must come first."

If ever there was a time for generous help to a poor stricken people, now is the time, and the place is here in Servia. Oh that our Morgans, Schwabs and Duponts instead of sending millions of American dollars and arms to help the guilty perpetrators of this war keep up the bloodshed, might send but a few shiploads of food and medicines and charity supplies to these innocent victims of the monster crime of Sarajevo!

## Universal Service for Women

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Some time ago we brought a synopsis of a book by Dr. Baumer on "Woman and War." It chiefly dealt with those concrete problems of the war, now being solved by the German women. Frau Helene Lange has discussed in a book called "Das Weibliche Dienstjahr" one of the problems which will have to be solved after the war is over, the problem of a universal service for women. Of all the leaders of German womanhood there is nobody who enjoys a more general respect than Frau Helene Lange. A synopsis of her thoughts, as expressed in that pamphlet, will therefore commend itself to our readers.

O. J. M.

When three years ago the united women societies of Germany had on their calendar for discussion at the annual meeting the theme, "The Service-Year for Women," it meant to all those who participated a matter more theoretical than practical. Today we find ourselves in an entirely different position. The war has revealed to us the foundations of the energy of our people; it has shown us that the entire strength of the modern state lies in organization, in the ability for united action and in the preparedness of the individual to fall in line and to act as a part of the whole.

As a consequence of this revelation the question, now agitating us: "How may we best bring the life of women into a close relationship to the state?" is finding a quicker response than ever before. That ready response has been especially noticeable among the women. These days have given them a sudden clear vision what way they shall have to go in the future, and the recognition of the small measure of their preparedness for what has now been asked of them. The wish to help the state, to be at least a small part of the national strength, grew up in a single hour in millions of German women. It is our duty to take care that this will of German womanhood shall become a permanent reliable power in the structure of that new Germany to which the heroism of our army and our work at home has in the last analysis been dedicated. That is the reason why we are today speaking of the universal service of women as of a problem which has passed from an academic stage into a thoroughly practical one.

There is a double, universal service for men: One rendered in war and one rendered in peace. Both forms belong to the conception of a modern citizen: a share in the self-defense of the people and in the self-administration of the people. Of the two forms of public service, the one of the army has a set manner of preparation and training, the one of honorary civil positions and of social tasks has so far no such preparation. In expert circles the question has often been debated if such a preparation should not be required in view of the complex problems arising from modern conditions.

That leads to the special field for which universal service is to prepare women. Not only the activity of the housewife who had to realize her social responsibilities, especially in connection with the food problem, but nearly every other activity of women in this war has been in an intensified form of what peace normally demands of them. Might not every-

thing which has now been accomplished, be accomplished in a much better and more perfect way if a well considered preparation had preceded it? Giving the answer is also giving the explanation for the need of universal service for women: the year of service for women must prepare them for the maintenance and care of the strength of our people, in times of war as well as in times of peace. We have to insure the participation of women at the solution of the tasks of the modern state by a carefully planned education and training.

We do not consider the military training of men as time lost, because it is a splendid school for physical development, self-control and social discipline. The service-year for women will have this educational quality in ever a higher degree.

The tasks attended to during this year are nearer to the normal tasks of women in society than the tasks attended to during the service year of men. The service-year for women shall supply what has so far not been supplied by the available training: it shall make women realize the importance of their work for the health of the entire people and for the well-being of the body politic. Another purpose of the service-year will of course be the physical training. Theoretically and practically women will have to be instructed how to promote their vigor and their health, not in order to win records in tennis or mountain-climbing, but in order to cooperate in the general strengthening of the nation.

The year of service would probably have to take place between the 17th and 20th year. It would, of course, be impossible at the present time to have it uniform for all women, as our standards of education are too different. Certain organizations already in existence might be used for starting the machinery of such a service-year. Especially the continuation schools could at once be used by prolonging the obligatory school attendance of women say for half a year. But it will take some time to work out the necessary details for such a service-year. It is important to realize that these details should largely be arranged by women in order that the best results may be secured.

I do not believe that a cut and dried system can be offered. I do not believe anyhow in such systems. I believe in organic growth. But our individual life is a part of the life of our Fatherland. From the sacrifices and from the work we have been called upon to render in these days full of heart burning and tears we must retain the forces which will later on be a help in the upbuilding of the new Germany.

# Issues & Events

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## ENGLAND DOOMED.

England's taxation has increased since the beginning of the war over a billion dollars, and there is little doubt that a further addition is about to be made. A twelve-month ago the new currency note-issue stood at \$190,000,000 with a gold backing of \$88,500,000, but now it has increased to \$430,000,000 with a gold backing of only \$142,500,000—with strong prospects of further depreciation in value. Who would ever have dreamed of the possibility of "wild-cat" currency now looming up before England. With taxation going up, and money value going down, such as is here evidenced, there can be only one answer concerning the result of the war—England is doomed.

## MORMONS BRITONIZED.

With much regret we are compelled to note the dominance of a pro-English press over presumable authorities of the Mormon Church. The "Deseret Semi-Weekly News" of Salt Lake City, Utah, a Mormon Church organ, unequivocally states in an article entitled "Church Teachings and the War" that "Germany and Austria are the guilty nations" regarding causes of the European war. This would sacrifice insult, if it could be treated seriously—but all Americans can read the title "English Teachings and the War," and wonder at the unwisdom of a "church" generally considered to, at least, have "Brains," even if its members are repudiated by Congress when they practice "plurality of wives." Decadence of "Mormonism" is certain in such practice.

## "ILLEGAL" OR EGOTISTICAL.

For nine months many newspapers—probably by orders—have been trying to put into the minds of the people, the belief that the sinking of the Lusitania was "illegal." This seems to be President Wilson's viewpoint and he has with him a number of people, who, by continued reiteration of the press, agree with him.

The word "illegal" has caused much discussion during the last ten days, because President Wilson for the sake of his personal prestige seems to have made it his purpose to exact under duress from Germany an admission that the sinking was "illegal."

Let us see whether there is any justification for such an exaction, whether it is justifiable for one man to insist upon recognition of his own opinion, whether it is worth while because of personal interpretation to create international friction, if not worse.

The facts to be considered are very simple: Under

International Law merchant vessels should not be sunk without warning. The question arises, "Was the Lusitania a merchant vessel and was she warned?"

It is very unfortunate that Americans risked their lives on a belligerent boat, no longer a vessel of peace, but a floating arsenal, which even carried guns. It is also a fact that the passengers were warned not to commit themselves to this dangerous ship, but they were too stubborn to heed the warning. The fact that the Lusitania carried guns on a trip previous to her last was told to the editor of this paper by an Englishman. This information was submitted to the State Department, but it was not seemingly desired.

Now as to the submarine. During the last conference at London and at the Hague, it was Germany who offered to "legalize" their status. England refused and in this case was penny-wise and pound-foolish, and it so happens that she may be caught in the trap which she set for others. The fact that submarines are now out of the bounds of International Law puts a weapon of tremendous power in the hands of the Germans.

The general position will become clear by the following analogy: Suppose four men are playing cards according to established rules, when one of them says "I want to change the rules of your game." What the other three men at the table would do depends entirely upon their temper and strength.

As there is nothing whatsoever agreed in International Law about submarines it becomes evident that it will be rather difficult for President Wilson to exact an admission of "illegality" on the part of Germany except, perhaps under duress. We think this would be unfair, and in as much as unfair arrangements can not last we cannot, according to our understanding of the subject, agree with President Wilson's purpose. He alone, nor the United States alone cannot make International Law.

We greatly regret the loss of lives of Americans and also of the English, but we refuse to blame only one party. From a humanitarian standpoint we will agree with President Wilson, the moment he will be so humane as to prohibit the shipment of arms, which has killed 10,000 men to every American that was lost on this boat. If not, we cannot, with clean conscience, abet such hypocrisy. We believe in manliness.

An important factor in this problem is the illegal blockade of England which was merely announced as an "Order in Council," and against all principles of international law. If President Wilson wants to harp on "illegality," here's his opportunity. Commerce of the United States was sure to suffer by this illegal blockade, and "Issues and Events" pointed out a year ago that grave consequences were likely to ensue. Small neutral nations protested, but one big neutral nation, through President Wilson's negligence did not protest. The United States was the only Government which had the power to coerce England back to the bounds of international law, and in-as-much as Washington omitted this most important action, Germany could undertake no other action; and it was her God-given duty to resort to the "Law of Reprisal" which is perfectly recognized in international law and in modern warfare, in order to combat the brutal and beastly warfare of England, to starve women and children of Germany.

By not protesting, the Washington Administration has abated this illegal warfare, and becomes particeps criminis, more so when it is considered that ammunition is furnished England.

If the above arguments are considered, hardly an excuse will be found for insistence on the part of President Wilson that Germany perjure herself by coercion, and declare the sinking of the Lusitania "illegal."

**Railways Blocked with Munitions Shipments.**

Not only the steamship, but American railway traffic is now mostly controlled by England. There are complaints of delays everywhere, and millions of dollars worth of perishable freight have been lost because of congestion. Powder-and-shot have the right of way. The few cars available for other purposes must stand on sidings.

ISSUES AND EVENTS has suffered a practical illustration of this hardship in trying to get printing paper. Regular shipments have been tied up on the Pennsylvania tracks for two and three weeks. Readers keep complaining that the magazine is of irregular size, that some issues are longer and some shorter. Regular shipments having failed to arrive, we must rush in the open market, at the last moment, and buy paper at job lots. All this, that nothing may interfere with the ammunition shipments to England.

**LET US BE REASONABLE.****If Might Is Right Above the Water, Why Not Under It?**

Agents of the British Government enjoy the privilege of supervising shipments from American to neutral ports; the manifests are submitted to them and they have the right to decide whether certain cargoes may, or may not, be shipped from this country. Furthermore, the steamers of neutral countries are denied the right of accepting passengers of certain nationalities; and even American passengers are frequently taken off neutral ships and interned in England. Of late a number of vessels owned and registered in the United States have been placed on the British blacklist and are liable to seizure on the high seas, if not within the three-mile zone of countries which are powerless, beyond making a formal protest to Great Britain.

Though material losses are undoubtedly of great importance, it will probably be conceded that human lives in general, and the lives of American citizens in particular, are worth a great deal more to us than the millions of dollars which we try to save by complying with the British Orders in Council. If, therefore, we are really as desirous to be fair to all and malicious toward none, as we claim to be, we should readily agree to allow German and Austro-Hungarian agents to inspect the manifests and passenger lists of steamers prior to their sailing from American ports. The Central Powers have given us a proof that they rule under the sea to such an extent that they can inflict to merchant vessels as much, if not more harm, than the British fleet can above water. We have agreed to the British contention that England's power to seize, detain and otherwise incommode neutral shipping entitled the Allies to exercise a strict supervision of our shipping; in other words, that might comes before right. It would, therefore, be perfectly unfair to deny Germans the right to prescribe the rules under which they will allow American passengers to travel on ships of belligerents. They are perfectly within their rights to bar American and other neutral citizens from ships of belligerents, whether carrying contraband or not, since they have the means to sink these ships.

No difference can be made between the violation of neutral rights above or under water; and if we give in to the piracy of the British floating cruisers, we must do the same with the Germans and their submerged U-boats. Since the lives of American

citizens are, however, far more precious than the cargoes of ships which might be taken before British prize courts, it is not only a matter of fairness toward both belligerents, but essentially a duty for us to protect these lives by submitting to German exactions, which do not constitute a greater violation of our neutral rights than the British policy, which is hailed with so much joy by our Anglo-maniac press.

**THAT NOTE TO ENGLAND**

Fifteen weeks are gone—and there is no sign of any answer to our **NOTE TO ENGLAND**. Austria has not waited so many days, nay, not so many hours to make up her mind and to comply with our demands. How long is our commerce to stay paralyzed?

**SUBSCRIBER APPEALS FOR RELIEF.**

Dubuque, Iowa, Feb. 1, 1916.

Issues and Events:

Gentlemen: All sides agree that the present English blockade of all Europe is ineffective and unlawful—the President, Senate and Congress. Still the United States mail department gives up the mail to pirates, and the administration looks on as if it were not concerned. Have the people, the losers by such negligence and malpractice, no way of redress? Are they not entitled to damage refunds? Can they not combine to get relief? Do you know a lawyer able and willing to enlighten the people as to their rights and privileges against such negligence? Must we really wait until the next election to restore the government to the people? Has this dictum of "old Abe" really become a myth of ancient history?

ONE OF THE MANY LOSERS BY  
THE PRESENT-DAY PRO-BRITISH  
INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

Occasions occur when one is literally compelled to depart from regular lines of thought and work, and admire beauty, and competency of "Efficiency." Hence, "Issues and Events" must use this isolated moment to recommend the "National Hotel Industry" published bi-weekly. Its international scope and connections give it pre-eminence in its specific field, while its text is of such a character to be of interest to every one desiring to be well informed. Editor J. R. Ball is simply outdoing the art of his profession.

**ENGLAND, THE CRY-BABY NATION.**

History records no more daring feat than that achieved by the captors of the Appam. The prize crew in itself—the twenty bold sailors—who brought over a shipload of nearly 500 human souls including British sailors and soldiers in uniform has won a conspicuous place in the records of heroes.

If England had possessed the least particle of gallantry in her makeup, she, herself, could not have helped admiring such a brilliant achievement. She would have said to the crew:

"Good boys. That was a great trick. You are deserving of all the booty you so gallantly have won." Never would she have sought to deprive them of their spoil by taking advantage of American friendship and British maritime superiority.

But, ah! Not for Britain. Instead we find her setting up the familiar cry: "You didn't play fair. I want my steamship back." It is almost a disgrace to a nation to soil her arms on such a foe. But the English are still diplomats.

## Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

### Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

#### G. B. S. AND THE SHAKESPEARE TERCENTENARY.

HIS year of grace, 1916, was supposed to see one of the greatest festivals of the Anglo-Saxon race. For the last ten years the proper celebration of the Shakespeare Tercentenary has been widely discussed on both sides of the Atlantic and, at last, a national committee was formed in England for the foundation of a National Theatre (on repertoire lines) as the only fit memorial to the nation's greatest genius. The results, alas, have been distressing, as will be seen from George Bernard Shaw's following communication. It will be one of the fortunate results of the war to cover the disgraceful attitude of present England towards "British culture." The war is as good an excuse for ignoring Shakespeare as could have been desired by that generation of music hall habitués. A faint discussion of the desirability of postponing the "celebration" has been going on in the Westminster Gazette. G. B. Shaw's comment is the most significant:

"I think we had better perhaps leave the celebration of the Shakespeare Tercentenary to Berlin. After the waste of several years in the attempt to interest our native culture in the foundation of a National Theatre as a memorial to Shakespeare, with no result better worth mentioning than the purchase of a site by a cultivated German gentleman, and the entire refusal by our enormously rich representatives of British culture to contribute a single brick to the proposed edifice, we had better not make ourselves ridiculous by affecting an admiration for Shakespeare and his art that we do not feel. A frankly confessed indifference to Shakespeare is no disgrace: a sporting and commercial civilization has as much right to celebrate its heroes as an artistic one; but a sporting and commercial civilization celebrating an artistic hero in a spirit of pure humbug would be disgusting."

#### FROM A HIDDEN CORNER IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

London, January 28.—Premier Asquith, in a written reply to a request for information, says that the total British casualties in all fields of opera-

tions, up to January 9, were 549,467, of which 24,122 were officers and 525,345 of other ranks.

The casualties were distributed as follows:

Flanders and France.		
	Officers.	Other ranks.
Killed .....	5,138	82,130
Wounded .....	10,217	248,990
Missing .....	1,691	52,344
Total officers and men, 400,510.		
Dardanelles.		
Killed .....	1,745	26,455
Wounded .....	3,143	84,952
Missing .....	353	10,901
Total officers and men, 117,549.		
Other Fronts.		
Killed .....	918	11,752
Wounded .....	816	15,165
Missing .....	101	2,656
Total officers and men, 31,408.		
Grand total, 549,467.		

Needless to say that Mr. Asquith avoided most carefully to mention the 97,000 Gallipoli fighters disabled by disease (according to British official reports) and similar items which—in a lawyer's mind—need not be included amongst the casualties.

#### THOSE WORDS IN THE MESSAGE.

Our President has been feverishly busy in the last weeks to efface the dangerous impression of his intemperate language relating to naturalized citizens. His tour in the Middle West has been almost entirely devoted to this laudable purpose and the following words spoken in Topeka are perhaps the most significant:

"Some men of foreign birth have tried to stir up trouble in America, but gentlemen, some men of American birth have tried to stir up trouble in America, too. If you were to listen to the counsels that are dinned into my ears in the executive office in Washington, you would find that some of the most intemperate of them came from the lips of men who had for generations together been identified with America, but who for the time being are so carried away by the sweep of their sympathies that they have ceased to think in the terms of American tradition and American policy."

#### THAT TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF THE ALLIES.

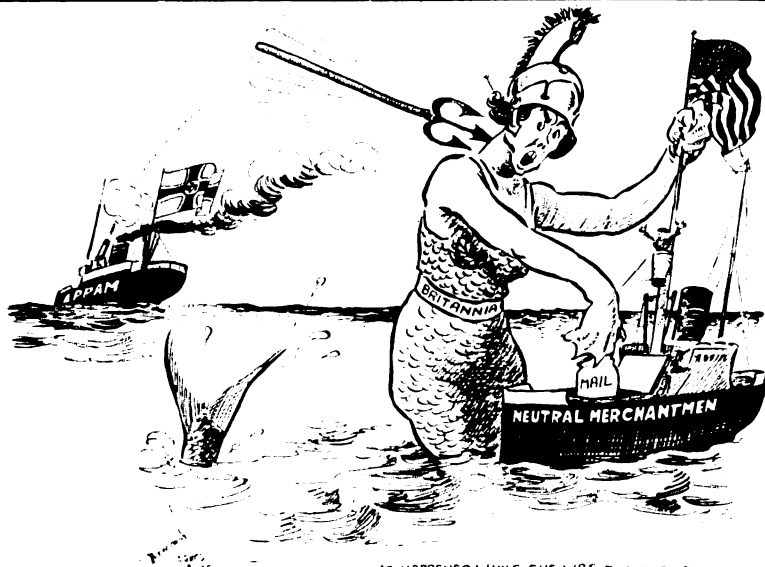
Here is a special cable to the New York Times: "Paris, Jan. 25.—Representatives of a foreign Red Cross organization who recently tried to rent premises for a hospital in the Champs Elysees, near the Arc de Triomphe, received from six concierges the information that they were willing to let apartments only on condition that the tenants would agree to vacate all windows overlooking the avenue on the date of the Allies' triumphal procession because these had already been rented to Americans."

#### A Tale of the Dardanelles Gamble.

"One who has been in and out of it," published a most descriptive article on the horrors of that blundering campaign on Gallipoli. The following part of it (from the New York Herald) gives a terrible picture of British negligence which reminds one of the horrible inefficiency displayed in the hard winter days of the Crimean war:

"The real horrors began only after the fighting, when the medical supply gave out. Happy those who were killed in their fresh hot blood to the cheery scream of shells and the cry of 'Allah! Allah!' from the foe, who by all accounts fought like Christian gentlemen. The thrice unhappy wounded were dressed under fire and crowded into the transports—which were not properly hospital ships at all. Men began a weary journey of blood and agony to Egypt! Some died at sea—others died in Egypt. Surely the English victories of Tel-el-Kebir and Omdurman seemed avenged for Mohammed as that mass of Anglo-Saxon suffering bore down on the land of the Pharaohs. Had old Ramesis of anti-Semitic fame looked out of his glass case in the Museum where the English officials have pinned him, he would have surmised that the old days with their plague of blood and their plagues of flies were upon the land again.

"Before long, place and provision were lacking in Egypt and an unhappy surplus of wounded were sent on to Malta, a four day's journey. Then it was that men (and physicians, too) prayed for death and for the heavens to descend and engulf the planet. Surely it did not seem worth the Creator's creation—still less the Redeemer's redemption—that the year 1915 should bring Christian folk to such a pass. Men cried in agony to be shot or relieved, and there were not enough physicians to attend them. A handful to a shipload of horribly wounded! Supplies of lint and bandage ran low. I remember one poor fellow with mangled eyesight. Over his face was the green cover of the magazine Tit-bits. If hell were a system of house-boats floating down the Styx it could not improve on those ships that plied the Mediterranean last April and May. I carry away a vision of unsleeping physicians operating in the saloon day and night while all through the ship went on the ghastly struggle of human beings against pain and putrescence. The atmosphere was heavy with the smell of anaesthetics and decay. I am afraid decay is the only word—but no more."



IT HAPPENED WHILE SHE WAS BUSILY ENGAGED.

### THE FAMOUS FOKKER MONOPLANES AND "DIE HERRN IMMELMANN UND BOELCKE."

"That Herr Immelmann is the very devil. He flies a Fokker monoplane, shoots through his propeller and flies beautifully. I have met him twice and got off drums of ammunition at him, but with no result on either side, barring a few holes in the wings."

These words of a young English aviator indicate most aptly the deep respect which the new German war aeroplanes command in England. But there have been many other signs as well. Sir E. Cornwall addressed a most anxious interpellation in the House of Commons to the Secretary of War respecting the German Fokker machines and the London newspapers, especially the Northcliffe organs, emphasize the disquieting British Headquarters reports of losses of British aircraft in France. Sixteen machines have been lost in the last month alone (if not more) and ten of these have been accounted for by the Herrn Immelmann und Boelcke."

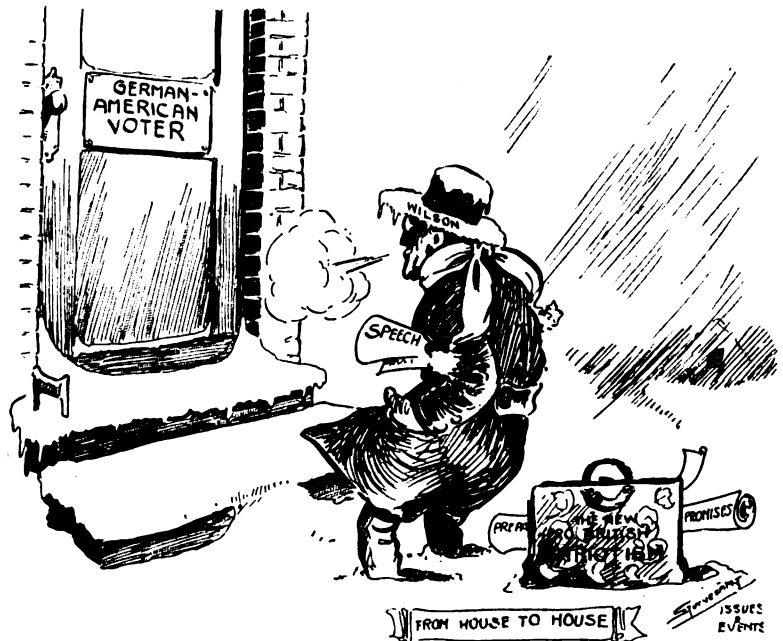
The German policy of mentioning the names of their aviators in official reports is ascribed to the "usual policy of frightfulness, the idea seeming to be that if once Germany can inspire the Royal Flying Corps with proper terror of the deadliness of Herrn Immelmann and Boelcke, and of the Fokker monoplanes on which they fly, every Royal Flying Corps pilot who sees a Fokker coming for him will run for his life."

The Fokker machine is the invention of a young Dutchman who lived in Germany. About 1911 or 1912 he built a weird-looking, uncapsizable monoplane which flew quite well long before the scientists of other countries had put their theories into practice and had produced the inherently stable biplanes, of which so much has been heard. In this country there was at the time some question of these early Fokker monoplanes being imported by one of the British flying services, but their construction was so bad that the inspecting officers did not dare to ask pilots to risk their lives on them. The new Fokkers are the very opposite to the maker's early effort. All attempt at inherent stability has been abandoned, and they are designed to be absolutely under control of the pilot in every position. This is what makes them such dangerous opponents as they can manoeuvre with lightning speed.

In general appearance they are almost exact copies of the French Morane monoplane. Most of the machines are fitted with rotary engines, a German copy of the Gnome. They give about 110 horse power to 120 horse power, and consequently, although the machine is not very efficient in design, it is forced through the air at tremendous speed and can climb at an alarming rate. Those flown by Immelmann and Boelcke are fitted with huge engines of fixed cylinder motor car type of seemingly 150 horse power to 160 horse power and have a speed of well over 100 miles an hour.

Most of these machines carry a passenger in front who works a machine gun, but others have the gun fixed on top of the engine and firing through the propeller, or tractor screw, to be technically correct. In the latter case the gun is aimed by steering the whole aeroplane to suit, like Judson's flatiron gunboat in Kipling's story.

The favorite method of attack is for



Fokker to get up high, to about 1,500 feet or so, and hang around till one of the Allies' machines appear in sight below. Then, if of the fixed-gun type, the Fokker stands on its head and dives straight for its victim, loosing off a stream of bullets as soon as it gets within range. By making the descent ever so slightly spiral, the straight stream of bullets becomes a cone of fire, with its apex at the gun, and with the victim inside, so that whichever way the lower machine tries to escape it must pass through that cone. When the Fokker gets close to the enemy, if he be not already hit, it approaches directly from behind, firing straight along the body, or fusilage, so as to have pilot, passenger, tanks and engine all in one line of fire, and unless the pursued machine is very quick on its controls and is able to dodge like a rabbit, some vital part is bound to be hit sooner or later.

Many Fokkers fire through their propellers. It appears that the propeller blades are fitted with deflector plates to turn aside such bullets as hit the blades. Only about five or six bullets in a hundred are likely to hit the blades and the remaining ninety-odd pass between the blades straight for the target. This deflector dodge was first tried by the French aviator Garros, who was shot down and captured in Flanders some months ago.

Fokkers which do not fire through the propellers almost always attack their victims from behind, diving under their tails and coming up in such a position that, while they can shoot up into the body of the pursued machine, the passenger in that machine, even if sitting behind the pilot, cannot shoot at the Fokker for fear of blowing his own tail off.

When Sir John French in October, 1914, spoke of the marked dominance of British aviators over German, the Royal Flying Corps machines were on an average better than the old Taube monoplanes the Germans were using, and the new, big, powerful German biplanes of the Aviatik, Albatross and L. V. G. types were not being produced in sufficient quantities to be of great importance. Moreover, most of these bi-planes were being used on the Eastern front. Then for a period, about the time of the heavy fighting around

Ypres, the big biplanes showed up in numbers and gave some trouble, as they were faster and climbed far higher than most of the British and French machines. They were met and defeated chiefly by small, very fast, single-seater British scouts of the Bristol and Martinsyde types, by the French Moraine and Nieuport planes, also very small, fast machines, and by the Vickers pusher biplanes, carrying a machine gun in front.

Thereafter the big German aeroplanes disappeared, and for weeks at a time from April onward, no German aeroplanes appeared over British lines, and again the experts sang about the British aeroplanes holding command of the air. It was only a month afterward that the British discovered that all the biggest and best German aeroplanes had been withdrawn to take part in the big drive against Russia.

The next thing heard was the appearance over the German lines of "two tails," a big twin-engine German biplane, which led to sundry questions in Parliament as to whether the British also were building multiple-engine aeroplanes. That was four or five months ago.

Following the two tails came Hans and Fritz, as they were called by the Royal Flying Corps. These were huge Trantor biplanes, with one big engine of apparently between 150 horse power and 200 horse power, with engine and tractor-screw in front. They carried a machine gunner in front with a gun mounted on top of the engine, and another gunner behind the wings, the pilot sitting between the two. Being very fast, these machines operated by ranging up alongside their victim and pouring a broadside into him from both guns at once.

These are the machines referred to by the Germans some months ago in their official reports as battle aeroplanes, and they did considerable execution till the French met them with their newest fast scouts and their avions canons. These avions canons carry a three-inch quick-firer instead of machine guns, at least so a German official report informed the world the other day after one had been shot down in German territory. The French name indicates that they carry canons and not mitrailleuses or machine guns.



After this period which was about October last, the German machines again became scarce in France, which was apparently due to the big, reliable long-distance machines being again sent to the East, partly for smashing Serbia, partly to maintain regular communication with Bulgaria and assist the Bulgarian army, and partly to watch the Russian operations in Bukowina and keep an eye on the Rumanian army along the Hungarian frontier.

### THE LAST GREAT BATTLE OF THE FORD PEACE PARTY.

William C. Bullitt, one of the newspaper correspondents with the Ford Peace Party, has sent from the Hague rather bellicose dispatches which make it doubtful whether it is more adventuresome to be a war correspondent at the front or a peace correspondent at the Hague. The following lines are the concluding paragraphs of his report which appeared in the Philadelphia Public Ledger:

"The actual dismemberment of the corpse began on Tuesday, January 11, when the college students, Colonel Henry and a few members of the business staff were loaded into the steamship Noordam at Rotterdam.

"The Scandinavian delegates began to creep away on Thursday. Then the delegates entered the lists for their last great battle. It was this long struggle that finally called from Paymaster Plaintiff the fervent remark: 'I wish that I could get out of this insane atmosphere and back to the sane atmosphere of America.'

"The delegates had something worth fighting about in this last great battle at The Hague. The stakes were the five positions as 'alternate American delegates' to the 'Permanent Neutral Conference' at The Hague. These positions were worth something. For though the peace delegates made it quite clear that they could not consent to take wages for their services in saving the world, they also made it quite clear that they could 'consent to accept an honorarium.' And it was generally understood that Mr. Ford would press upon each reluctant delegate some tens of thousands per annum as well as paying all expenses.

"The 'honorarium' seemed so life-like to the delegates that when they began to vote, as Judge Lindsey remarked, 'Anyone obtaining two votes would have been elected; for each man in the room voted for himself and each woman did the same.' The delegates were lucky to be able to vote for themselves at all. On January 12, after Jane Addams, Mr. Ford, Mr. Bryan, Dr. Aked and Mrs. Fels had been elected as the five permanent delegates, Mme. Schwimmer decided that it was highly unwise to allow the members of the expedition to elect the five alternate delegates. She had her slate of delegates, and if her attempt to end the election had succeeded she would have been able to put through her slate entire. Mr. Plaintiff, backed by Judge Lindsey and John Barry, balked her attempt at a coup d'etat.

"But Mme. Schwimmer had only begun to fight. She turned all her forces toward securing the election as 'alternates' of persons still resident in America for some time to come. She said frankly that the members of the peace expedition did not have sense enough to participate in her conference and that she desired to import some brains from

America. The insurgents, led by Judge Lindsey and John Barry, declared that they did have brains and that Mme. Schwimmer's ideal of a conference was a conference with all the members except herself in absentia. They pointed out that this would leave her with a certain amount of control over the millions which Mr. Ford is anxious to spend for peace.

"The battle raged through the corridors of the Wittebrug for two days. The gang enrolled as voters the maids of their adherents. The insurgents stayed up all night canvassing for votes. When the polls opened, delegates were whipped from sick beds and bathtubs to support their candidates. No longer were the delegates gentle children. They were sleepless men and women, utterly weary of seeing one another. From one side came accusations of fraud; from the other counter accusations of coercion.

"Frank O. Van Galder, editor of Modern Woodmen, burst out with 'I want to know what all this is about. I have been dragged around in cattle cars from one second-class hotel to another for four weeks. Now, what is this frame-up you are trying to put over on us?'

"Dr. Aked was on his feet. 'Frame-up!' he cried; 'I don't know what the word means.'

"Yes, you do!' shouted John Barry. 'You live in San Francisco!'

"You have no right to talk!' flashed Ellis O. Jones. 'Everyone knows that you sat up all last night electioneering. Just look at your eyes!'

"Mr. Plaintiff slew the embryonic battle royal by advancing and delivering his brief monograph on insanity.

"Balloting and battling went on all afternoon. At sundown it was discovered that honors were easy. Mme. Schwimmer had succeeded in forcing the election of Emily G. Balch, of Wellesley, and Professor G. W. Kirchwey, of Columbia. The insurgents had elected Judge Lindsey and John Barry. The tenth place had fallen to the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones. He belonged to neither party.

"During the vital business of landing \$10,000 jobs, the minor business of stopping the war was entirely forgotten. Indeed, when last seen, the expedition was busy trying to do almost anything except stop the war. Judge Lindsey was striving to divert the genial stream of cash which flows from Mr. Ford into the relief of Poland. Mr. Plaintiff was struggling to get away from the expedition so that he could start the Ford tractor plow business in Russia and Germany.

"On January 15 seventy peacers embarked on the Rotterdam. In place of the crowds which had cheered the Oscar II. when the uplifters set out to save the world, there were only twenty persons on the pier. They were the remnants of the expedition, left to construct the 'unofficial neutral conference.'

### THE NEW YORK TIMES AGAIN!

In August, 1915, the New York Times printed two columns of the most idiotic stuff which has appeared in any American newspaper during the entire war. It was featured as the dispatch of a "special correspondent," has been widely reprinted and quoted since, and provoked miles of anti-German editorial comment. Arthur Ruhl, the correspondent of the rabidly anti-German Collier's Weekly, happened to be with the Austrian armies at that time, and

the following remarks are his comment upon that oxen outrage:

"One day a copy of the New York Times turned up at the Presse-Quartier with a long two-column story, under a Bucharest date line, sent by an alleged American correspondent. Beginning with the misstatement that no Americans were permitted to go to the front in Austria-Hungary, this individual, whose name I had never heard, narrated a 'series of Nick Carter adventures, including getting to the front without any pass whatsoever, merely by volunteering as a cattle driver, and once there seeing the dead 'pitch-forked' into wagons, an officer plunging his sword through the chest of a soldier who happened to be scuffling in front of him—in short, a series of ravings that one would think could not pass the sleepest copy reader or even the editor of a monthly magazine. It was not an agreeable spectacle for Americans trying, under conditions difficult at best, to do legitimate work. A protest in writing from the commandant was read to us, but I could not see that the privileges of the two Americans, then at the Quartier, were in any way restricted."

### AN ENGLISH CLAIRVOYANT AND THAT MEETING AT KONOPISHT.

A curious article by Henry Wickham Steed, foreign editor of the London Times, appears in the February number of "The Nineteenth Century and After." It is entitled "The Pact of Konopisht," and deals with events alleged to have transpired immediately preceding the war.

A fortnight before the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, says the writer, they were visited at their castle, Konopisht, in Bohemia, by the German Kaiser and Admiral von Tirpitz. Ostensibly the Emperor went to Konopisht to see the rose gardens. The story Steed tells is that at Konopisht the Kaiser and the Archduke made a secret compact.

The paramount desire of the Archduke and his wife was to make provision for their sons, who were debarred by the Hapsburg family law from attaining Imperial rank. The Kaiser, it is said, unfolded his great scheme of the war.

Russia was to be provoked to conflict with Germany and Austria; France was to be instantly smitten to the dust, while the absence of England was considered certain. The Kaiser proposed to reconstitute the old kingdom of Poland, which, with Lithuania and the Russian province of Ukraine, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, was to be the inheritance of Franz and his eldest son.

For the second son a kingdom was to be carved out, including Bohemia, Hungary, Serbia, the Slav coast of the eastern Adriatic and Saloniki.

German Austria with Trieste, was to pass to the present heir, the Archduke Charles Joseph, to be incorporated in the German Empire.

A pact would be created and a huge military and economic alliance made with the Kaiser supreme in Europe, and perhaps, throughout the world.

Mr. Steed in an analysis of the extraordinary circumstances surrounding the assassination of the Archduke and his consort seems to imply that it was connected with resentment against the Hapsburg family.

Such is the stuff the British public is fed on. And the censor smiles.

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# Issues & Events

Published Weekly

## The Voice of Treason

BY GEORGE WEIGHTMAN

[Mr. Weightman portrays the perfidy of the pro-English press—in distortion of news to the American public—and points out our “national rights” vs. “individual rights,” as well as the means for avoiding further loss of life, on the high seas, due to submarine activities.—EDITOR.]

Journalistic treachery, using the power of America’s “Free Press,” as a vehicle for traitorous machinations, is the greatest danger confronting the Nation. In its nefarious endeavor, it has resorted to wild extremes in distortion and falsification, and the evil has become so great that now it’s the “real” vital issue of the United States and can no longer be ignored.

Born of pro-English influences, fostered by the “Benedict Arnold” class of Americans, and executed by vicious hands of journalistic vipers, it has thus far directed the course and sentiment of our country—but the awakening is at hand, the people recognize this peril, and the psychological moment has arrived for the true patriot—the man of the hour—to demand of Congress that the “Voice of Treason” be not only muzzled, but driven from the country.

In sounding this warning—true to the policy and principles of “Issues and Events”—let there be no misconceptions. It has become an imperative, patriotic duty, which only the weakling would ignore and the traitor refute. When all laws of common sense and decency have been cast into the discard, it is high time the voice of American Patriotism asserted itself.

### Exposing the Propaganda.

Under the guise of a news despatch from Washington, emanating from the Philadelphia Inquirer Bureau and loaded with editorial opinion and distortion, “Issues and Events” would illustrate the decadence of honorable American journalism to the peril of the nation. The misleading two-column display heading—“Move to Rob U. S. Citizens of Rights Is Made in Senate”—is consistently emulated in the following introduction:

“WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 5.—American rights under international law, including the right of American citizens to travel the high seas in safety, may be abrogated by the United States Senate if the influences, set to work by former Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan today, prove successful.

“There will be no further occasion for President Wilson to send diplomatic notes to Germany, Austria or any other foreign country if Bryan’s bold move receives the approval of the Senate. There will be no need for further protection of American rights because these rights will be abrogated.

### Would Surrender U. S. Rights.

“ . . . Members of the Senate inaugurated the movement for the passage of two bills designed to end all further discussion of submarine outrage by a complete surrender of American rights under international law.

“One of these bills would forbid the issuance of clearance papers to ocean steamships carrying passengers, as well as munitions of war.

“The other, introduced by Senator Gore, of Oklahoma, a Bryan apostle, would forbid the issuance of passports to American citizens traveling on belligerent ships or those carrying munitions of war.

“These two bills contain everything that Germany and Austria have asked of the United States. Their passage would mark the most abject surrender of American rights in the history of the Nation.

“The bills embody the whole of William Jennings Bryan’s peace-at-any-price policy.”

### Branding the Distortionists.

But, behold—smothered beneath this tirade of falsifications—we find the chief news value of the moment in the fact that patriots, regardless of political affiliations, have awakened to a true sense of the nation’s duty and danger and, as loyal American citizens, have cast party lines to the wind and brought about a revolt for both parties.

“That there was no division of the debates along party lines adds to the seriousness of the situation.”

And far removed from this truth—buried beneath a column or more of senatorial discussion—we find lurking the significant admission that—

“It was said, moreover, that today’s showing in the Senate was but the beginning; that the movement is larger and stronger than was indicated on the surface.”

### Branding the Treachery.

In exposing the stealth of motive—in all its perfidy—we have only to observe the following excerpts, laying special stress on use of the word “definite”—

“President Wilson and his advisors are frankly worried. There has been a feeling throughout the country that the nations to whom diplomatic notes have been addressed have been making sport of the United States, and that the time had come for something more definite than notes so that the slaughter of American lives shall cease. . . . Meanwhile it is not likely to become known for several days whether the course of the administration will be in the way of a further exchange of diplomatic notes, or whether action of a more definite character is to be taken.”

This last item—the closing climax to this pro-English propaganda—reveals a paving of the way for injection of the United States into the European conflict in the role of salvator of England, and in the deluded notion of preserver of the English-speaking race—using as a basis of excuse for such action the death of Americans on the high seas.

Remove the possibility of this excuse, and England’s motives, then, efforts of such newspaper endeavors, fail—hence a befogging of the issue and distortion of facts.

If anything else could be needed to complete this outrageous endeavor, infamous injection of dirty politics, in order to arouse sentiment through political leanings of citizens, by casting the onus of the whole proceeding on Bryan and his followers, is vividly exemplified in the item—

“It was learned tonight that before former Secretary Bryan left Washington he had assurances from at least eight of his followers that they would work for the passage of some form of bill that would have the effect of preventing Americans from traveling on belligerent ships or ships carrying munitions of war.”

### The Unvarnished Truth.

There is only one issue in this history-making congressional epoch, and that is the “Prevention” of all possibility of a recurrence of the loss of American lives at the hands of European belligerents, through the “Prevention” of American citizens placing themselves in a position where they may be killed. It resolves itself into an exercise of governmental police-power in regulating traffic of citizens on the high seas because of imminent danger.

Such a measure is national, concerning citizens and government, and cannot be construed as international by the wildest distortion of law. This falsification in crying about robbing United States citizens of "Rights," the abrogation of their "Rights," surrender of their "Rights," etc., is about as justifiable as though it were raised against the traffic-police of our large cities, who enforce municipal regulations concerning the movements of the people to insure their safety.

The fundamental principle is establishment of a "Danger Zone," which is described as the vessels of belligerents or any vessel carrying munitions of war—and the establishment of a "Safety Zone," which is described as "stay at home," or, if you must travel the high seas, restrict your movements to neutral craft and, at all times, to those not carrying troops or war supplies.

The question is simplicity itself—one that the average child can understand—and only becomes confusing when we choose to make it so, or the primary issue is distorted. The principle of "Prevention" is firmly established, nationally and internationally, as an equitable and just measure in curbing the actions of people to insure safety. It is not only practiced on the thoroughfares of great cities, but exercised, through boards of health regulations, while even the practice of medicine has largely become "preventative" as well as curative.

For precedent of the national principle at issue it is only needed to cite Great Britain's action during the Russo-Japanese war, when she warned her citizens not to travel on belligerent ships, and declared the United States should advise its citizens from travel on ships of nations at war.

#### The "Real" Issue.

For compounding distortion of news—it is nothing short of that—in befogging, muddling, and mixing up a perfectly simple and plain question, the Washington correspondent of the Inquirer bureau has fairly outdone himself. If there had been honest intent to fairly inform the public, through the interjection of suggestion or opinion, it is perfectly plain that not even a statute is required to remove the danger of future international complications such as now already confronts us—that is, if we are weaklings enough to fear such cries as "abrogation of rights." By congressional resolution or presidential proclamation it is perfectly easy to issue a "Warning of Danger" to the people, because their travel on belligerent vessels is dangerous to the well-being of the nation—and there would be absolute justification in ascertaining that a refusal to heed the warning placed the burden of responsibility for loss of life on the rashness and indiscretion of the individual, and not on the nation.

In this event—guarding the sacred "Rights" of individuals—fools, imbeciles and all forms of disordered mentalities could take to the high seas with suicidal intent, but the so-much-heard-of "law of humanity" usually directs that such beings require not only restriction, but incarceration—hence, after all, it would be better to exercise the nation's plain duty and inviolable "Right" in the exercization of ordinary police-power to the safety of all its people and the nation itself. Thus, it is easily seen that there are "National Rights" as well as individual, and the merest pretense of placing the individual paramount to that of the national "Rights" is nothing short of downright treason.

America first—then the individual—has the ring of true patriotism, and just why indiscretions of a finite few should be permitted to embroil the nation in dangerous international controversies remains for the pro-English press to explain.

A presumption of American "Rights" secured through international law becomes perfect sophistry under present world conditions. We are confronted on every hand with evidence that this international phantom exists only in so far as there are guns and warships to establish, maintain, and enforce it. Belligerents have recklessly ignored its precepts, and for the United States to undertake enforcement of its own judicial interpretations would mean War Against the World—so, so-called "American Rights," founded on nothing more than international law, and concerning only a few careless or indiscreet individuals, have little excuse to imperil the nation.

#### The Nation's Concern.

However, when the infraction of the "Law of Nations" strikes at the life and livelihood of America, such as England's regulation and restriction of our commerce, then the question of "Rights" becomes one of real national concern—and is national and not individual. Why not sound the cry of "Rights" in this direction?—for they are already abrogated by Great Britain.

#### We Have American Precedent.

In the performance of police-duty our present government cautioned its citizens against living or traveling in Mexico, and has persistently refused to establish and protect the "Rights" of neutrals, through force of arms, to say nothing of failure to wipe out the stain of national insult, or administer punishment for wholesale murdering of American citizens. Citizens have also been refused passports to "belligerent countries because of danger involved"—so, it requires the wildest flights of the imagination to conceive this terrible portrayal of "abrogation of rights," when it is suggested that we apply this refusal of passports to "belligerent vessels because of danger involved."

If this procedure involves "everything that Germany and Austria have asked of the United States" their request can properly only be construed as reasonable, equitable and friendly, and just how it can be construed to be "the most abject surrender of American rights in the history of the Nation" the pro-English propagandist may try to explain. Rather than an "abrogation," it is nothing short of an "enforcement" of the Nation's "Rights"—at home—and a guardance against trouble abroad. Just that!

#### The Nation's Duty.

In performance of its duty, it becomes obligatory upon the Nation to first protect itself, and, by so doing, it secures all the people. When it is confronted with the futility of Great Britain's effort to guard the lives of its subjects on the high seas, there is justification in presuming that our navy could not accomplish much if we were to be so irrational as to allow ourselves to become involved in war with Germany or Austria. Self-preservation and discretion would dictate to the average normal mind that our citizens should remain out of the "Danger Zones"—and, if they persisted in going there, the only rational course to pursue would be to "Prevent" their going. This is the Nation's duty!

As indicated by the action of congressional leaders of both parties, the time has come for "something more definite" than a whiling away of the hours in a compilation of "Stern Notes." And, as these veiled threats intimate, it has come time to declare war—not on Germany and Austria, as indicated, but on the fools who persist in patronizing unneutral and un-American craft, and the traitors who would befog the issues of the day in order to involve us in the European war on the side of the Allies.

If this proposed assertion of the "Nation's Rights" embodies "the whole of William Jennings Bryan's peace-at-any-price policy" it is not only amazing, but most gratifying information to the loyal citizens willing to defend their beloved country—right or wrong. That this sudden wave of sanity can be made political capital and attributed to "Bryanism" no man will believe—but Bryan, the citizen, the patriot, may well be given credit for any part he may play in this return to rationalism. To expect the public to believe he has assumed control of "followers" such as the enlightened senators of both parties that have and are participating in this movement, is beyond the comprehension of any thinking American, and only goes to emphasize the perfidy of the attempt. That he may favor the legislation personally, and have influenced some of his "followers" to support it, is quite conceivable—that it is a Bryan political movement no man will believe who has a clear knowledge of the facts.

#### "Rights" Not "Abrogated."

"The right of American citizens to travel the high seas in safety" is thus effectively secured, through insuring that their travels are without the "Danger Zones"—in the prosecution of the "Nation's Right" of regulating the movements of its citizens in times of peril, through the application of governmental police-power.

There is need for the protection of these "Rights," and the Nation can be relied upon to maintain them to the farthest extreme.

In strong contrast to the propaganda of "real" news suppression, distortion, falsification and dangerous biased innuendo—examination of truthful Washington dispatches discloses that the President was threatened with repudiation by the Democratic Congress. "It is doubtful if he could muster a majority vote in either house, to support his policy, if Americans continue to lose their lives on torpedoed ships." And to show the drift in the direction of exercising National Police-Power—not abrogation of America's Rights—it is only necessary to quote the following poll of the Senate:

"Senators favoring the adoption of measures to prevent Americans from traveling on belligerent ships are: Democrats—Bankhead, Chilton, Fletcher, Gore, Hitchcock, Johnson of North Dakota, Kern, Lane, Martine, Myers, O'Gorman, Owen, Robinson, Shafroth, Smith of South Carolina,

Smith of Georgia, Thompson, Vardaman, Walsh, Husting, Republicans—Curtin, Gallinger, Jones, Kenyon, McCumber, Norris, Sherman, Smoot, Sterling and Works.

"Several senators said they thought a warning should be issued to Americans to keep off belligerent ships, but that the United States ought not to waive their right to travel in peaceful merchant vessels of any nationality. Their contention is that it is practicable to prevent the sacrifice of American lives by keeping Americans out of the danger zone, whereas it is impracticable now to achieve the same end by more aggressive measures under the circumstances produced by the European war.

#### "More Americans May Be Killed.

"The administration is well aware, despite assurances, that Americans may continue to lose their lives while traveling on liners of belligerent nationality. According to the information in the possession of the State department, submarine commanders in more than a dozen recent instances have violated their instructions and have killed hundreds of noncombatants without justification. It is apparent the safety of Americans will continue to be jeopardized by irresponsible and disobedient submarine commanders and by the captains of belligerent steamers who seek to escape capture or offer resistance. Nearly 150 American lives have been sacrificed to the submarine warfare on commerce while the President has been endeavoring to procure respect for American rights by moral suasion."

#### Congressional Opinion.

"The above belief is freely held in Congress, and has not been dissipated by assurances recently received from Germany and Austria, because it is held that new conditions may arise to require a sudden reversal of the rules adopted by Germany and Austria, or the fallibility of human nature might easily operate to cause some submarine commander to disobey his instructions.

"Consequently, the opinion which is known to have prevailed strongly in Congress, and particularly in the Senate when the Ancona case was before the country \* \* \* is "that Americans ought to keep off merchant vessels of belligerent nations, is still retained by a substantial number of senators."

If any further proof could be necessary in refutation of this hysterical cry of "Abrogation of American Rights," or the slightest doubt remain concerning the wisdom of exercising ordinary common sense through the prosecution of the "Nation's Rights," it is only necessary to quote the emphatic declaration of the staff correspondent of the New York "Evening Mail," in which he says:

"Washington, Jan. 10.—So long as the British and Germans are at war upon the seas it will be dangerous for Americans to travel on belligerent ships passing through the zones of warfare, no matter how much care the commanders of Teutonic submarines exercise in providing for the security of passengers and crews."

## Economic Position of the United States After the War

### II. What Will be America's Status?

By GEO. E. ROBERTS

Assistant to the President of The National City Bank of New York

IT will be recognized that conditions with us have been changing for some time. This is no longer an undeveloped country as compared with many others; we have reached the stage where it is a fair question whether better results may not be had by diverting a part of the products of our industries to the development of more backward countries, following the example of Great Britain.

New England has contributed mightily to the development of the western states of this country, with her children and with her money. I am a western man myself, born and reared in the west, and I know something of its development. My father, from Central New York, and my mother, from the State of Maine, met as young people on the banks of the Mississippi.

New England capital helped to build the western railways and develop the western industries, and New England today is greater than she would have been if she had kept her children and money at home.

Old England is richer and stronger today, because of her colonies and her foreign investments, than she would have been if she had kept her capital and her children at home.

We must give up the seed to obtain the harvest; and yet so eager are we to see our possessions grow under our sight, that we sometimes begrudge even the seed. The individual who invests his money away from home is subject to criticism, even though such investments promote industry at home. No longer ago than last night, and no farther away than this platform, I heard a distinguished gentleman refer to "the roaming, speculative, exploiting, American dollar that is unable to find sufficiently remunerative opportunities within our own domain."

The word "exploit" is an ugly word. It implies that the people of the countries in which investments are

made are worse off because of such investments, and that is not true often enough to be treated as the rule. We are not worse off for the investments that foreigners have made in the United States.

I am not in favor of military aggression to promote commercial enterprise, but I object to the sweeping implications which this language conveys, as to investments abroad—to the reflection cast upon men who are opening new markets for American products, and who represent not only American industry, but American character and American ideas in foreign lands. It is just as natural, just as legitimate and desirable that capital shall go out from the United States to Canada, Mexico, Cuba, South America and other regions needing capital, as that New England capital should go into the Mississippi Valley.

New England is a great workshop. It cannot live within itself. It must have food and raw materials from lands that are richer in natural resources than your own, and it must pay for those necessities with the products of its industries.

If you are to grow in population and in wealth and influence; aye, if you are to hold your own in the march of events, you must extend your connections. You sit here on a barren land, but facing the sea, which furnishes a highway to every quarter of the globe, and with 100,000,000 people to back you. I venture to say that instead of deprecating American enterprise abroad, you ought to show it the way, as your forefathers did in years gone by.

In the great steel and equipment industries, and in numerous lines in which large scale production has been developed, our advantages and efficiency have enabled us, notwithstanding higher wage rates, to compete successfully in the markets of the world. We have it in our power to make good to a great extent,

if not in full, the economic losses of the war, by the manufacture of steel and labor-saving machinery. By increasing our own capacity of production and by supplying other countries not so advanced as ourselves with capital and equipment, we can render possible an actual rise in the level of living the world around.

It is not pleasant to discuss the calamities of others as the source of gains to ourselves, and that is not the light in which I would present the subject. I doubt if in the long run there are any gains, and we will have to manage ourselves extremely well if you do not suffer loss. One of the common complaints against the labor organizations is that they endeavor to restrict production, acting upon the theory that there is only a limited amount of work to be done, and that it is good policy for them to make it go as far and pay as much in wages as possible. It is a mistaken view, and it seems to me that the idea that we will do better in foreign trade with Great Britain and Germany out of it is based upon the same error. It assumes that the amount of work to be done in the world is fixed and limited, whereas the truth is that there is no limit upon the amount of work that may be done, or the amount of wealth that may be created from the resources of nature, and all the world is interested in abundance. The purchasing power of every people is its own powers of production, and the greater the production of every country, the greater the total volume of trade will be, the more every country will have for consumption, and the higher the standard of living will be.

There is now great confusion in world trade. The peoples accustomed to deal with Germany and Great Britain turn to us for goods, for capital, for all the help and service they have received from those sources heretofore. We have the opportunity, looking at it from a purely business standpoint, to make closer acquaintance with these people, to introduce our goods, to demonstrate our ability and readiness to co-operate with them in the development of their countries, and to be not only of temporary but lasting service to them. Moreover, it is not only our privilege to do this, but there is a high obligation upon us to mitigate so far as lies in our power the effects of a world calamity, and to develop to the broadest possible usefulness our own powers of protection. Whatever remains to us of these connections and new business after permanent conditions are restored will be what we are entitled to have on our merits.

There are certain inevitable limitations upon our activities, and there is a certain balance or equilibrium in affairs which in the nature of things must be maintained. You cannot eat your cake and have it too. You cannot give your full energies to each of several tasks at the same time. There is a familiar saying that you cannot have it both ways, but people are always trying in theory to have it both ways.

If anything has been clearly demonstrated in recent months it is that you cannot have a permanently one-sided trade. You soon reach the point where you have to lend to your customer to enable him to continue his purchases, and evidently that policy cannot go on indefinitely.

If we should find ourselves after the war able to monopolize South American trade, we would have to take the South American products that have been exported, in payment for South American purchases, or additional products from somewhere in lieu of them. And if we are to largely increase our exports, we must expect to receive goods in payment, and if there is an important shift of trade from Europe there will have to be a shift of population also. We cannot do more work without having more workers, and Europe cannot do less work without losing some of its workers.

We cannot do more work without the immigrant, and yet, but for the opposition of two Presidents we would already have important restrictions upon immigration.

We must recognize that after the war is over all the peoples now engaged in it will be factors in world affairs as before. If they are forced out of one market, they will appear in another; or if they are compelled to sell less they will be obliged to buy less, and all of them have been very good customers of ours. If Germany, for example, is not able to sell abroad she will be lost as a market to other countries. If all of the warring countries should exterminate each other, we would be relieved of a lot of competitors and lose the same economic quantity in customers.

I question whether the warring countries will be as badly crippled as we are disposed to think. They are expending an enormous amount of energy unproductively, and this is waste, but it does not all signify loss as compared with what they had before the war. Great Britain and Germany as yet have their productive equipment practically untouched. Even the property destroyed does not represent total loss, for property is being destroyed daily in normal times to be replaced with something better. The loss of life and of physical capacity in the maimed is appalling, but we do not know what psychological forces may be awakened by this experience. The inner resources of a people, and the response that may come under the pressure of an emergency cannot be calculated. We know that a single invention may revolutionize an industry, and it is possible that these peoples may soon have greater powers of production than ever before.

As for the burdens placed upon the future, they, too, may be exaggerated. The present may waste the resources under its control, but it cannot draw on the future. All of the production of the future will belong to the producing generation; none of it will go to the dead. The expenditures of the war are being made out of the labor and energy of the present; as soon as the war is over all labor will be turned to reconstruction and production. All of the food grown next year will be available to feed the population of that time; the armies of today are not being fed from next year's crops. The debts will be large and there will be controversies about taxation, but it is a mistake to consider capital collected and paid out as interest as capital lost to the community. It continues for the most part to be capital available for investment for the employment of labor, and for the up-building of the community.

The waste and loss occurs during the war; all the world shares in it through failure to make normal progress. I am not among those who think that the competition of Europe will be more formidable after the war, but I believe it quite possible to over-estimate its disabilities. There will be a trying period of confusion and readjustment, and I would expect industrial costs to be higher.

On the other hand, how will the United States be situated? It will have received a large amount of capital, and have the new opportunities in foreign trade. How fast can we develop the trained organization to deal with these opportunities? The institution with which I am connected has had some experience with branches abroad. It has great difficulty in finding men fitted for the foreign work, who are willing to have usually left their families here; their children are in school and they prefer to have their children brought up and started in life in the United States. After these men have been away a year they become restless and want to be relieved. This matter of a trained organization is all important, and it is a difficult problem. We can develop it in time, but it will take years.

## Charles Ferguson's Washington Letter

### The Bewildered Nation

Washington, Feb. 12.—Things have settled down here since the President's swing around the circle. He came home flushed—triumphant. His was the deep satisfaction that comes to men of fine and fastidious spirit when they find themselves equal to coarse physical contacts. Unmistakably his stump-speaking was virile, commanding—for the most part intelligible to ordinary people and therefore on the whole successful.

The President enjoyed also the exhilaration of escaping from a long passivity into a field of action and adventure. For many months his leadership had been palpably waning. But now in a moment all is changed.

Once more Mr. Wilson is in the front of the battle—giving his body bravely to the shock of the charge. Henceforth we are to expect of the President bold decisions and the abeyance for a time of the cautious intellectualism that lies in wait for events. It would be hard to find a historic parallel for so sharp a change of mood and method in a man centering the attention of the world.

Washington settles down and waits for the President's next move. For surely there must be a next move—to explain the meaning of the last. The people are expectant. They are prepared to believe that Wilson is *man* enough to furnish leadership through this unexampled strait. Has he *mind* enough? Does he understand?

Never was there such need in a high place of an inspiration of simplicity—a wisdom purged not only of learning and tradition but of the prejudices of a decadent political philosophy and the sophistications of a cultivated class. The country is bewildered. Never was a great people more profoundly bewildered—even to the point of mental coma and a passionless calm. There would be heat and turmoil if there were only two opinions on any important subject. But the opinions are innumerable and nearly every man of us has many opinions that do not agree with one another. That is why our bewilderment is a choppy sea with no mighty billows or tidal currents.

The President has now his unreturning—unprecedented—opportunity. It is for him to lift "the high, indicative hand."

The people want to know what has become of the New Freedom. We want to know how to freshen and renew our liberty by a process that will make us invincibly strong for peace or war.

We want somebody to give us a new definition of

democracy—and to tell us whether the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson is good for these times.

There are groups of politicians making nervous calculations and planning conventions. But the mass of Americans are singularly unconcerned about all that. They would not care if the tangled, inarticulate history of political parties were to come to an end this year.

The question that interests most of us—when we take time to consider "the state of the Union"—is, how can we get to be as strong and efficient as Germany is, without putting our necks under a yoke?

We are told that England is free, and that Germany is not. Yet there are disconcerting signs that seem to point in the opposite direction.

Perhaps Germany is free with a New Freedom that our school-books and newspapers have not prepared us for. Perhaps England, with its world-web of financial and commercial compulsions, has been weaving for us all the bonds of a new slavery—in spite of the newspapers and the school-books.

It is terribly important that we correct our prepossession in this matter—if we have been making a mistake.

Is it not possible that our New Freedom would be better set forward if we could dissolve this left-handed, Morganatic *mariage de convenance* with the British plutocracy?

Is it not even possible that we shall see before the year is out that we have wholly misjudged the meaning of the European struggle—that the quarrel is ours, in an opposite sense to what we had supposed—that the issue that rends the world is *identical with the deepest issue in our domestic politics*—the struggle between a new freedom of artistic and scientific efficiency and a new servitude to an incompetent and life-squandering finance?

We need to have these things explained from a rostrum with the great sounding-board of the Presidency behind it.

We find it hard to believe in the kind of preparedness recommended by men whose outstanding character resembles that of Warren Hastings. We do not believe in belligerent business. It is weak. It makes wars, but does not win them. We want the kind of preparedness that begins by *bettering the earth-hold of the mass of the people in local communities*.

How can we make that kind of a beginning?

Those who know the President best are most confident that he has both the mind and the courage to defy the orthodox and answer this question.

## Confidential Review of Washington Officialdom

By J. BENNETT MAXWELL

Washington, Feb. 17.—All the national political committees are preparing their presidential campaigns. For an individual with political ambitions to interfere with decisions of the "leaders," invariably means "political death." But occasions arise, through endeavors in the journalistic field, that wholly upset these plans.

There are a thousand and one things that enter into consideration of presidential nominees, and the judicious political decisions by men experienced in political life as a rule, are well-founded, but sometimes the smallest thing introduced into the situation at a psychological moment will upset the whole political situation.

As an instance of this case I would cite our letter under date of Feb. 10, which specifically called attention to the fact that President Wilson, starting out on a campaign outlined to influence the nation concerning the next presidential election, utilized, as the predominant factor, the policy of Congressman Gardner of Massachusetts. It is agreed on all sides that Gardner was always right; that the administration frankly admits its antagonism to Gardner was wrong, and emphasizes its erroneous judgment in placing an issue, which the full power of the administration antagonized, in the forefront of its new political policies.



The great weakness concerning this assumption of another man's accomplishment, is not only the fact that our President has not frankly stated in the presentation of his new policy, the fact that this "new policy" is a repudiation of his former theoretical policy, but the fact that he does not come out in the manly way and say:

"I have been wrong. The policy of the administration has been wrong—we have been compelled to recognize a condition that we have all along refused to recognize, and it is because of the reality of our patriotism that we are willing, at this time to recognize it—and it would be eminently unfair to attempt to advocate this administrative decision as coming from any other source than one individual—Congressman A. P. Gardner, of Massachusetts—who is the one that forced recognition of actual conditions confronting the nation."

Washington political circles, of the practical kind, are literally giggling over what they know to be the true aspect of the political situation. They all know that when the reaction comes, it will be irresistible—and for that reason, all ordinary plans and policies are in a position of *status quo*, for no man can tell what will be necessary as a final definition of a platform that will harmonize with the future political situation which is sure to arise.

It would be unwise to say that there has been co-op-

eration along these lines between Representative Gardner and the national republican committee—for there has not been, but it can truthfully be said the possibilities of his reaping a just reward are seriously considered, and in such a contingency a program is being worked out to control such a situation that may arise.

It can be fairly said that here is one instance where the detail political parallel forces abject conviction upon the minds of the American public; and practical politicians recognizing this fact—although reluctant to do so—are preparing for it—and if they did not, they would not be practical—for it is universally admitted in all political circles that this is the predominant factor.

What political deals may be made—or placations of political preferment—in order to alter an uncontrollable situation, cannot be forecast. Those things remain for decision of the inner councils. It is presumed that deals will be made, for hardly anybody seriously considers our Massachusetts Representative as a presidential possibility, except students and practitioners of the practical political game. The only thing that forces the issue to the front is that—practically—he is the only presidential possibility. Just how this situation will develop, is beyond human power to indicate at this time, but it can be authoritatively stated that developments of first magnitude will occur within a fortnight.

## The Future of Warsaw

By FELIX NLYNARSKI, Delegate of the Polish Supreme National Committee to America

The map of Europe contains a great political paradox. This paradox is the line of the Vistula, which is one of the main rivers of central Europe. Its upper part is in the hands of Austria-Hungary; the middle part in the hands of Russia and the lower part in those of Germany. On the upper part of the Vistula lies the town of Cracow where the old Polish Kings are buried; in the middle part of the Vistula is Warsaw, the capital of Poland, while Danzig, the old Polish harbor town, lies at the mouth of the Vistula. It certainly is a paradox which shows geographically the political slavery of Poland. Cut in three parts, the Vistula is a river of slavery and the river of the great Polish suffering.

\* \* \*

The proclamation, which a year ago the German and the Austro-Hungarian armies distributed in Russian-Poland, stated that the armies of these countries were bringing "Liberty and Independence" to Poland. This was the first ray of hope for the Polish nation. A few days later another promise came, this time from the opposite party. On August 15, 1914, the late Russian Commander-in-Chief, Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolajevitch, proclaimed that the intention of Russia is to unite Poland under the sceptre of the Czar. "Poland shall be reborn under this sceptre, free in faith, in language, in self-government." The armies of the western nations gave the hope of independence—the armies of the eastern power have limited the future of Poland to autonomy. The aforesaid proclamations, however, were proclamations issued only by commanders-in-chief, and not by their respective governments.

Poland knew long ago that the war would practically draw closer, and she prepared herself so as not to be surprised and to have a plan of action. During the war in the Balkans, Poland advanced her preparations considerably. Old and new organizations began secretly or openly to work with fewer in order to be able, in case of war between Austria and Russia, to form their own military representation and throw it in the

game and fight for Poland's independence. Outwardly, Poland made her first political demonstration in European politics in the summer of 1913. Polish military organizations and independence parties sent a delegation to London, where at that time a conference of ambassadors of European nations was in session, and it deposited with Sir Edward Grey and all the ambassadors assembled in conference a memorandum on the question of Poland. This memorandum was nothing else but a program of Poland's attitude in the war which at that time was already anticipated. This memorandum called Europe's attention to the fact that in case of a war, Poland would throw her lot with Austria-Hungary against Russia because under present political conditions such an action means the only real road to independence for Poland. The moment when the anticipated war broke out Poland did not need to make her action dependent on any of the aforesaid proclamations which the armies of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Russia distributed all over Poland's territory.

On August 5, 1914, the first Polish patrol composed of members of Polish military organizations left Cracow and crossed Russia's frontier, headed for Kielce in Russian Poland. This patrol was followed by other detachments numbering several thousands of men. All of them were revolutionary troops trained in a military organization which for a good many years carried on the work openly in Galicia and under cover in Prussian and in Russian-Poland; in these organizations young men were trained for military purposes in order to be able to form, in case of war between Austria and Russia, a military representation of Poland. The plan elaborated long ago began to work. The frontier posts, which for over a hundred years separated Cracow from Warsaw, were pulled down by the Polish revolutionary soldiers, who were the first to cross the frontier in order to bring liberty to Russian-Poland. This happened on August 5—precisely fifty years after the Russian government in Warsaw, through the hangman's noose, ex-

executed the last five members of the last Polish-National Government. This date of August 5 was a festival and the day of the beginning of a new fight for independence. At the head of the government stood Joseph Pilsudski, a Russian subject. The road to Kielce was open for him because the Russian armies retreated for strategical reasons and the armies of Austria-Hungary had not arrived. Neither was there any proclamation from any of the warring powers. The action of the Poles outran the coming events. In Kielce, where for a while no other armies had made their appearance and which was occupied only by the Polish troops, the independence of Poland was proclaimed. The churches resounded with Polish national anthems for which hitherto Russian government deported the people to Siberia. Polish flags showing the historical white eagle were once more floating over the city showing their white and crimson colors to the eyes of the enthusiastic people. The ranks of the Polish revolutionary army began to swell by a large number of volunteers who were able to escape the Russian orders of mobilization.

\* \* \*

On August 3, 1914, proclamations of a secret National Government were posted in Warsaw which summoned the nation to rise against Russia and join hands with the detachments of the Polish revolutionary army which was coming up from the Galician frontier. A young Pole, a member of the Polish conspiracy, was caught by a Russian police while posting the aforesaid bills, and on the next day a volley shot from the rifles of an executionary squad ended his life in the citadel of Warsaw. He was the first victim of the war. About two weeks later the proclamation of the Russian commander-in-chief was issued; in this proclamation, from fear of the awakening revolutionary spirit, a promise of autonomy was made to Poland. It was not enough for a nation that had older political traditions than Russia but, above everything else, the promise came too late. The action of the Poles not only came ahead of the armies of both sides but also of their promises. In Galicia all the political parties succeeded in uniting and in getting into communication with the secret National Government in Warsaw. Because of the freedom of action in Galicia the centre of gravity of the entire movement was shifted from Warsaw to Cracow from where the first signal for the war of independence was issued. On the basis of an agreement between the secret and open political parties in Galicia and Russian-Poland, which form together two-thirds of the organized parties in Poland, the Supreme National Committee was organized in Cracow on August 16, 1914; this committee until now has the supreme sway over the destinies of the nation. It is a political representation of Poland in the present war and it is a nucleus of the Polish state, should the conscience of the world awake and should Poland gain her independence. All the detachments of the Polish revolutionary forces which were in garrison in Kielce, received the name of "Polish Legions" from the Supreme National Committee. Thus the actual force of the nation, elements organized openly or secretly, and based on an entirely democratic principle, declared themselves against Russia and formed an alliance with Austria-Hungary. The Russian promises did not succeed in halting them nor did so the memories of the ill-treatment suffered by the Poles to a great extent at the hands of Prussia.

\* \* \*

Arms do not terminate war although they decide battles. An army with its blood establishes facts, but the conclusions from these premises are drawn by the diplomats when the peace treaties are negotiated. The Polish question is not going to be decided on the battle-

field, although battles are decided on Polish grounds. The Polish question shall come up together with the whole mass of political questions during the coming peace congress regardless of the form which the latter shall have. This is the goal for which the Polish hopes are aimed, and the work done by the Polish Legions paves the way to this goal.

\* \* \*

One hundred years ago the Congress of Vienna was in session. The Napoleonic hurricane came to an end and then diplomacy started bargaining. The Polish question was one of the foremost among the issues confronting the Congress. Who did revive the Polish question in Europe? Polish troops followed the eagles of Napoleon in his expedition against Russia in 1812. The Polish army was headed by Prince Joseph Poniatowski. The Polish army commanded by him was the army of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw established by Napoleon in 1807 at the peace treaty of Tilsit. Poland has established right at the very beginning of the Napoleonic era a military representation of the side of France. Then appeared for the first time the idea of Polish Legions. By way of Italy, Egypt and even Santo Domingo in America the Polish legions began their march to Warsaw. The road was a long one and cost a heavy toll of blood, but finally it led the legions to their intended goal. The Polish legions were not animated only by hatred when combating Russia nor did they help France only because of any feeling of sympathy. There were feelings even very keen, strong and sacred feelings, but they were far from deciding the Polish policy. The decisive factor was the desire of creating a Polish military representation on the background of Napoleonic wars in order thus to create a representation for the Polish aspirations for freedom and in order to confront Europe with the Polish questions. Liberty can be gained only by blood and iron and therefore the flag carried by the Polish legions of a hundred years ago was such a flag of blood and iron. The glory which fell upon this flag of the legions became the glory of the Polish nation, and it was because of the merit of these legions that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was established at the peace treaty of Tilsit.

Napoleon was defeated, and his defeat meant at the same time the military defeat of the Polish cause. The commander of the Polish army, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, a hero known very well today all over Europe and a field-marshal of Napoleon's army, was drowned in the River Elster while covering the retreat of Napoleon from Leipzig. The Polish cause, however, did not perish. In spite of the military defeat the Polish legions of the Napoleonic army caused the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland with a separate parliament and a Polish army in Warsaw. The fact that the Polish army helped Napoleon against Russia and thus against England did not obscure the view of the Cabinet of London. England did not hesitate to support the Polish cause against Russia although Russia was an ally of England in the latter's life and death struggle against Napoleon. The attack, which in the battle of Leipzig Prince Joseph Poniatowski led against the village of Probstheida occupied by Russian troops commanded by Emperor Alexander I himself, was therefore something more than a mere incident of this "battle of nations." By conquering Probstheida, Prince Joseph Poniatowski "was conquering the capital of the future Kingdom of Poland under the eyes of this Kingdom's future monarch." Prince Joseph Poniatowski perished and only remnants of the Polish regiments were left when the Napoleonic epopee came to an end. The blood and iron, however, have done their work: Polish regiments have compelled Europe to look at them as the representatives of the Polish state.

# Issues & Events

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## TRUTH AND JUSTICE

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### THE RESIGNATION OF SECRETARY OF WAR GARRISON.

Long ago it was charged that there was a plot of the War party in America to involve this country in the war against Germany. The plot has not succeeded so far, and so the Secretary of War has resigned. Other authorities, some of whom seem to have pledged to deliver this country into the Allies' hands, are greatly disconcerted, and more trouble may be expected.

Secretary Garrison's resignation marks the collapse of the first fort in the people's war on the pro-British campaign. Twice the American people had won their freedom from England by force of arms. This time they have won it by force of wits.

The scheme was to conquer America by a publicity campaign, such as the world never saw before. After all the powerful publications had been won over, and Morgan and all the millionaire influences had been induced to side with the British cause in America, it was thought the plot would have smooth sailing. But there was just one element the plotters failed to reckon with. That was the American people. They are not pro-British, and, indeed, never can be. Congress, being composed of the people's direct representatives, dared not go over to the British side. And therein lies the humiliation of the plotters.

The New York Times very truthfully says:

"Secretary Garrison is free to resign. The President cannot resign. Yet the refusal of Congress to accept the Continental Army, part of the plan of preparedness is as much a rebuff to the President as to the Secretary of War, although in his letter to Mr. Garrison he shows a great deal of patience and forbearance. It is an administration measure that Congress insists on maiming and destroying."

Our Congress is only voicing the demands of the American people to whom it is directly answerable. Congressmen dare not oppose the wishes of the people who elected them. Secretary Wilson may oppose it until the next election.

### TURNING THE TABLES ON ENGLAND.

It is reported that seven cables between Europe and America have been cut, leaving those available hopelessly overburdened. The cutting is attributed to a new type of German submarine.

If this report be true, it is probable that Europe may

lose all direct cable communication with America. In that event England and America would be dependent on German wireless for daily foreign communications. There is no wireless station in England that could compete with the powerful German wireless.

If Germany should thus become the chief news censor, we feel sure that Teuton's deep love of truth will assert itself.

### AMERICA AND THE NEW GERMAN SUBMARINE POLICY.

America cannot consistently protest the announced sea policy of the Teutonic powers to sink armed merchantmen without warning.

This government, knowing the Teutonic nations to be within their rights in this respect, should immediately issue a warning to all its citizens not to travel on belligerent ships that carry guns of any kind.

This position must be taken if America's attitude is to continue to be logically followed out.

The American attitude regarding arming of merchantmen, it became known for the first time this week, was clearly set forth in the informal suggestion it recently made to the entente concerning the "absence of conditions now, which in earlier times was the excuse for arming of merchantmen." These reasons were presence of privateers and pirates on the high seas.

None of the powers addressed, Secretary Lansing said, has replied to these suggestions. He said he assumed their delay was caused by the obvious necessity of joint deliberation of the question.

The English, however, have expressed themselves unalterably opposed to any suggestion that would put their merchantmen at the mercy of the submarines.

Despite this known opposition it is admitted at the State Department one effect of the Teuton decree will be announcement that this Government will abandon its recent temporary rulings regarding armed merchantmen, even in the event it is known a few German commerce raiders are at large on the high seas.

A pronouncement from the State department accepting the German and Austrian classification of armed ships as war vessels would mean six months between visits, and that they would be ordered to leave within 24 hours.

The British, of course, will endeavor to avoid the decree. The one way out would seem to be that the guns be mounted or dismounted outside the three-mile limit. The enactment of such a practice would be difficult.

### GERMANY'S DECLARATION ANENT ARMED MERCHANTMEN.

After silently suffering a year of disadvantage, Germany has decided to inform all powers that it will hereafter sink, without warning, any merchantman or passenger vessel which is armed in any way. Her position seems to be entirely logical.

A warship is an open enemy, and subject to attack at sight. The only reason passenger ships are accorded special privileges of warning in war time is conveying non-combatants and non-contraband, that they are considered vessels of peace.

But the British Government has seen fit to prostitute and abuse the privileges granted to passenger ships. It has not only used non-combatant citizens as a cloak of protection, but has perverted the peaceful object of

these merchantmen by converting them into floating arsenals.

In many instances these pseudo-merchantmen have attacked and sunk submarines. The German Government has issued a statement setting forth a large number of cases in which supposedly peaceful vessels have been armed with guns and did attack other vessels. Besides there have been printed in Berlin photographic reproductions of confidential orders by the British Government to arm merchantmen. Such orders were issued both before and since the war, and thereby the British Government becomes guilty of one of the most

As early as June 16 of last year, *Issues and Events* predicted that neutral powers would have to accept the German view of this matter. But as far as we know

we stood alone at that time in pointing out the tremendous importance of the evasive sentence tucked away in Secretary Lansing's second *Lusitania* note, viz., "That it was the duty to see the *Lusitania* was not heinous acts of treachery toward neutrals who have confided in her protection and integrity.

armed for offensive action." We asked then where does offensive begin and defensive leave off. This sentence is practically an admission that the *Lusitania* was armed, and it would indicate Mr. Lansing's conscience was hurting him, because it was "the duty to see" that the *Lusitania* was not armed at all, and that such negligence had been partly responsible for the loss of the one hundred odd unfortunate Americans who went down with that ill-fated vessel.

## Advent of a New Journalism

By CHARLES FERGUSON

For two years I spent my nights in Park Row writing double-leaded editorial "smashes" for the Hearst morning papers—far-flung manifestoes of political purity and justice in two dimensions—having length and breadth enough to cover an acreage that would give us all a farm, but with no considerable depth or thickness.

On Friday nights at ten o'clock it was my pleasant custom to take an hour's breathing spell for serious thought about the "state of the Union." I would shoot up to Columbus Circle in the subway and have a "fireside talk" about the real meaning of the week's news—with a hundred alert men. Here is where I first met Mr. Francis Dorl some six years ago.

I told them what I thought about the bearing of the world's happenings upon their lives and mine.

I explained to them the absurdity of our politics and the futility of our reformers and endeavored to point the way, week by week, to a new and modern kind of politics that should express the power of science and the passion of brave men for fair fame and honest fortune.

Taking under consideration, for example, such a state of affairs as occupies for the present moment the front pages of New York newspapers—the monstrosity of subway finance and the mental chaos of the school board—I found it not difficult to get my downright and unprejudiced young friends to agree that such social diseases are organic and chronic and are not to be treated with skin lotions.

### Merely an Outcropping.

As to subway finance—the immense bonuses of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Shonts and the rest—we would agree that it is exactly symptomatic of all the larger transactions that go on in Wall Street. The newspapers by making much of such incidents, convey to the public the false idea that they are exceptional—and thus protect from serious criticism the unscientific and socially disabling financial system represented by Mr. Morgan and Lord Reading—a system that enfeebles the industrial life of nations, and that makes wars, but does not win them.

Just so of the school board confusion—the pull and haul between two very impracticable kinds of politics—Churchill for the hearty, human, but low-browed prodigality of the machine, and Mitchel for the thin-lipped and high-browed economies of the City Club and the large property owners.

We would generally understand in the "fireside

talks" that bewildering gentlemen like those mentioned—Mitchel and Churchill, Morgan and Shonts—were quite destitute of hoofs or horns and were on the whole well-meaning. We would conclude that our social affairs were in a welter, simply for the lack of an organ of social intelligence—and that the country's most pressing business was to evolve such an organ in every town and city ward.

I still talk with these men on Friday nights at ten—as I have done constantly excepting certain absences in Europe—and I shall tell them next Friday that the news is that the Bronx is trying to develop the kind of an organ of social intelligence that we have been prophesying so long. With the help of New York University, the local board of trade and other forces in Bronx Borough are occupied in an effort to produce a social mind and will for the scientific organization of the human and material resources of the borough.

### Dawn of War Born Politics.

I shall warn them that this Bronx experiment may very likely prove to be abortive—may end in an academic abstraction or a real estate speculation. But whatever may happen in the Bronx the movement there has historic significance. It is one of the tentative beginnings of the new politics that is being forced upon us by the European war.

We have got to pull ourselves together and sober up. We have lived the political life of hysterics and neurotics. Our economics and politics in this country rest on an intellectual level with the *thé dansant* and the movies.

The door of destiny has suddenly burst open and flung us into an age that is harshly intolerant of our accustomed political puerilities. We positively must brace up.

We must get down to business with our politics. Instead of periodical Thompson "smelling" committees to tilt the lid of the witches' cauldron for the sake of the thrill of the bad odor, we are going to have, pretty soon, in every American community, some kind of a standing committee of common intelligence that shall tip the whole infernal kettle of broth into the fire—and make an end of it.

Why, for instance, did we in New York ever make this preposterous subway contract with the Morgan bank—through its dummy, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company? Why? Simply because, as matters actually stood, that private bank was absurdly but absolutely indispensable to us. It was the only agency that

could do the business, the only extant organ of public credit that was well enough believed in by all of us to be able to assemble our science and skill, our tools and working forces, for the accomplishment of so big a job.

#### Morgan is the State.

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan may well light his black cigar with that subpoena—and muse in astonishment at his own moderation. He sits serene at the apex of the public credit. He is the State. And the vanished half-million or more is a modest item in his Civil List.

If we are not content with this state of affairs, we must bother our brains to devise a more social and more rational finance. That is a part of the work of the new organ of social intelligence that the war is forcing us to develop.

Such things as these we will discuss next Friday in the "fireside talk." And then we will drift to a consideration of the promise and portent of Dorl's bold and not a little brilliant adventure in journalism.

Since those winter nights five years ago when Mr. Dorl was wont to keep me company in the swift walk from 57th street as I made my returning dash for Park Row—much water has run under his bridge—and he has known how to sluice it and dam it for the irrigation of his estate.

I have heard some scores of millionaires talk about creating a publication in New York to interpret the spirit and purport of the new era that the war has made. I did not hear Mr. Dorl talk about it. But I saw him do it.

I was immensely pleased. And I am very glad to lend him a hand now—and shall continue doing so—for a while at least.

#### Wrote the Hearst Bashanes.

During the closing weeks of the last presidential campaign, Mr. Arthur Brisbane, for reasons creditable to his mental integrity, declined to support the Democratic candidates and requested me to write the political editorials for the New York Journal and the other evening papers of the Hearst chain. This I did accordingly—an addition to my regular *corvée* in the same line for the New York American and the morning chain.

As Mr. Hearst was in Europe I had a comparatively free hand and thus enjoyed for a season the maximum degree of vociferousness attainable by the enginries of modern journalism. I do not remember to have said anything very wise, for as things stand with the "great dailies" the wisest things are not regarded as fit to print.

I have been putting into books for the last seventeen years, these relatively wise things—which a great many Americans say quietly to each other in the street or with their feet on the fender, but which do not get into the newspapers. I expect to say them now with fresh point—and largely as forecasts that have received, or are daily receiving, the *imprimatur* of current history—in this present record of "Issues and Events." And I expect by this means to reach more people with words that are worth the utterance—in the present presidential campaign than in the last.

I look with curious expectancy upon this phenomenon of Mr. Dorl's breaking into Park Row. I remember Greeley and Pulitzer and Dana and the rest. There was not one of them that had a braver heart or a bigger purpose. Here is a man, with youth and faith, come in the nick of a great and unparalleled time, to feel out and find his way toward the news that is not yet spoken.

It is an old saying that America is another name for Opportunity. But where in America is a news-service that is not dedicated to the closed door, the preempted pasture and the interests that are fixed and vested?

Jones of the Times on being asked to define "the news" is reported to have said that "anything is news that ought not to have happened." This idea of filling newspapers with scandals and disasters, eked out with a literary melange, sports and vaudeville—is, I submit, not properly American. It belongs to a static and immobile society—a régime of caste and privilege. It does not beseech a society such as ours, which lives in an attitude of expectancy and means to be ever on the march.

Journalism must be stimulating, exciting—sensational if you please. But it is a dull and decadent people that can find sensation only in the shock of fatalities or the contemplation of what "ought not to have happened." The new journalism will be more exciting, more sensational than the old—because it will represent the everchanging aspects of a mobilized society and will teem with the lures of adventure and opportunity.

#### BUT THERE ARE NO ISLANDS IN THE AIR.

England's splendid isolation is no more.

It was not her people nor her Government that made England great, but her location. Her island being small and quickly traversed, she has had no enemies to fear from within, and those from without could not reach her. Unapproachable except by water, and making herself master of the water, she has set back in her safety, content to broaden her influence by stirring up strife among others. Her policy has been to weaken her commercial rivals by embroiling them in wars among themselves. She would get the two rival dogs to fighting and then she would steal the bone. Thus battleships and her so-called "diplomacy," conducted largely through hired newspapers, have been her chief weapons.

Conditions quite the opposite have prevailed in Germany. The chief characteristic of her nationality has been the entire absence of any form of defense excepting her own innate strength and activity. She is surrounded on all sides by powerful peoples with whom she has endeavored to live in friendly rivalry, as she might have done, but for England's policy of stirring up strife. Like the leaf of the topmost twig, Germany stands exposed to every blighting wind, but the winds have brought strength withal, and botanists have noted that the topmost twig is generally the last to fall, while the protected ones go first. A hot-house plant grows luxuriant in its protection, but it cannot stand exposure.

Germany has had no wall or shell to defend her. So while England has tried to strengthen her water wall with ships, Germans have had to strengthen their muscles and train themselves to fight. For their blood and sinew is the Nation's only wall of protection. It is a living wall of red German blood, proving thicker and more substantial than sea water.

It has been impossible for Germany to rest at ease and remain inactive as a protected or shelled creature like a lobster or clam. She has had to swim and forage as actively as a sword fish. She has grown more active as conditions demanded, and now she has evolved into a kind of flying sword-fish, to surmount Britain's watery wall, and bore through her protecting shell.

A diary kept by a traveler through the regions visited by the latest Zeppelin raid on England, gives a list of fourteen towns where havoc was wrought by the bombs, proving once more the falsity of the British official reports. And proving that Britain's seclusion is a thing of the past.

England has been content to rule the waves. But under the waters and in the air above, Germany now has domination.



# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

## MARE LIBERUM AND MARE CLAUSAM.

Sterling E. Edmunds, lecturer on International Law, St. Louis University Law School, is an interpreter of the so-called International Law decidedly in favor of the Allies. His historical facts are most interesting; his less interesting deductions are unscientifically partisan. In one of his recent articles there are the following telling sidelights on the evolution of the idea of the Free Sea:

The Roman conception of the free sea was a philosophic rather than a legal one, since international law may be said to have been nonexistent at that period of history. It was not until the breaking up of the Roman Empire and the germination of the modern European States system began that we see the concurrent appearance of customs growing out of the intercourse among these separate political entities and giving some shadow of a legal system. From that time, however, the dawn of the Middle Ages, we notice that claims of sovereignty are gradually extended into the high seas, until finally all of the known waters of the earth had been appropriated. The Roman conception of the free sea thus vanished.

The Republic of Venice claimed sovereignty over the Adriatic, and Genoa became the sovereign of the Ligurian Sea; Portugal appropriated the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic south of Morocco; Spain took the whole of the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico. After the discovery of America, the famous Bulls of Pope Alexander VI., in 1493, granted to Spain all lands west of the north and south line drawn 100 leagues west of the Azores and dividing the occupation of the seas between Spain and Portugal. Sweden and Denmark contented themselves with the Baltic and Arctic, while England assumed sovereignty over all that was left, including the Narrow Seas, the North Sea, and the Atlantic, north of a line running from North Cape to Cape Finisterre. The Oriental seas being then undiscovered by Europeans, and Japan caring little for a place in the sun in those peaceful days, escaped private ownership.

How effectually these claims were asserted may be judged from an incident in 1478, when the Emperor Frederick III. of Germany had to obtain the permission of Venice to transport grain through the Adriatic from Apulia. Great Britain, while not denying to others the right to navigate her high seas, was jealous in enforcing her sovereignty within them. Fishing in her waters was forbidden to all save English subjects. On one occasion in 1636 when Dutch fishermen were found in the North Sea, they were dispersed by English warships. Ultimately the Dutch were compelled to pay the sum of \$150,000 for the fishing privilege. All foreign vessels appearing in British seas were compelled to fly the British flag and this regulation was stringently enforced, as may be judged from the account of the visit of Philip II. of Spain in 1554 to England to marry Queen Mary. A British Admiral met him, and seeing the Spanish flag flying from the royal ship, immediately opened fire. So, too, in 1606, the ship carrying the King of Denmark home-

ward from a visit to James I. was overhauled in the North Sea and forced to strike the Danish flag.

As late as 1805 the British Admiralty regulations ordered that "when any of his Majesty's ships shall meet with the ships of any other foreign power within his Majesty's seas, it is expected that the said foreign ships do strike their topsail and take in their flag in acknowledgment of his Majesty's sovereignty in those seas; and if any do resist, all flag officers and commanders are to use their utmost endeavors to compel them thereto and not suffer any dishonor to be done to his Majesty."

The Spanish and Portuguese regulations aimed at the exclusion of all navigation by foreign ships. When Sir Francis Drake returned from his famous voyage to the Pacific in 1580 it will be recalled that the Spanish Ambassador at London, Bernardino Mendoza, lodged a vigorous complaint with Queen Elizabeth against this violation of Spanish sovereignty. Queen Elizabeth replied that she did not recognize the right of exclusive sovereignty in those waters; that she considered the gift of Alexander VI. of certain portions of the New World to be void and as in no way limiting equal participation of England in their enjoyment. She was careful, however, not to push too far the arguments in behalf of unappropriable seas, since England herself was no petty proprietor of oceans. This incident between England and Spain initiated a discussion which not only broke down the Spanish contention but ultimately wrecked those of England as well. Publicists made their appearance strongly condemning the doctrine of exclusive sovereignty in the high seas, among them Grotius, "the Father of International Law," who in 1609 published his powerful treatise on *Mare Liberum*. This publication so enraged Charles I. that he instructed his Minister to the Netherlands to request of that Government the immediate punishment of Grotius for his offensive opinions. He then commanded John Selden, the English jurist, to write his *Mare Clausam* in reply. However, the logic of the opponents of the Closed Sea was making headway and

the doom of the doctrine became inevitable with the increasing enterprise of commerce.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century all claims to sovereignty in the high seas had been allowed silently to lapse and the principle of equal enjoyment was even extended to international rivers.

## THE WORLD IS NOT NICE TO TEDDY.

It is rather harsh what the "World" as well as the world have to say editorially about certain deeds of our great The dore. Here it is:

"The only blot on the national honor of the United States within the lifetime of this generation was put there by Theodore Roosevelt when he 'took' Panama. In this transaction the United States government played a part no less wanton, although less shocking, than the part Germany played in invading Belgium. We too reduced a sacred treaty to the status of a 'scrap of paper,' and we had no excuse of war, no pretext of national defense, no justification of military necessity. We were concerned in this matter chiefly with a tender consideration for money, and not our own money at that, but the money of a foreign canal company whose paid lobbyist was helping to direct the foreign policy of the United States."

## MARCONI AND HIS FRIEND JOHN.

The following dialogue appeared in a recent number of the comic paper "Guerin Meschino," of Milano, Italy:

Marconi: How d'you do, John?

John: Oh, fine, thank you.

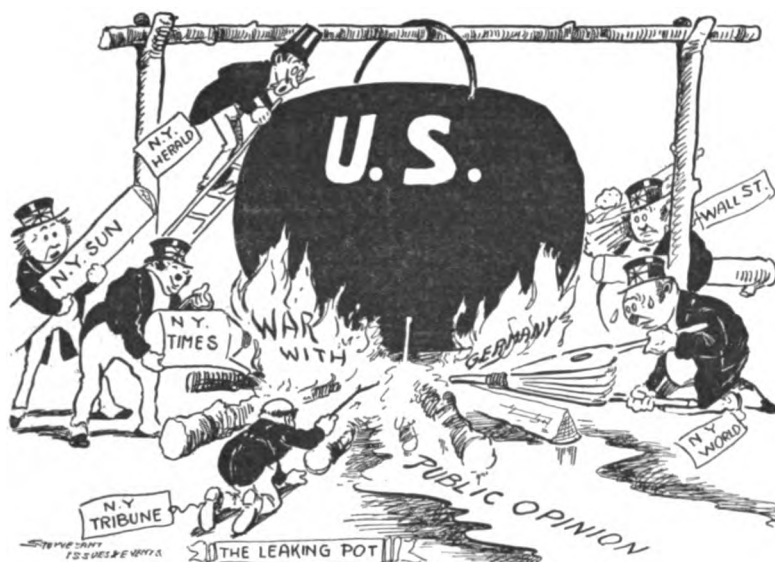
Marconi: You look splendid indeed. People in Italy look skinnier and more pale.

John: Sport and Roastbeef, Marco, Sport and Roastbeef! If Italiani take o Sport and Roastbeef al presto, they will grow strong and rosy. Just try.

Marconi: We know that. But sport takes time and roastbeef takes money. We are poor. We must work. We have nothing to spend.

John: Oah! I regretto. I regretto very multo indeed!





Marconi: Thanks. But we are not ashamed of it. Money is very important but it isn't everything!

John: A very original idea!

Marconi: And so we have joined you without figuring our sacrifices and without asking for a financial agreement. Do you know that, John?

John: I know, I know! Very generoso. Very romantic. Very heroic.

Marconi: We are not Greeks, Bulgarian or —

John: Yes, yes.

Marconi: We have not come to the succor of the "victor" as the "Times" said one year ago.

John: Rubbish. Not the "Times," Cambon said so.

Marconi: Very well, but your famous expert, Colonel Repington, applauded Cambon for saying so.

John: Never mind, forgetto! What are experts between friends? Words, words, words!

Marconi: You are quite right, only deeds count. Can you spare me five minutes, John? It's serious.

John: Oh, I am tutto quanto at your disposizione.

Marconi: You see, my friend, how recklessly our soldiers are fighting. Their blood is pouring in torrents.

John: Yes. A gallant army.

Marconi: But you also know that wars are not won by blood only. Arms are needed, equipment, munition \* \* \* and all that costs money, much money \* \* \*.

John: Oh, do you want a piccolo \* \* \* loan \* \* \*?

Marconi: Please, let me finish. We do not ask to be paid for our fighting. We only ask that you stop trebling the price of the goods which we must buy from you. Coal for example. If you go on pauperizing your poor allies, you will damage the common course. Don't you see?

John: What's that?

Marconi: Don't you understand.

John: Pardone, signore. I am sometimes \* \* \* perduto \* \* \* absent-minded. \* \* \*

Marconi: Well, I said, my dear John, that you are trying to recover your war costs from your coal prices and y ur freight rates.

John: Oah, no-o-o-o!

Marconi: Surely not the entire war costs, but a great part of it. And that's not right. You speculate with the coal

which we must have for our factories. And our work-shops do work for our common war. N'est-ce pas?

John:

Marconi: We suffer from the cold because your coal is too expensive. Our people will bring every necessary sacrifice, but not such sacrifices due to our friends and allies. Am I not right?

John: I beg your pardon?

Marconi: You are growing deaf. I spoke loud and clear enough.

John: Pardone, signore, pardone. I not knowo Italiano very well.

Marconi: If you like, I'll talk English to you.

John: Oh, yes! You are the son of an English mother, husband of an English wife, manager of English companies \* \* \* Curioso! Why did you speak in Italian to me?

Marconi: And as an Italian.

John: Yes. That's rather funny!

Marconi: Well, I hope you have understood. I need not translate. Think it over, John, and do something \* \* \* but do it before the day of judgment.

#### BRYAN TO SPEAK AGAINST PREPAREDNESS.

William Jennings Bryan has made known his intentions of delivering a series of speeches against preparedness. His friends say he will go into those parts of the country where the preparedness sentiment is strong and show them that they are the victims of a British plot, together with a scheme of the munitions manufacturers to keep their vast new plants in operation after the war is over.

I do the very best I know how—the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference.—Abraham Lincoln.

A good many bachelors are wearing socks with peekaboo toes and heels.

A woman admires her husband's good judgment—when he agrees with her.

Sunday.

To the Editor of The Sun—Sir: Is

that acrobatic, bawling, I scream salvation evangelist what he's cracked up to be, or is it a case of just plain nut sundae?

New York, February 6.

K.

It isn't what a man owes, but what he pays that keeps him poor.

Some spinsters advance step by step until they finally become step-mothers.

#### Decidedly Unneutral.

Mrs. Knicker—Is your husband neutral?

Mrs. Bocker—No; he blows up every bridge I give.

The door on the business office is marked "push." The door on City Hall is marked "pull."

Anybody can play a hand organ, but there is no good and sufficient reason why anybody should.

#### A BRITISH POET'S DREAM.

Even British poets are idealists. They can puff a pipe, and despite the grim facts of war, see in the curling smoke the realization of all their fancied dreams. Rudyard Kipling in telling how England might repudiate her debts after the war and make lords out of her creditors concludes with this statement:

"Anyhow we shall see some funny finances, and the spectacle of Central Europe administered like an estate for the benefit of France, Russia, England, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, India, and Belgium."

This dream may serve as something of a balm to the many regions now being drained to further England's ambitions. It will work all right until the booming of German cannon wakes them up.

#### A NEW PAPER OFFENSIVE?

From the camps of the Allies comes the news that a new spring offensive is planned. These offensive movements are not taken seriously in Germany. They were ushered in, it will be remembered, by formal announcements of coming victory, immediate and certain, as Lord Curzon declared, in August, 1914, when he already saw the Bengalese and the Russians entering Berlin. Similar announcements were made when France, after the success on the Marne, regained her spirits. The third announcement came when, in October, 1914, the German advance in Belgium was stopped by inundations.

According to Anglo-French newspapers, the great offensive movements started in November, 1914. According to some of their reports, the French re-conquered Lille on Nov. 15. The French also shelled Metz, it was declared, and the Germans prepared for the defense of Strassburg. In the Spring of 1915 Italian newspapers announced the arrival of 700,000 Hindus and 500,000 Japanese. It was likewise announced that Ostend would fall within a few days, while British newspapers declared that Germany virtually had asked for peace. These reports, however, were all purely fanciful and imaginative.

The beginning of the real offensive movement was on March 10, 1915, when the English attacked and took Neuve Chappelle. The British lost 12,811 men

and used more ammunition than in the whole Boer war. They halted their advance on March 12 because, according to Field Marshal French's reports, the weather was too bad.

In April, 1915, the oratorical preparation for the French advance was begun. Former Premier Barthou announced in a speech at the Sorbonne: "I declare, I swear, that our hour has come. An unconquerable advance has begun; the hour of victory is near." The Figaro said on April 14: "Victory is no more a hypothesis or a probability, but an absolute certainty."

Before the beginning of the French advance, however, the Germans began advancing—at Ypres on April 23 and on the Dunajec on May 3, and also in the direction of Libau.

The French advance was begun on Sept. 24. It was participated in by three-quarters of the French and a large part of the British force. The

result was that the French lost 130,000 and the English 60,000 men, according to the German estimate, of which corroboration was furnished by a British statement giving the figures of their losses as 59,666 men, while on a front which is 840 kilometers long they advanced at two places respectively twenty-three and eleven kilometers long, taking defensive positions, but the German front itself was intact when the entire Anglo-French advance was halted. The French, British, and Russians excused the failure as due to bad weather, and now announce solemnly a victorious advance for the Spring of 1916.

#### GERMANY NOW HAS EIGHTY ZEPPELINS.

Eighty Zeppelins are now in the German service, it appears from informa-

tion developed at Friedrichshafen, where the Zeppelin works are located. One of the latest type that is having a trial trip this week is LZ-95, which is taken here to mean that it is the ninety-fifth in the series dating from the beginning of the war, fifteen having been lost, it is said.

The newest model seems considerable longer than previous types. It is of fish-like shape and gray-tinted, by means of aluminum powder, it is explained. The gondolas are of plated steel. Each has six machine guns in its quick-fire battery and apparatus for throwing bombs and air torpedoes. It is reported that a new air torpedo more powerful than any previously employed is about to be put into use.

The motor works connected with the Zeppelin plant test each motor by requiring that it run forty-eight hours without stopping and without developing any defects.

## To Drive Dull Care Away

### TO PAY AMERICAN DEBT WITH TITLES.

Perhaps there will be more Lord Astors in England after the war. Lord Morgan may be an addition, and it is not improbable that all the rich Americans who helped out the British loan will get a title. This fact has been hinted before, and now Rudyard Kipling lets the cat out of the bag by an open statement to this effect. Here are his words:

"I imagine that in England, where small subscribers are not numerous, a certain proportion of the debt will be simply effaced or repudiated for the very just reason that men rich enough to lend big sums to the State are rich enough to lose them. It is immoral, but we should only laugh and so would even the rich men so forced to lose.

"Perhaps they would receive titles of nobility, a compensation that would be an admirable and practical apotheosis of our national robbery." (Brewers and distillers have been getting most of the English titles lately.)

### UNCLE HENRY'S HOME-MADE PUZZLE.

When a fly is standin' 'roun',  
On the ceilin' upside down,  
And he goes to sleep that way,  
Which 'ud be kerrect to say:  
He is sleepin'—fer a fac'—  
On his stomach er his back?

### HIS LIMIT.

In a western Kentucky town Ben Watson had saved the life of Myra Underhill. Miss Underhill had been overturned in a creek with a swift current, and the act of young Watson was a very heroic one. He had saved the life of the girl after she was sinking for the third time, and had barely strength to pull himself and the young woman to shallow water.

The news soon spread, and Ben Watson was hailed as the real, live hero of the village.

Aunt Tabby Wilson, the oldest woman in the village, the mother of the little colony, was loud in praise of the heroism of the young man, and at once declared that Ben and Myra must get married. "Ben saved Myra's life," she said, "and now they must marry and be happy ever afterward, just as they do it in the story books."

But Ben demurred; the arrangement did not suit him.

"Why not marry Myra, Ben?" said the old lady. "She is yours, and we must have a wedding."

"She is a nice girl, all right," replied Ben, "but I don't think we oughter marry. Seems to me," he went on, "I have done enough for Myra."

### ONE ON THE FARMER.

We have a good joke on a farmer living not far from town. He had been having considerable trouble getting his oldest boy out of bed in the morning. A few mornings ago he called several times and got no reply. He then cautiously stepped up the stairs while it was yet dark, and went into the boy's room. He pulled down the covers, and administered a violent, old-fashioned spanking. Returning to the kitchen he informed his wife what he had done.

"Well, that settles it," she said, "we'll have to get a new hired girl. Willie didn't come home last night, and I told the girl she could sleep in his room."

### TIME NO OBJECT.

A traveler, riding through the West Virginia mountains, came up with a man who was leisurely driving a herd of pigs. "Where are you taking the pigs?" asked the stranger.

"Out to pasture 'em," said the mountaineer.

"What for?" inquired the curious traveler.

"To fatten 'em," the man replied.

"But, isn't it pretty slow work to fatten them on grass? Up where I come from, we pen them up and feed them on corn. It saves a lot of time."

The mountaineer shifted his plug to the other side of his jaw. "Ya-as, I s'pose so," he drawled, "but, h——l, what's time to a hawg?"

### OF COURSE.

A Sunday-school teacher in Stafford asked the pupils what became of the swine that had evil spirits in them, and a little boy ventured that they were made into devilled ham.

### TAKING STOCK.

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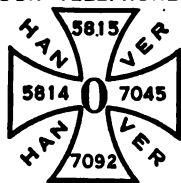
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## An Englishman's Plea to America

By RONALD CAMPBELL MACFIE, L.L. D.

The writer of the following article is an Englishman who arrived from England a few weeks ago. He has studied the war and the passions and sentiments that animate the nations involved in it, with a view to the discovery of a possible basis for a spiritual adjustment of relations and a sane view of values.

Sympathy and the dramatic sense are akin. Both require a realization of the feelings and point of view of other people; both imply imagination; both are altruistic. The dramatist has the knack of getting into other people's shoes and other people's skins and other people's personalities. He undergoes many incarnations, he has many karmas; he suffers the joys and sorrows of many people, and lives many lives. Without some of the qualities of the dramatist sympathy is impossible; without some qualities of sympathy the dramatic instinct is impossible; without qualities of both, love and friendship and justice, and any large altruistic conception of life are impossible. Now a great world drama—a great world tragedy is being enacted. Europe is scourged with shrapnel and strewn with corpses, and demented with passion and pain. In the whole history of mankind there has been no tragedy so terrible.

And America—a great young nation—stands as a spectator of it all.

Has America, I wonder, the dramatic sense and the sympathy to understand the cruel agony, the blind passion, the fierce despair of the belligerents, and, understanding, is she trying to bring peace and healing to the stricken world?

Alas and alas, it seems to me—I hope I am wrong—that America is showing herself deficient in sympathy and imagination (two of the greatest qualities a nation can have). It seems to me that she is selfish and self-centred and partisan, and fails to realize the tragedy of the situation. And that is the greatest tragedy of all, for with sympathy and imagination it would be in America's power to save Europe from the bloody hell in which Europe welters. What a salvation that would be!

### Adding Fuel to Flames.

Has America no imagination, no sympathy for pain, no unselfish passion for peace? When men are dying in bloody trenches, when wives and mothers are mourning in darkened homes, America adds fuel to the flames by trying to force a humiliating word into the mouth of one of the tortured fighters. Is not that lack of imagination? Is this the time to humiliate an unhappy nation fighting for life against tremendous odds? Is it brave or manly or honorable to threaten a nation already hard beset (and already slain in hundreds of thousands by American munitions) because she will not

shackle her wounded hands with a cramping and humiliating word? Brave, manly, honorable, I believe America to be, but I think that surely here she lacks imagination.

Legality! What in the name of humanity—what in the name of God, is the use or the beauty of being a lawyer in face of a tragedy? Legality! Is President Wilson only a lawyer? Has he never heard of far bigger and finer and nobler words, such as magnanimity and charity and love?

### Travel on Munition Ships.

The Lusitania! American citizens! Yes, I recognize the tragedy there, even in view of the stupendous tragedy elsewhere, but it seems to me that it is just in this regard that America lacks sympathy and imagination and sense of proportion.

Cannot America put herself in Germany's position?

Imagine that Germany were attacking the United States, and that Germany, Russia, etc., had landed huge armies on the American coast. Imagine further that Germany had swept America's ships off the sea and that she was blockading the American ports with the express intention of starving the whole population. Imagine still further that England was supplying immense amounts of munitions to Germany and that German vessels laden with enormous cargoes of munitions were crossing and recrossing the Atlantic and that each cargo meant so many American corpses.

What would America think if the English, not content with making munitions to slay Americans, actually insisted that they had a right to travel on these very ships of death and that special precaution should be taken to secure their safety—making it doubly difficult for America to defend herself?

I venture to think that then America would not split legal hairs; but would point out two indubitable facts: Firstly, that the sea may be neutral, but that a German ship is German soil; secondly, that a boat laden with munitions is just as belligerent and dangerous as a battleship and just as necessary to destroy, and even to destroy without warning, as a submarine, and that in fact to all intents and purposes such a vessel was an auxiliary cruiser, and that civilians of neutral powers (even munition makers) had no more moral right to travel on such a boat than on a dreadnought, or on a munition wagon.

That would be only common sense and fair play. Now wouldn't it?

For America, then, under such circumstances, to threaten war with Germany, simply because Germany will not acknowledge (in words chosen by America) that she has no legal right to destroy such boats merely because they have neutrals on board, seems to me to show not only a lack of imagination, but a lack even of the saving grace of humor.

I crossed from England lately, in a passenger boat carrying munitions material, Canadian soldiers and a gun under the command of a naval lieutenant, but I left a letter for publication in event a torpedo finishing me, and therein I declared that as an honest and fair-

minded man I acknowledged the full right of the Germans to sink such a boat at sight, and therein I protested against the cowardice and unmanliness of those who called such an act of war an atrocity.

President Wilson is a man in a powerful and responsible position; he has millions of lives in his keeping. Is he going to take a legal, pettifogging view of the world's great tragedy and to insist first and foremost on his own pound of flesh, or is he to show himself not merely a lawyer, not only a diplomatist, but a great man and a good man of generous sympathies and wide imagination, fighting not for words but for great ideals of justice and humanity and peace? What an opportunity for a great and good man!

## Charles Ferguson's Washington Letter

### A Democratic Army

Washington, February 23.—The trouble with Mr. Claude Kitchen and the Democratic majority in Congress is that they have not yet found any statement of the "preparedness" idea that does not contradict the historical principles of the Democratic party.

**The thing for them to do is to hurry up and find such a statement.**

The historical principles of the Democratic party are all right. It has always fought against the concentration of arbitrary power at Washington, and that fight has been a good fight. The problem is to find a programme of "preparedness" that does not depend upon the centralization of arbitrary power. How can the Nation be made strong for defence against all comers, without being made more undemocratic than it is?

There is a perfectly sound and scientific answer to this question. And if we are slow in coming at it the reason is that our notions of democracy are unsound and unscientific. It is also true that we have not yet arrived at an understanding of the nature of modern military power.

Military power in the time of Alexander or Caesar—or even in the days of Napoleon and Blücher—was a very specialized kind of power. It was sharply separated from the kind of power that expressed itself in peaceful industry or because it was only in war that men were disciplined in large-scale operations of mechanical team-play.

The case is wholly different now—since the development of modern socialized technology and the Great Industry. Under modern conditions war-power and peace-power are interfused, and **tend toward a complete identification.**

Nowadays men use machinery for production as well as for destruction. And in times of peace we are disciplined and regimented to master the very same forces of chemistry and physics that are displayed upon the fields of battle.

When Mr. Lloyd-George told the Labor Congress at Bristol the other day that the European war would be won, not by soldiers, but by mechanics, he used no extravagant metaphor. For the plainest lesson of the European War is that Militarism of the old-school is dead and done for, and that wars in the future will be little else than a **testing of the relative scientific validity of competing industrial systems.**

Incidentally, it is to be noted that the permanent

peace of the world is to be ushered in by this door. For the most valid working system will turn out to be most humane and pacific as well as most powerful. But the immediate point here is that war nowadays is nothing but a kind of inverted manufacture.

It is high time for Mr. Kitchen and his friends to turn the tables on the Rooseveltian Militarists, and show them up for the sentimental incompetents and molly-coddles that they are.

Their notion that America can be made formidable to its enemies by building an army on the Hannibal model and superposing it upon our unscientific and discordant working organization—is purely atavistic, a grandmotherly idea.

The truth is—and the demonstration of it is receiving fresh emphasis every day in Europe—that the most formidable nation in war is the nation that is best organized for the economy of life and the control of materials and natural forces in the ordinary processes of its day's work.

Here then is the straight line of "preparedness" for those who want to stand up in Congress for democratic principles. They should insist upon de-centralization and diffusion of power—because modern war-strength is not in war colleges—but is a thing that lies close to the ground. **It is essentially a matter of earth-grip.**

The talk of what our militiamen did in 1812 is an old wives' tale. This is 1916. Our's is an unexampled situation. And we have got to do unprecedented things.

We have got to create a working force that can fight. It must be spread all over the Continent, and yet must have fine co-ordination and be capable of swift and united action. Its cohesion must depend not upon its terror of martial courts and the firing squad, but upon its devotion to the day's work and its vivid sense of a physical community of interest.

This will involve great changes in our social and industrial life. But the changes are long over-due.

The Democratic party should arouse itself and should stir up the country. It will deserve to be beaten if it allows its adversaries to take the lead in the proposal of brave social adventures.

In such times as these (was there ever such a thing as this?) nothing is so unpardonable as mental sluggishness and a minimizing policy. The old-line militarists should be resisted not because they ask too much, but because their proposals are inadequate.

# The Future of Warsaw

By FELIX MLYNARSKI, Delegate to the Polish Supreme National Committee to America

## II.

The attempt of Russia to organize a Polish legion in Warsaw against Austria-Hungary and Germany failed sadly and there is no Polish legion siding with Russia. On the other hand, the Polish legions against Russia and in alliance with Austria-Hungary are developing fast and have reached already the figure of many thousands of men. The evacuation of Warsaw increased the numerical strength of the Polish legions considerably. So the actual facts proved which side showed more possibility and actual opportunity; the decision proved to be a practical one against Russia and for an alliance with Austria-Hungary.

\* \* \*

Owing to her autonomical freedom Galicia was able to become the territory on which the preparations for the future war of independence could be carried on. The best material of men from Russian-Poland took refuge in Galicia, where these elements could be instructed militarily in special Polish military organizations. Thus Galicia educated the officers for the present Polish legions and only Galicia was able to do it. The first detachments of the Polish legions which crossed the Russian frontier north of Cracow were skeleton detachments composed only of officers and under-officers. On the left bank of the Vistula there were waiting for them the Polish recruits who were spared by the Russian mobilization and only too anxious to fight for their own sacred cause of independence.

\* \* \*

Poland has been and is still in a most precarious position. She could not do anything else but fight against Russia, and in order to do this she had to draw her recruits from Russian-Poland and her supply of officers from Galicia. This was not prompted by feelings, but by actual conditions of things. Not because of blind hatred but because of absolute necessity was Poland compelled to direct her main attacks against Russia. Warsaw, the capital of Poland, and besides eighty per cent. of Poland's territory was in Russia's hands or in other words, Russia held the trunk of Poland's body. It is, therefore, quite natural that the Polish attack had to be directed against Russia.

On October 2, 1914, the Austro-Hungarian Government drafted a diplomatic note addressed to all neutral countries in which the said government officially recognized the Polish Legions as combatants. This important document ended as follows:

"Any action on the part of Russia which would imply a refusal to recognize the Polish Legions as a combatant party would constitute a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Convention of The Hague and against which the government of Austria-Hungary already now files a most categorical protest."

\* \* \*

"Slavic brotherhood and liberating the Poles from Prussian oppression" proved in practice to be nothing else but introducing of Russian oppression into autonomous Galicia, which was the last refuge of free Polish thought. The zeal of Russia in this direction unfortunately proved to be a universal one. No voice of protest was raised by anybody in Russia and once more voices became loud suggesting the exclusion of the Polish question from the questions to be decided by the future peace congress. The Russian reactionary party as well as the progressive party joined hands in order to prevent the Polish question to become something else than "an internal problem of Slavdom," which in practice meant nothing else but an internal problem

of the Russian Government. It is useless to speak about the reactionary party because its feelings toward Poland were only too well known. It was more painful that even Briantshninov, a truly liberal Russian politician agreed with the reactionary party that "Europe should under no circumstances take any part in the settlement of the mutual relations between Russia and Poland." The progressive "Utro Rossiji" went still further and considered the suggestions of turning over the Polish question for settlement to England, France and Russia, even with the exclusion of Austria-Hungary and Germany, as "illegal and criminal," because the organization of future Poland "does not of right rest with any congresses at all." Anybody, however, who would suggest that the fate of Poland should not depend upon the mercy of the victor was threatened with deportation to Siberia.

\* \* \*

The Russian plan with regard to Poland created an impression in Western Europe and particularly in America, because it has promised the uniting of the entire Poland under the sceptre of the Czar. The Russian plan has thus promises one yoke instead of three and has thus apparently simplified matters. All these beautiful phrases, however, concealed a truly Byzantine perfidity. Poland has ethnographical as well as political boundaries, the first ones are boundaries of actual settlement while the other ones are boundaries of the Polish State which has ceased to exist. Russia decided to apply to the eastern portion of Poland the ethnographical principle and to the western portion of Poland the historical principle. Acting on this basis Russia has separated before the war the province of Kholm from Russian-Poland, whereby she assumed the point of view that the territory settled by the Ruthenians in Galicia reaches as far as the upper course of the Dunajec. In contradiction with the historical fact that neither the province of Kholm nor Eastern Galicia have ever formed a part of the Russian State, and in contradiction with the ethnographical fact that the Ruthenians are not Russians, Russia considered the provinces of Kholm and Galicia as far as the course of the upper Dunajec as Russian territory and endeavored to eliminate them from Polish influence. This meant nothing else but cutting slices away from Poland in the east promising at the same time to extend the boundaries in the west. For Kholm, Lemberg, Przemyśl and Nowy Sacz Russia promised to Poland Cracow, Silesia, Posen, Danzig and Königsburg. Cracow used to be the crowning place of the Polish Kings, Posen was the cradle of Poland, Danzig was Poland's harbor on the Baltic Sea, Silesia fell apart from Poland even before the end of the Middle Ages and was not a part of Poland at the time of Poland's partitions, while Königsburg was the capital of a feudal principality of Poland and not the capital of a Polish province. Königsburg was the capital of East Prussia, which was built up in the Middle Ages by the Teutonic Knights during their wars against Slav tribes. The program of Russia in the west agreed, therefore, with the historical traditions of Poland and not with the ethnographical considerations. This program apparently flattered the Polish national pride, but in outlining this program Russia was prompted by different and very selfish reasons. The boundaries of historical Poland agree with the boundaries needed by Russian strategical considerations on Russia's western frontier. These considerations form the question of the Vistula line of defense. The uniting of Polish territories under the sceptre of

the Czar would solve very advantageously for Russia the Paradox of the Vistula, which before the war passed through three different states. By uniting Poland the Vistula would become an internal river of the Russian Empire and the frontier would move west as far as the upper Oder. In the first year of this war the Russian press has on different occasions stated quite plainly that strategical considerations are pushing Russia as far west as Frankfort on the Oder.

\* \* \*

There was a sly reservation in the manifesto in which Nicolai Nikolayevitch promised Poland reunion and autonomy under the sceptre of the Czar. "There is but one thing that Russia expects from you, that you respect the rights of those nationalities with which history has bound you." This was an attempt to checkmate the future of Poland with the Jewish question. The Jewish press of the whole world, basing itself on the above manifesto, started to demand equal rights for Jews in Poland. Russia is known all over for her antisemitic feelings. Up to the latter days of this war, the Jews were not permitted to settle in Russia proper. The area permitted for Jewish settlement is more or less coincident with the area of the former Kingdom of Poland. The centre of gravity of the Jewish question was by means of terrorism and pogroms transferred toward the Vistula. As the result of this partial policy of Petrograd, the percentage of Jews on Polish soil rose to a higher degree than anywhere else. In Russian-Poland the Jews constitute 13.71 per cent. of the 12,464,300 total population. In Lithuania and Polish-Ruthenia the percentage is somewhat higher. It is an artificial result of the antisemitic policy of the Russian government which routs the Jews from Russia proper and takes "fatherly" care of them in Poland. The manifesto of Prince Nikolai struck the same note, although it enveloped it discreetly with an appeal to justice.

\* \* \*

The attitude of Poles as a nation devoid of political liberty was determined by real facts and not by sympathies:

1. Administrative and legislative autonomy existed in Galicia while Russian and German Poland did not enjoy these advantages.
2. Private military schools could only be established in Galicia. Consequently Polish youths from Russian and Prussian-Poland went to Galicia since in the former two provinces any military work had to be secretly carried on, and, consequently, not very effectively. The

beginning of this political system dates back to the years 1876-8, when with the unofficial aid of England an uprising against Russia, in alliance with Austro-Hungary, was organized.

3. Only in Russian-Poland, on the left bank of the Vistula, were there enough recruits for the Polish military representation in the case of European war, since Russia had, for strategical reasons, to evacuate the western governments of Russian-Poland, with the outbreak of the war, and this prevented the Russian authorities to mobilize in the mining and industrial districts of Russian-Poland.

4. During the Congress of Vienna, one hundred years ago, England entered into a secret treaty with France and Austria against Russia, in spite of the fact that Russia was a faithful ally of England in her war against Napoleon.

5. At the Congress in Vienna, England supported the Polish interests against Russia, although the Polish regiments were fighting with Napoleon against England.

6. Poland wanted and could form a military representation only against Russia and in alliance with Austria-Hungary. That it was practicable was proven by the development of the Polish legions in Cracow and an absolute failure of Russian endeavors in Warsaw to form a competitory legion.

7. Russia occupies 80 per cent. of the historical Polish territory, and Warsaw is the capital city of Poland. Under these conditions the war of Austria with Prussia in 1866 could not, and did not revive the Polish question, but the possibility of war between Austria and Russia was always and must always be associated with the preparation of the Polish uprising against Russia and in alliance with Austria-Hungary.

8. The military interests in the present war do not coincide with the political interests, consequently the formation of the Polish legions against Russia, and in alliance with Austria-Hungary, does not free anyone from the obligation of supporting the Polish independence.

\* \* \*

The hurricane of war which at present envelops Warsaw with the cloud of smoke rising from the battlefields, and with rivers of blood spilled in the greatest war of the ages, will give birth to Poland's future. And above this blood-soaked soil of Poland the Polish legions unfurled their banner of red and white, and await the help of all nations having the good will to help.

## Finally Ford Finds A Way

Henry Ford, a pro-American, wants to inform the people through the newspapers of the plot to drag this nation into war against Germany. He has tried various schemes, but by no means has he been able to get the papers to print anything except pro-British news. So he has decided on the only alternative—that of paying for it. If Mr. Ford had consulted some of the pro-British propagandists he might have learned this lesson in the first place and have saved the expense of that European trip and publicity campaign.

A newspaper special from Detroit says:

"Henry Ford is about to launch a country-wide campaign of newspaper and magazine advertising against the program for big expenditures on naval and military forces now before Congress.

"It is said that Mr. Ford's chief object in preparing

the campaign is to follow out his announcement in September that he would devote millions to an educational campaign against war and preparedness. Mr. Ford, commenting upon the attitude of city newspapers toward the preparedness proposition, an attitude which he declared unfair in that it gave wide publicity to the preparedness side, and either ignored or ridiculed the opposition to big increases in the army and navy, said he intended to bring before the people of the country the 'dark side' of the preparedness proposition.

"He takes the ground that the present agitation for preparedness is inspired and financed by munition makers. Copies of Representative Tavenner's speech charging that officers of the Navy League were interested in war munitions traffic will be distributed by the Ford workers."



# A Petition for Embargo on Munitions

Readers of "Issues and Events" Should Sign Their Names and Ask Their Friends for Signatures in Favor of the Movement to Stop the Murder Traffic.

The largest petition ever received in the United States Congress was presented last week. It contained the names of more than a million American citizens who took this means of opposing the shipments from our shores of arms and ammunition for the slaughter of human beings in Europe.

"Issues and Events" feels a just pride in the fact that it played an important part in the procurement of this record enrollment. It was our privilege to back the American Humanity League in its successful efforts to obtain the largest number of signatures ever attached to a single document. We feel grateful to our readers that they have so heartily responded to our call.

The American Humanity League by its own efforts collected more than a half million names. In order to make a showing that would impress the world, and to unify the great humanitarian endeavors, it was decided to combine this list of petitioners with those that had been obtained by the American Women's League for Strict Neutrality.

Never before had Congress witnessed such an impressive ceremony as that attending the presentation of the petition. Loads after loads of signed papers were hauled to the Capitol in a long parade of wagons. There were 1,036 rolls, each done up in a red, white and blue ribbon.

The proceedings of Congress following the presentation, showed that the petition made a deep impression. It was presented to the Senate by Senator Kenyon, who said:

"The signers of these petitions are not pro-British, they are not pro-German, but they are pro-American, pro-humanity, pro-Christianity. . . . The jingle of the dollar cannot drown the cry of suffering from the battlefields of Europe. It may be all right to sell these things according to International law, but it is against the moral law."

Senator LaFollette said: "Back of this petition is a cry from the common humanity of the country."

Not only the Iowa Senators, but also Messrs. Clapp, Townsend, Martine, Sutherland, Smoot, Hitchcock, Clarke, Robinson and Ashurst made strong speeches in favor of the embargo. It seemed odd to hear such talks in a body that never before had dared to speak out against this monster murder traffic. The petition broke the ice. It has started an agitation that is sweeping the country.

A year ago it was considered unneutral to talk for an embargo. This year we may find many, even in Congress, who hold it is unneutral to not proclaim an embargo. Only one man in Congress had the temerity to speak against the petition and he backed down. Many favor an immediate cessation of the "human slaughter industry," as it has come to be called.

It all shows that at least some progress has been made. It shows that the Nation is experiencing some remorse. The Government's conscience is beginning to hurt. The real sentiment of the American people is being reflected among their representatives in Congress.

Our advice then is!

Let the good work go on. Keep up the agitation without rest. Those who have been active in this movement should realize that they are engaged in a work of the greatest possible moment. They should not stop a minute. They should renew their activities with three-fold vigor, until finally an embargo shall have been declared against this disgraceful commerce for 'blood money,' and our nation has a neutrality that is worthy the name.

To this end we are printing below a statement of facts and reasons collected by the American Independence Union of California. A few lines are left blank for the purpose of filling in signatures. We ask our readers to sign this petition. Write your names in the blanks and forward them to us. Sooner or later this question is going to come up in Congress again. Instead of a million petitions then, we would like to see presented five millions.—Editor.

PETITION to the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled: We, the sovereign people of a part of the United States in Convention assembled at San Francisco, Cal., November 18, 1915, as the American Neutrality and Peace Convention, call your attention to the following facts and ask for immediate and effective action:

I. War's Damage to America.—The frightful war in Europe has thus far killed or disabled about 15,000,000 men, and destroyed more than \$50,000,000,000 worth of property, and to a far greater extent has damaged agriculture, industry, commerce, and civilization. It has driven our commerce from the seas, closed our foreign markets, and prevented our merchants making deliveries of goods which, as neutrals, they have the right to deliver, and is further endangering our American interests.

II. Congress Voted to Stop Cuban War.—For these reasons, in a lesser degree, President McKinley, April 11, 1898, in a special message to Congress declaring that, "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop," and requested authority to take means for securing a "full and final termination of hostilities there," and on April 18, 1898, Congress authorized and directed him to use the military and naval forces of the United States to bring that war to an end, and this was separate and apart from any declaration of war which was not declared until April 25, 1898. We, therefore, have a precedent for our demands.

III. President Wilson Defines Neutrality by Speech and Action and Duty to Humanity to Stop War.—On August 4, 1914, the President issued his neutrality proclamation commanding absolute impartiality and the refraining from assisting any of the belligerents directly, or indirectly, to an advantage over the other. On August 15, 1914, following up that policy, he, and then Secretary of State, William J. Bryan, disapproved a prospective war loan of \$50,000,000

to be made by J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., as being a violation of neutrality; and on August 18, 1914, in a public speech, he emphasized and approved his action; and on May 11, 1915, in Philadelphia he delivered his famous speech of "Humanity First," in which he said:

"My urgent advice to you would not be always to think first of America, but always also to think first of humanity.

"The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace, because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world, and strife is not.

"See, my friends, what that means; it means America must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world."

We, therefore, have the speech and action of President Wilson as authority for our request, that you forthwith in the interest of humanity, in the interest of America, and in the sincere practice of neutrality, that you immediately place an embargo on the exportation of arms and ammunition from the United States to any of the belligerents, which will put a stop to the war within one month, and to place an embargo is not only your right, but your duty.

IV. All Notes to England Spurned and Cause Further Violation of Neutral Rights.—The last note, October 21, 1915, from the United States to England declaring England's interference with our commerce unjustifiable, was widely published and by newspapers, wireless and other means communication to English warships throughout the world and with that knowledge and knowledge of similar previous communications and in open contempt and defiance of international law and our rights as a neutral.

England and her warships gave their contemptuous answer by:

1. Sinking the American ship "The Llama" off the coast of Scotland;

2. On October 31, forcibly seizing the American steamer "Hocking," engaged in trade between New York and Norfolk, Va., and brought the "Hocking" to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where she is now in a prize court on the road to condemnation and sale;

3. November, 1915, forcibly seized and searched the American ship "Zealandia" in the neutral port of Progreso, Mexico, and the British cruiser then waited and is now probably waiting outside that neutral port to commit further outrages on her;

4. November 10, 1915, for a period of seventeen hours within the three-mile limit and within the jurisdiction of the United States a British cruiser chased the steamer "Vinland";

5. November 10, 1915, American Transatlantic and other ship owners of the United States were so humiliated and cowed by these continual unwarranted seizures that they were obliged to apply to the Secretary of State to secure permission for the American steamer "Winnebago" to come from Buenos Ayres to New York.

V. President Cleveland's Ultimatum to England.—These continual and deliberate outrages of England on our commerce and our neutral rights and our dignity as a nation, recall to the mind of every patriotic citizen the history of the conduct of England towards this country during the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Rebellion of '61-'65, and the present offensive and defensive treaty between England and Japan. It also recalls to our mind the various messages sent by Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Grant and Cleveland to Congress, appealing for decisive action by Congress against England, and the language of President Cleveland's message of December 17, 1895, applies with a thousand times more force at the present day than it did then, when he declared:

"There is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness."

And further declared that nothing remains but accept the situation, to recognize its plain requirements, and deal with it accordingly, and that it was the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power the encroachment of England. Her conduct justifies a declaration of war, and the transfer of the troops from the Mexican border to the Canadian border and the dispatch of our navy to sink every British ship that floats; and THERE IS ONLY ONE PEACEFUL WEAPON LEFT TO THE UNITED STATES, and that is the placing of an EMBARGO ON ALL ARMS AND AMMUNITION.

VI. Embargo on Arms and Ammunition Real Neutrality.—The exportation of arms and ammunition is not benevolent neutrality, or real neutrality, but is malevolent neutrality.

"During the American War of 1862-64, neutrality was designated as benevolent or malevolent. A nation exhibiting in her dealings sympathy and good-will towards both belligerents, and carefully abstaining from placing in the hands of either the means of injuring the other, would be held to practice a benevolent neutrality. A nation showing utter indifference at the success or failure of either belligerent, and putting in the hand of either every means of injuring the other, would be deemed to practice a malevolent neutrality."—Levi on International Law.

VII. Woolsey on Neutrality.—Woolsey's International Law says: "If the neutral instead of wheat should send powder or balls, cannon or rifles, this would be a direct encouragement of the war, AND SO A DEPARTURE FROM THE NEUTRAL POSITION."

VIII. Wilson on Neutrality.—"The embargo on arms follows THE BEST PRACTICE OF NATIONS IN THE MATTER OF NEUTRALITY." President Wilson in 1913 placed an embargo on arms and ammunition to Mexico.

IX. Embargoes by Congress and All Civilized Nations.—It has been for centuries, and is now, the practice of all civilized nations:

1. On March 26, 1794, Congress provided for an embargo of 30 days.

2. On April 17, 1794, this embargo was extended by Congress to May 25, 1794.

3. On May 22, 1794, the exportation of munitions of war was prohibited by Congress for the period of one year.

4. In 1807 a general embargo was instituted by Congress.

5. On April 6, 1812, a general embargo was provided for by Congress.

6. In 1853 the British Parliament authorized the British Government at any time to lay an embargo on the exportation of arms and ammunition; and when, in 1870, the Ger-

man Government asked that of Great Britain to put the Act in effect, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs replied: "It is true the Parliament has authorized us to put an embargo on the exportation of arms and ammunition. . . . It is a purely municipal and domestic matter. We put it on or leave it off in accordance with the interests of our own people."

7. On January 23, 1871, long after the Franco-Prussian War had begun, President Grant signed an embargo on the shipment of arms from the United States.

8. On April 22, 1898, the exportation of coal and arms was prohibited by Act of Congress.

9. The United States would not request a foreign nation to violate neutrality, or become unneutral, and yet while Germany was at peace with Spain in 1898, after the Spanish-American War had begun, at the request of the U. S. Government, placed an embargo on arms and ammunition to Spain.

10. On April 1898, after the Spanish-American War had begun, the British Government placed an embargo on arms and ammunition at the request of the United States.

11. In 1905, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation under the above-mentioned Act prohibiting the exportation of arms, ammunition, and munitions of war to the Dominican Republic.

12. On March 14, 1912, Congress provided for an embargo on the exportation of arms, etc., to any American country where revolutionary conditions exist; and on the same day President Taft placed an embargo against Mexico.

13. In 1913, President Wilson placed an embargo on arms, etc., to Mexico.

14. Since the beginning of the present war practically all of the neutral States of Europe have placed embargoes upon the exportation of arms and other munitions of war.

X. President Wilson's Proclamation and Acts shows Shipping Arms to one Belligerent is Unneutral.—It is unneutral, as well as unfair, where one belligerent receives the arms and ammunition and the other does not.

This is made plain by President Wilson in his Neutrality Proclamation issued August 18, 1914, wherein, among other things, he says:

"The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon EVERY TRANSACTION THAT MIGHT BE CONSTRUED AS PREFERENCE OF ONE PARTY TO THE STRUGGLE BEFORE ANOTHER.

"The true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned—a nation that sets in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels, and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and TRULY SERVICEABLE FOR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

"WE SHOULD NOT EXTEND OR WITHHOLD AID TO OR FROM EITHER, IF ACTUAL CIRCUMSTANCES WERE SUCH THAT BOTH PARTIES WERE NOT EQUALLY BEFRIENDED."

Applying these principles, President Wilson on February 3, 1914, lifted the embargo placed by himself in 1913, giving as his reasons that as the embargo gave an unfair advantage to one side—Huerta—over the other, that the result made the embargo unneutral.

XI. Exportation of Arms prolongs the War and makes U. S. a party to it and our People suffer its Consequences.—Our exportation of arms prolongs the war, makes us in fact, if not in name, a party to the war and its horrors, it changes our commerce from many nations to a few, and the character of our commerce from articles of food, peace, and construction, to articles of war, murder, and destruction, assists our commercial and political rivals, and alienates from us friendly nations who purchase \$500,000,000 of our goods and keep 3,000,000 of our people at work, and transfers this trade to the Orient and its people, from whom it will never return.

XII. Exportation of Arms and Ammunition so Wicked as to bring down the Wrath of the Almighty on the Nation.—The exportation of arms and ammunition to any of the belligerents is morally wrong, unchristian, wicked, malicious and diabolical, degenerating to our citizenship from which they may never recover; and places the nation in control of a gang of cold-blooded mercenary red-handed demons, who for the same consideration, would sell and destroy the liberties and lives of our own citizens, and the Republic itself. Every manufacturer and exporter knows that they

are made and sent to be immediately used in the destruction of property and killing as many human beings as possible, sending their souls screeching and screaming to God; and the only excuse given is, that there is money in it, it is "business;" the same excuse given by the bandits, the assassins, the enemies of society, and demons of the world; CALLING DOWN THE WRATH OF THE ALMIGHTY, sooner or later, on such people and nations.

**XIII. Duty of Congress to Place Embargo.**—An embargo on arms and ammunition is legally right; it is MORALLY RIGHT; UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS NECESSARY IN ORDER FOR US TO BE NEUTRAL; it is the ONLY PEACEFUL WEAPON WE CAN USE TO ENFORCE OUR OWN RIGHTS AS A NEUTRAL NATION, AND STOP THE OUTRAGES COMMITTED BY ENGLAND AND HER ALLIES ON OUR CITIZENS AND OUR COMMERCE; AND THE WORLD AGREES THAT IT WILL STOP THE WAR WITHIN TWO MONTHS.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY WOODROW WILSON,  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dear Sir:

**W**E, THE UNDERSIGNED Citizens of the United States, Men and Women, unite in earnest protest against the exportation from this country of arms and ammunition for the use of nations engaged in the present conflict, and—for humanitarian reasons—respectfully petition you in the cause of humanity and justice to call an extra session of Congress at once to invest you with the power to place an embargo on all arms and ammunition—basing our petition on International Law, precedent and public opinion.

On August 1st you issued a noble document setting forth the government's views on neutrality. This splendid statement met with the full approval of all American citizens who would like to see this country live up to the words of this declaration. We, the undersigned, are led by a wish to be of assistance to you in indicating what the people of America want, namely, in your own words, "We must be neutral in fact as well as in name and we must put a curb on every transaction which might give a preference to one party in the struggle over another."

Our further reasons for this petition are: (1) Woolsey's Book on International Law says: "If the neutral, instead

IF WE ARE WHAT WE PRETEND TO BE, LOVERS OF HUMANITY, PEACE, CIVILIZATION, AND PROGRESS, AN EMBARGO WILL BE PLACED ON ARMS AND AMMUNITION WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.

Daniel Webster said that the greatest thought that could occupy any man's mind was his INDIVIDUAL responsibility to God, and this frightful state of affairs is PRESENTED TO THE CONSCIENCE OF EACH AND EVERY MEMBER OF CONGRESS, and THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ALMIGHTY ARE WATCHING TO SEE how each member will ACT.

**Petition.**—This American Neutrality and Peace Convention, representing the people of California in particular and all the Western States in general, most earnestly petition you to at once place an embargo on all arms and ammunition.—American Neutrality and Peace Convention.

of wheat, should send powder or balls, cannon or rifles, this would be a direct encouragement of the war, and so a departure from the neutral position"; (2) President Taft in 1912 issued a proclamation forbidding the export of arms and munitions to Mexico; (3) in 1913 you placed an embargo on ammunition shipments, proclaiming that "we should not extend or withhold aid to or from either if actual circumstances were such that both parties were not equally befriended"; (4) the British government has a law on its statute books conferring discretionary power on the King of England to forbid the export of arms and ammunitions, and on April 23, 1898, at the time of the Spanish-American War, that government warned British subjects against unneutral acts, among which were enumerated the supplying of arms, ammunition, military stores or materials; (5) during the Spanish-American War the German Government, upon the mere protest of our Ambassador, Andrew D. White, stopped the sale of arms and munitions of war to Spain; (6) at this time every neutral country, except the United States, has placed an embargo on munitions of war.

For humane reasons we trust that you will exert your great influence to stop useless killing by ammunitions shipped from this country. The sooner an embargo is enforced, the sooner it will save our reputation for fairness. It will shorten the war and will bring us real, not false, prosperity, together with the happiness of knowing that we have rendered a noble service to humanity.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

# Issues & Events

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## ENGLAND AND FRANCE HAVE TO "BOARD AROUND."

Great Britain and France are like a couple of wastrel workmen that spend the whole sum of their daily wages at the saloon, and get their board and lodging on credit with their neighbors. On the other hand and by the same token the Teutonic allies are like workmen that waste only half their wages, and are able to square their current living expenses with the other half.

Mr. Asquith said last week that the British daily war-charge is nearly twenty-five million dollars. The daily war-waste for France is nearly fifteen millions. Thus the annual rate for the two countries is something like seventeen billions—which is substantially the total normal income of the eighty-five millions of people constituting the two nations. It is, of course, much more than the actual present income of the two nations—since their productive power is now vastly diminished by the war.

These nations have therefore no living income at all. Their people are obliged to sustain their daily lives partly by cancelling old credits with neutral nations, and partly by incurring new debts in the same quarter.

**England and France are in effect "boarding 'round among the neighbors."**

Their welcome tends to run out as their outstanding credits are consumed and scaled down.

These outstanding credits amounted at the beginning of the war to about twenty billion dollars for Great Britain and eight billion for France.

Since the whole cost of living of two great nations has been in effect charged against this twenty-eight billions for the last nineteen months, the sum must have dwindled by considerably more than half. **And the end cannot be so very far away.**

It should be admitted that war-finance confounds all book-keeping and baffles the rules of arithmetic. It is true that there are in all nations latent resources of wealth and creative-power that are altogether incalculable.

Nevertheless, the point here made is unescapable—to wit, that there is a vast economic disparity between two parties to a fight—when one of them is able to earn, day by day, both his livelihood and his powder and shot, while the other can earn only the powder and shot, and must live on the labor of his neighbors.

The neighbors may be perfectly content for awhile. Their contentment will last only so long as they are able to believe in the ultimate success and recuperation of the failing fortune. Day by day it becomes more difficult to maintain this faith. It is a thing in its nature so bloodless and fleshless, so utterly documentary.

The financial reserves of England and France are mere legal titles and items in a book. It is the power of England and France to improve their investments and enforce their legal claims in the four corners of the world, that gives these titles all the reality that they have.

Thus, the credit of nations that cannot sustain and defend their own lives with their own human and physical resources—is a brittle kind of credit. It depends merely upon states of mind in foreigners and strangers—even while a favorable balance remains. And when the balance is used up, such a credit will surely break.

Anyhow and at all events it should sink deeply into the understanding of all who desire to gauge the comparative strength of the contending forces in Europe—that the Teutons can pay as they go, both for their living and their fighting while their adversaries can barely pay for the fighting, and must depend for their daily bread upon the merely legal and mercantile relations that they are able to maintain with outsiders.

## DEMOCRACY—BY DINT OF FINE WORDS.

In all the historic ages there has never been any war of words, or of swords, that did not, in its inmost meaning, turn upon the question of liberty or despotism.

There is no other issue that men in the mass will fight for—or care very much about.

The cause of aristocrats and reactionaries has always been commended to their followers, as a struggle against the despotism of criminals or the tyranny of the mob.

Always and everywhere the man who has had to appeal to the sympathy of the multitude, has spoken as an emancipator and has claimed for himself the whole vocabulary of liberty. For it is quite inconceivable that ordinary people should give their money, their reputation or their lives to a cause that puts yokes and chains upon ordinary people.

In view of this very obvious truth, is it not a little naïve to speak, as Mr. Root does and the venerable Dr. Eliot of Harvard, about the democracy of that miscellaneous and many-colored alliance that is beating so desperately upon all the Teutonic frontiers?

Should not these much-schooled and perfectly cultured gentlemen drop for a moment the gross language of asseveration—stop flinging fine words about as mere black preachers do—and tell us simply and plainly what they mean by democracy, and why they are so sure that the English and the French—with the Cossacks and Senegalese—are fighting for it?

Now doubtless there are reasons for this phenomenon of fine words and for their being furnished so freely to the English and the French, along with the other American munitions of war. The reasons naturally rest in the science of psychology. Here is the principal reason:

The kind of democracy that Mr. Root and Dr. Eliot are so excited about, is a very verbal kind. It is literary and legal. It is made up almost wholly of words—just words—written on "scraps of paper." Since therefore their democracy is a merely verbal democracy—since it has no important relation to the daily walk and welfare of real human beings—these gentlemen

very naturally suppose that such a democracy can be perpetually nourished and maintained by the mere iteration in public places of all the fine words in the *Thesaurus* that come under the general heading—Liberty.

On the other hand, it should be plain enough to any one not specially subject to hypnotic words and a little painstaking in the study of contemporaneous facts, that it is in Germany rather than in Great Britain that plain and unprivileged people have, in recent times, been winning the solid gains and honors of democracy.

#### MR. ROOT WORRIES ABOUT THE VENEER.

The spokesman of orthodox Republicanism begins his seven-column speech in Carnegie Hall by announcing his discovery that civilization—including all the precious things he is talking about—is only a thin veneer, overlying the solid substance of primordial savagery. His explanation of the war is that the veneer has been cracked and that the savagery exudes. The problem is to patch up the veneer and restore its pleasant polish. To this task, Mr. Root addresses himself—with rare and admirable zest, for so elderly a man.

Of course, the case as it presents itself to the subjective mind of Mr. Root is a question merely of getting the words right.

He seems hardly to be aware that unsophisticated people may suppose that he is really in favor of doing something, such as going to war right away with Mexico and the Teutonic powers.

The great man is really talking in a fine rapture. He sees in his mind's eye a bench of black-robed justices. As hired attorney he craves a decision in his own favor—and a logical judgment that can be docketed. It is thus that the smooth shellac of justice shall cover the cracks in the veneer.

So Mr. Root takes two or three of his seven columns to show that the United States had a cause of action against Germany in the matter of the invasion of Belgium.\* But when the people leap from their seats with a shout of battle, he says he has no idea of fighting, that "a single sentence" (presumably a very biting sentence addressed to the pained ears of the Kaiser) would have been enough.

And yet this marvel of political dialectic, this superman of Republican hope spends most of the rest of his speech in proving that words are disgraceful unless they go with mighty deeds of daring-do.

Let no one say that Mr. Root should retire to a warm corner and a water-bottle. Far be it from the writer here to suggest that this super-intellect is simply senile.

But how is one to explain a speech that has defined the issues of the coming Presidential campaign in the way most pleasing and profitable to the speaker's adversaries.

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON AND EMPEROR WILLIAM.

This Washington's birthday takes us back to the heroic struggles the Father of our Country underwent to secure our freedom from British oppression. It reminds us that even now Emperor William of Germany is passing through a very similar struggle for the very same purpose against this self-same oppressor of other's rights. There is a George on the British throne now of wits not unlike the King George that Americans warred against in Revolutionary days.

Regardless of what our pro-British press may say, the cold fact remains—and future history will attest it—that England instigated this war for the purpose of

subjugating Germany. Her plan was to have all the rest of the world aid her in the task. By weakening her allies in war she had only thought to make herself greater.

But as in her attempt to subjugate Germany, England has found her task far more arduous than she had supposed. The youth and strength of new Germany, like the virility of young America, is proving too much for this monster meddler of the nations.

Kaiser Wilhelm is performing for Germany the identical kind of struggle that George Washington performed for America. Just as every American was pledged to shed his last drop of blood rather than submit to British oppression, so is every German committed to die, before he will wear the British yoke.

The words now being spoken by the Kaiser in his advocacy of the freedom of the seas and the rights of his people to enjoy freedom and prosperity bear a remarkable similarity to the words of our beloved Washington in his exhortation to Americans. True Americans of today feel a pardonable pride in viewing the splendid success of the Kaiser's forces in their war with this common foe. But their appreciation will be multiplied manifold when future history reveals to them the truth of the awful struggle, when they have learned the facts of how Great Britain, after having failed to conquer this nation twice by force of arms, has now tried to subjugate us by getting control of our publicity mediums. They will look upon this as one of the most disgraceful periods in American history when they learn of how the press has conspired to betray this nation into the hands of Great Britain. They will learn that the arms Germany has had to fight are as nothing compared to the awful world campaign of calumny and intrigue which the cunning diplomats of Britain have launched against her.

#### THAT RIGHT-ABOUT-FACE OF LAST WEEK.

President Wilson's attitude with regard to the arming of merchant ships of the Allies is in striking contrast to this Government's negotiations with Germany. England made it known that the announced policy was objectionable, and there was a complete reversal of judgment. It means that President Wilson has abandoned his policy for "freedom of the seas."

One week our newspapers and diplomats were all in favor of the disarmament of merchantmen. The next they all opposed it. What kind of pressure must have been exerted to induce such a mastication of words? Can it be that the mistake was caused because Morgan was in Europe? Can it be that so long as England has Morgan in her employ and holds dominion over American finance, we cannot expect any serious opinions of our own?

#### ARMED MERCHANTMEN AND AMERICA'S FUTURE.

The pro-British press in trying to influence this Government to sanction the arming of merchant vessels, is working directly against this country's own welfare. Armed merchant vessels are warships in disguise and either it means that they must be sunk without warning or that the effectiveness of the submarine be entirely annulled.

Those who have any regard at all for this country's future cannot be so blind as to the effect such a decision would have on the American naval policy in some future war in which the United States itself may become engaged. It would be unwise for the United States in such a future conflict to fail to make the fullest possible use of submarines.



The arming of merchantmen—even on the plea of self-defence—would give such vessels a position of superiority over submarines attempting to apply the international rule of visit and search. If this rule is to be applied, as the United States has insisted during the present war, merchant vessels should not be armed and at the same time be immune from attack without warning when they fly the enemy's flag.

With the extensive American coast line, the coast defence submarine is too valuable and effective an instrumentality not to be used to the fullest possible extent during any war in which the United States may be compelled to defend its own coasts.

Also in such a war it should be remembered the submarine would serve as an instrument of the greatest efficiency in the destruction of the commerce of any enemy that the United States may have to face. This efficiency should not be impaired or restricted by permitting enemy merchant ships to carry guns, which render the merchantmen superior in force to submarines. These things being so any belligerent merchantman that mounts guns passes into the category of an auxiliary cruiser.

The most ardent lover of England among our citizens ought not to consider Britain's interests above America's.

It is to this Nation's advantage that belligerent merchant vessels should not be armed, and when they are armed they should be treated as auxiliary cruisers and accordingly as having forfeited their non-combatant character.

### JUST A SENATORIAL SLAM ON OUR ANCESTORS.

They say our ancestors fought for patriotism alone. The soldiers fought for bounties and the officers for 500 acres of land when the war was over. Often they enlisted for only sixty or ninety days, and hurried away before a battle if their enlistment had expired. The winning of the War of the Revolution was not due to the patriotism of our ancestors, but to the timely arrival of the French fleet.—**Senator G. E. Chamberlain (Oregon).**

### MAY BE THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN PARTIES.

American politics is undergoing some strange transformations. The recent speech of Elihu Root makes it look as if the future contests would be between what might be termed "the British Party" and the "American Party." They will have other names, of course, but those would be the most appropriate appellations.

Old issues and old lines will be completely obliterated in the new lineup. The British party will have the advantage in the matter of wealth, and will claim most of the Republicans, but not all of them by any means. This might with equal propriety be termed the "Newspaper party," for it will have the support of the capitalist controlled newspapers and periodicals. It will take in all the Newport set and other society cliques which from financial and matrimonial reasons are closely allied with England. In New England it will have nearly everything, both Democratic and Republican, because of the influence of New England's new and greatest source of wealth—the munitions industry. It will be the party of Morgan and Wall street and the financial interests generally, all of whom are anxious for Americans to get in and fight for England in order to help make good their loans.

The American Party, broadly speaking, will be the

party of the common people, but it will embrace both the Democratic and Republican following of the West and South. It will take in all the working classes of the East, excepting in the munitions districts. The cotton men of the South will be solidly for it, as will the cattlemen and corn growers. Most of the farm interests except in New England will be with it solidly.

Bryan will probably be the leader of the American party, and it will include most of the brightest brains of Congress.

Root or Roosevelt will be the leader of the British party. Stranger things have happened than that Root and Roosevelt should be running mates on the British party ticket—Root for President and Roosevelt for vice-President. The emblem would be "Root, Roosevelt and Rum," or "America for the British."

The purpose of the British party will be to get this country into war with Germany on the side of the Allies.

The policy of the American party will be to keep out of the war and to uphold the admonitions of our forefathers to "beware of entangling alliances." Its motto will be "America for Americans."

### KINDERGARTEN DIPLOMACY.

It is high time that discussion of the Lusitania case ceased, and that the matter be settled once for all. Half the residents of our insane asylums know perfectly well that, of necessity, Germany's naval activities have been, are and will be, restricted to submarines.

Technicalities, based on so-called humanity issues and flimsiness of international law, are nothing but the forerunners of international conflict.

In drawing a parallel between our methods in practice, of our policies as espoused through the presidential mouthpiece, there seems no way to bring together issues diametrically opposite. In other words, we say one thing, we practice another and discuss another—what the result will be, no one man can tell.

When humanity exponents, world peace propagandists, and lofty idealists and authorists become so childish as to quibble over the use of a single word—"illegal"—there seems strong indication that they either do not know what they are doing—that they are mere tools at the hands of more experienced statesmen, or that they have ulterior ends in view which only the future will disclose.

### ENGLAND'S FEAR OF IRELAND.

Recent statements by Mr. Asquith and Bonar Law show that it was not on account of John Redmond's words or actions, but owing to the hostile and determined attitude of the Irish people that the British Government excluded Ireland from the operations of the Conscription Bill. That statement was made on brief cabled summaries of the speeches of the British Premier and his Unionist colleague. The statements show plainly that it was fear of Ireland which caused the Government to confine conscription to Great Britain.

Mr. J. Chambers, Unionist Member for South Belfast, had proposed and Colonel Craig, Unionist Member for East Down, had seconded an amendment to the Bill to include Ireland and had made speeches to back up their contention. Chambers had appealed to the "Nationalists"—meaning the West Britons who follow Redmond—to consent to the amendment, and Craig had made a similar appeal, stating that "it had been found impossible to keep the Irish regiments up to strength with Irishmen only." This statement is absolutely true, in spite of the ridiculous boasts of Redmond and O'Connor, cabled to America at a heavy cost to the British Government and published over and over again in the Anglomaniac press.

# Since We Are Ruled by Britain

By JOHN JEROME ROONEY.

It is discouraging to me, an American born, as were my fathers before me, to read a plea for an American alliance with England. It assumes we are too weak to support a vital policy of our nation, and the remedy is to fly to the protecting strength of a foreign ally. The plain American way is to depend upon our own strength and resources. If we are not sufficiently prepared to defend our national rights and ideals we must, without delay, repair the neglect.

How different from these counsels of national impotence and dependence are the words of George Washington. We are soon to celebrate his birthday, the anniversary of the brave and wise "Father of His Country." This was his message in his farewell address:

"So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a

commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation."

Also in the same document we find:

"The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. \* \* \*

"There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard."

A clearer declaration, if such were possible, is found in his letter of Dec. 22, 1795, addressed to Gouverneur Morris:

"My policy has been, and will continue to be while I have the honor to remain in the administration, to maintain friendly terms with, but be independent of, all the nations of the earth; to share in the broils of none; to fulfil our own engagements; to supply the wants and be carriers for them all; being thoroughly convinced that it is our policy and interest to do so. Nothing short of self-respect and that justice which is essential to a national character ought to involve us in war; for sure I am, if this country is preserved in tranquility twenty years longer, it may bid defiance, in a just cause, to any power whatever; such, in that time, will be its population, wealth and resources."

This advice is as good today as it was when it fell from the pen of our first American. It will be a sad day for the Republic when we forget these words of Washington.

## To Drive Dull Care Away

### IN MONTANA.

Some hard drilling is done in Montana mining camps, according to the following conversation:

Said one miner: "The rock down in that shaft is so hard that they used six barrels of drills the other day and barely scratched it."

"Ugh!" said another. "I saw 'em working on a ledge once where the rock was so hard that after they had used nine barrels o' drills on it the hole stuck out six inches."

### CONCLUSIVE.

"Do you think that horrid story about Beatrice is true?"

"It must be. I heard it from her dearest friend."

### TWO KINDS, BOTH TIRED.

An agent of the Interior Department tells many stories illustrating odd phases of the Indian's character.

"There was a farmer in the West," says this agent, "who was in a difficulty to secure help on his farm. Indians were numerous in the neighborhood, but they were poor workmen. Always tired, they would put down the hoe or the rake as soon as the master's back was turned, and, selecting a cool spot, they would lie down in the shade and sleep the day away.

"But one morning a very tall, robust Indian came, asking the farmer for work.

"'No,' said the white man; 'you will

get tired. You Indians are always tired.'

"'This Injun not like other Injuns. Never get tired.'

"The upshot was that the Indian was engaged and put to work in a corn field. The farmer went away. When he returned, an hour or two later, the Indian was asleep under a tree.

"'Here wake up!' exclaimed the indignant farmer. 'You told me that you never got tired!'

"'Ugh!' grunted the red man, yawning. 'This Injun never get tired. But if he not lie down often, he would get tired just like other Injuns.'"

### FLOWERING OLD AGE.

The village rector walking through his garden, said to John, the gardener: "John, you are getting to be quite an old man."

"Yes," replied John. "If I live till September I shall be an octogenerianum."—Mrs. R. B. Taylor.

### SURE SIGN.

Passenger (to station official)—"Isn't the train coming soon?"

Station Official—"Yes, I think it will be here before long; here comes the engineer's dog."

### WORSE THAN HE THOUGHT.

A muscular Irishman strolled into the Civil Service examination, where candidates for the police force are put to a physical test.

"Strip!" ordered the police sergeant. "What's that?" demanded the uninitiated.

"Get your clothes off, and be quick about it," said the doctor.

The Irishman disrobed and permitted the doctor to measure his chest and legs, and to pound his back.

### RELATED TO BOTH.

A tired Irish laborer got on a crowded train one day. He looked around and seeing an Englishman with a dog sitting beside him, decided to have the dog's seat. He approached the Englishman: "It's a fine dog ye hive there'n." The Englishman said nothing, only stuck his nose higher in the air. "And what breed may he be?" asked the Irishman.

"He's a cross between an Irishman and a skunk," snapped the dog's owner. "Sure, thin," replied the Irishman, "he must be relation to the both of us."—Miss Leonna Shipley.

### THE SCOTCHMAN'S CHOICE.

An old Scotchman was threatened with blindness if he did not give up drinking. "Now, McTavish," said the doctor, "it's like this: you've either to stop the whisky or lose your eyesight—and you must choose."

"Ay, weel, doctor," said McTavish, "I'm an auld man noo, an' I was thinkin' I've seen aboot everything worth seein'."—Miss Mabel Matheson.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information.

### ENGLAND'S MENACE OF STARVATION.

Failing in arms, England announced that she expected to win the war by her "starvation" blockade. But it now seems that England is liable to be the first to experience the pinch of hunger. That the authorities are alarmed is evidenced by extraordinary steps now being taken to mass the nation's resources. A recent order in council empowers the Admiralty to take possession of any war material, food, forage, or stores of any description, and of any factory in which foods are manufactured. This is to prevent the civil population from keeping food away from the army in case of a serious shortage, which now seems imminent.

A royal proclamation has been issued prohibiting the import after March 1, except under Board of Trade license, of the following: All materials for the manufacture of paper, including Esparto grass and linen and cotton rags; paper and candy board, including strawboard, pasteboard, millboard, and wood pulpboard, and manufactures of paper and cardboard; all periodical publications exceeding sixteen pages in length imported otherwise than in single copies through the post; tobacco, unmanufactured and manufactured, including cigars and cigarettes; furniture woods, hardwoods, veneers, stones and slates.

The Royal Commission on Sugar Supplies announces that, owing to restrictions in importations, the quantity of sugar available in 1916 probably will be from 20 to 25 per cent. less than in 1915, and that therefore an equivalent reduction in consumption is necessary. The commission expresses the hope that all consumers will restrict their use of sugar in this proportion.

The announcement says there will be no increase made in the sale of prices at which the commission supplies sugar. Retailers are warned that if they take advantage of the scarcity in the supply to charge the public excessive prices they will receive no more sugar from the commission.

Our censored pro-British newspapers give Americans but little idea of the

seriousness of the food problem menacing England. No other country on earth is so vulnerable to starvation. Thickly huddled together on an island that produces only about one-fourth enough for them to eat, the population of the British Isles are dependent on outside sources for sustenance. Unless the ships keep going Britain must starve. Germany's submarine warfare and campaign of sea rovers has made the going hard. There are fewer ships going to and from England's ports than ever before, and they are getting fewer, all the time.

It seems that in this respect, also, Germany is about to turn the table on Britain.

### ENGLISH WOMEN ON THE FARM.

In an endeavor to overcome the difficulty caused by the shortage of men for farm work the British Government has decided to inaugurate a campaign to recruit women for this work. The recruiting will be along the line which has had such success in getting men for the army.

It is proposed that an armlet be issued to women willing to undertake farm work and that they also be entitled to wear a special uniform. Every village in the country will be canvassed by committees of women, and it is hoped by the canvass to raise a body of 400,000 women who are ready to engage in agricultural work.

### LOOK OUT FOR BRITISH MARRIAGES.

An official proclamation calling up the remaining single men under the Derby recruiting plan and the Military Service act has been foiled in England.

Single men who did not attest under the Earl of Derby's plan are subject to compulsory military service, with certain classes of exemptions, under the terms of the act passed at the last session of Parliament, which went into effect on Feb. 10. A London dispatch said the unexpectedly speedy

summons might be attributed to the many recent consultations between the Minister of Munitions and the War Office.

### CALL FOR A CONVENTION OF THE IRISH RACE.

A call for a convention of the Irish Race in America to be held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, March 4 and 5, has been issued by a committee representing all the Irish organizations in the United States. The call is signed by John W. Goff, chairman. It is an earnest and carefully prepared document, revealing only too clearly how the Irish people are oppressed and misrepresented by the press both in this country and England.

In part the call states:

"Under the pledges of her parliamentary spokesmen, the statements of a press only subsidized by England and the stress of martial law, Ireland seemed for a time to have been swept from her feet, but the clarion voice of the Bishop of Limerick has shown that she has awakened and that her people have realized that this is England's and not Ireland's war. They see now that success for England would mean only additional heavy burdens for Ireland and a renewal of strength for her age-long oppressor and tyrant.

"Here in this Republic, which the blood and sacrifices of our race have done so much to establish and to develop, the same demoralizing English influences are unceasingly at work. Every possible means which England can command, from the open advocacy of her cause to the malignant abuse and misrepresentation of those who cannot be induced to help her, is used to serve her ends, and we are assailed on all sides by critics who would apologize for the Revolution and make us to all intents and purposes again a component part of the British Empire.

"The rules of war, so far as contraband is concerned, have been changed by England whenever it seemed to suit her interests; our commerce with neutral countries has been crippled or destroyed; our cargoes have been seized and held for months in British harbors; our mails have been stopped and censored, and the protests of our Government have been flouted or ignored by England and openly assailed in the columns of our daily press."

### A HINT TO MR. ROOT AND THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

At the opening of the convention of the International Association of Master House Painters at Cincinnati last week, there were a couple of Canadian delegates who noticed the absence of the British flag. At this time when our newspapers seem so pro-British, the Canadians regarded it as a serious omission. The incident is best described in the following extract from a Cincinnati special to the New York Times, which, it seems to us, might serve as a valuable hint to the forthcoming Republican convention:

"The Canadians noticed that there were two American flags draped above the speaker's stand. Between them was the United States shield, with an insert of the Canadian



coat of arms. The Canadians immediately expressed their disapproval. They demanded that the British flag, bearing the Canadian shield, also be displayed, and announced that they would not consider any business until this was done.

"A committee to find a British flag was appointed. After thirty minutes spent in visiting many stores the committee found such a flag. It was taken to the hall and placed among the decorations. Then the convention began its work."

If Elihu Root will only start something like this at the Republican convention his nomination will be assured.

### CIVILIANS KILLED BY ALLIES' SHELLS.

According to figures compiled by the Overseas News Agency, gunfire of the allied forces in the month of January caused the following casualties among the civilian population of the Belgian and French territory occupied by Germans: Killed, 10 men, 13 women and 12 children; wounded, 28 men, 43 women and 27 children.

### GERMANS BUILD RAILROAD IN SERBIA.

News from the hostile lines is that the Germans are directing the construction of a railway from Uskub to Monastir by way of Krusevo and that the line is nearly completed. Field Marshal von Mackensen has been reviewing the Bulgarian troops at Uskub and made a public speech to them eulogizing their achievements.

### GUNS AND AMMUNITION VERSUS RICHARD WAGNER.

La Renaissance recently circulated widely among musical and artistic people in France the question whether the music of Wagner should be played in France after the conclusion of the war. Numerous replies have been received by the journal, most of them being in the negative.

August Rodin, the sculptor, replied: "Beethoven, yes. But Wagner is too near our time."

Camille Saint-Saens, the composer, answered: "No, because Wagner will symbolize Germany in the eyes of the French people, and besides his beauties are a pretext for getting his inferior work accepted."

Jacques Rouché, Director of the Grand Opera, thinks the question should be: "How long after the war will it be before Wagner can be played?" He says he thinks that the composer's works must be played some day, particularly as the royalties on them are paid not in Germany, but to French translators and musicians.

Camille Flammarion, the astronomer, says he does not like Wagner's music and has seen a great many people fall



asleep over it, but that he thinks it has as much right to be played as that of Beethoven or Mozart.

Andre Gailhard, former Director of the Opera, declares that he would not play Wagner after the war. Long live the Opera, but he adds: "We must wait and see when the war passions have calmed down."

P. B. Gheusi, Director of the Opera Comique, says: "Certainly, we will not play Wagner after the war. Long live France! Long live French music!"

André Messager, the composer, reflects the spirit of several other replies when he says: "First let us annihilate Germany, and we can discuss the question afterward!"

In a like vein M. Astruc, the theatre manager, tersely says: "More guns! More ammunition!"

The belief is expressed in many of the replies that there will be a great development in French musical talent after the war.

### TO RELEASE CIVILIANS.

Austria and Germany have acquiesced in the proposal made by Prince Carl of Sweden regarding the release of civilians taken prisoner on the frontiers of Galicia, Bukowina, East Prussia and Poland.

Russia is expected to acquiesce in the proposal.

### THE AMERICAN CENSORSHIP.

The German Government, through its Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, has formally requested the United States to explain why the American censors to wireless messages at Sayville have suppressed the official announcement issued by the German Admiralty of the sinking of the British cruiser "Arabus" in the North Sea, Feb. 11.

The Marine Department admits that the communication was suppressed because it was under the impression that this news came under the order of Secretary Daniels, which order permits the publication of such news only which contains no information regarding the movements of ships. The entire matter will yet be thoroughly discussed by the diplomats.

Apparently the Associated Press has entered a complaint about the censorship, for it has sent out the information that several wireless messages containing official news items—transmitted by their Berlin correspondents—have been refused. Some of these news items in question, censored at Sayville, were even permitted to pass by the English censor.

This naturally gives one the impression that Uncle Sam's censorship, to say the least, is not only un-neutral but anti-German.

### KING WILL NOT OPEN PARLIAMENT.

Why the British Parliament is to be opened Tuesday by a royal commission instead of the King in person is explained in the following official statement:

"His Majesty is quite prepared to carry on the practice which obtained throughout his and the preceding reign, but has yielded to the opinion of his medical advisers that he should not at this stage of convalescence, after his severe accident, venture to undertake the ceremony."

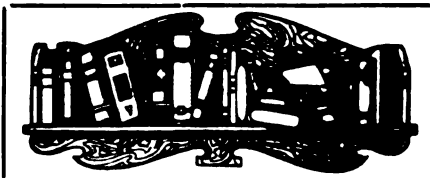
The King's fall from his horse evidently is of a more serious nature than it was admitted at first. Apparently the physician's advice "to take a little stimulant daily" has likewise not helped matters much, or perhaps too much. "Long Live the King."

The State Department has under consideration a plan to prevent the seizure of first-class mails between this country and Europe, protests having had no effect on Great Britain.

The plan is to put the mail aboard an American steamship that will lay a course for a European neutral port—Scandinavian or Netherland—without entering territorial waters of any of the belligerent nations.

Officials of the State Department pointed out to-day that interference with an American ship flying the American flag and carrying only first-class mail matter would be beyond the audacity of any of the belligerent nations.

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## Financial Psychology

By CHARLES FERGUSON

### Why We Can't Stop Killing Our Friends.

The Government of the United States is at peace with the Central Powers of Europe. The mass of the American people live on terms of human good-feeling with the Teutonic peoples. By the Law of Nations a neutral must not lend military aid to a belligerent. By the revised Statutes of the United States the Federal Courts are bound to treat as a criminal conspiracy any collusion of citizens on this soil that tends to strengthen either party in the European War.

And yet the industrial system of this country has been geared into that of England and France and has been made an indispensable part of a war-machine for the killing of our friends in Central Europe.

Why can't we stop killing our friends?

The answer to this question does not lie on the surface of politics—as is generally supposed—it lies deeper. When we find the right answer and apply it, we shall quickly put an end to the war. We shall do more than that. We shall establish the conditions of permanent peace.

For the reason that the United States is compelled to override its own statutes, and the Law of Nations, compelled to violate its own instincts and the common law of humanity—compelled to make a wholesale business of the murder of its friends—is a reason that goes to the root of the awful misunderstanding and contradiction of interests that produced the Great War.

The reason is that the organization of industry and commerce has come to be the principal fact in modern countries, that political power lies in the control of that organization, and that this control has, in the United States, fallen into the hands of groups of financiers who do not even pretend to use it for the advancement of the public welfare.



### Why the Teutonic Powers Are Ringed-In by a World in Arms.

Germany was, on the first of August, 1914, the only country with a high-tensioned organization of industry and commerce in which the control of the organization was in the hands of men who undertook to administer it—and in large measure actually did so—for the advancement of the general welfare.

It was not "militarism," but the scientific and social administration of industry, commerce and finance that constituted Germany's menace and challenge to the unsocial and unscientific plutocracies of the world. The simple truth is that nations whose working organizations are governed by private profit-seeking financial groups—as were the systems of England and France at the beginning of the war, and as is the American system

to this day—tend rapidly toward social disintegration and an extreme weakness of social will and purpose. Hence it came to pass that all the systems of that description drew together against Germany, by an instinct of self-preservation. They hoped, by the union of their wide-spreading and multitudinous feebleness, to overwhelm the one strong nation.



### Humiliating and Perilous Isolation of the United States.

This war is the end of the era—the era of egotistic and irresponsible finance. The war cannot pass until the fact is brought home to us that the administration of finance is a sovereign power. Finance controls the working system, the wonderful and intricate machinery of technical science and sensitive communication wherein and whereby we all get our living. Everyone of us is so intimately related to this system of the day's work that we cannot get outside of it to vote against it. We have to vote with it and for it; and the ideas that rule in it must therefore rule in our courts, legislatures and executive offices.

The war is forcing the dullest of us to the discovery of the truth that modern government is little else than the correlating of working forces (and if need be, fighting forces) through the administration of finance.

In the light of this principle—which is to rule the coming years and decide all national destinies—consider how dangerous and how distressing to our pride is the position into which our country has now drifted.

We have been huddled in behind the Anglo-French Allies, with all our machinery and working forces, simply because our kind of finance had an historical affinity for that of England and France—as French and English finance stood at the beginning of the war.

We stand, however, at this present moment in an appalling and humiliating isolation, because the nations that we ran so eagerly to help have been forced by stress of war to socialize their finance, and have consequently undergone a change of character.

Our former congeniality with the ruling powers of England and France may be expressed by hyphenation of Mr. Morgan with Lord Reading and Mr. Germain of the Credit Lyonnais. These three are sufficiently symbolic personalities representing in three countries the power of a socially irresponsible finance to name its own "bonuses," to take possession of the courts and to sap the economic life of a nation by flinging away its money in foreign loans that are chiefly profitable to the underwriters.

Now, plutocratic nations have a common mentality that is reflected in the press, school and pulpit and in the street talk. Its chief characteristic is an overstrain

of sentiment and spirituality in direct proportion to the sordidness of ordinary conduct. Of course, the overstrain and the sordidness seem to be a fine kind of idealism and a sound kind of common-sense—to all who are themselves affected by the plutocratic psychology. But those who escape from that state of mind into one that is more social and more human—experience a more or less violent revulsion from their former associates.

Thus it is that the predominant American state of mind has very recently become obnoxious to the English and the French. Our ways of thinking, feeling and acting have become quite as unpopular in Western as in Central Europe. We are no better liked by those whose fight we are backing with exquisite sentiments and a wealth of slaughter-tools, than by those whose sons we are slaying with a wonderful mixture of cool commercialism and moral indignation.

We are dangerously and distressfully isolated, because we are the last of the great plutocracies of the Nineteenth century—the only one left. We stand alone under the thrall of a false mentality and a physical laxity and feebleness, wholly unsuited to these terrific times.



#### Time to Bring Up Our Reserves.

that we began to mobilize these forces.

We are living in a foolish rapture. The flaring cover of a current magazine pictures America as a "New Monte Christo," lifting up her hands in an ecstasy of affluence and crying out: "The World is Mine!"

The truth is that the wealth and power of the United States was never so gravely imperilled as at this moment.

Our sudden and hectic prosperity has grown up out of the ammunition business, and is as morbid and abnormal as its origin.

The war now being waged in Europe is of an unprecedented and world-changing character. It is a test of the comparative strength, the human and scientific validity, of two rival systems of industry. The victory will be won not by soldiers as soldiers, but by mechanics and engineers and organizers of the economy of life.

Into this contest we have entered by the back door, and on terms that have weakened us intellectually and morally. While the belligerents on both sides are growing stronger every minute in their internal economy of vital forces and in the powers of social teamwork, we are losing steadily the intellectual and moral sinews that constitute the strength of civilization.

While they have definitely turned their backs upon plutocracy—which is the feeblest form of government known to politics—we have abandoned ourselves to the development of that form of government to its most flamboyant and flatulent extreme.

The mental and moral differences that made the two parties to the European quarrel unintelligible to each other in August, 1914, are being worn down and canceled out—since both parties are being subjected to a like discipline. A fearful danger to the United States lies in the fact that it stands alone in a way of thinking, feeling and acting that is growing every day more and more foreign and repellant to the consciousness of Europe—and less and less valid in itself.

Most assuredly we had better wake up and modernize ourselves.

If we don't we may find that, with the end of the war, the whole world will unite against us as it united against Germany nineteen months ago—though for an opposite reason. Germany was abhorrent and unintelligible, because she possessed a new and disturbing

kind of strength. The danger is that we may be hated for clinging to an old and obstructive kind of weakness.



#### Our Mental and Moral Obfuscation.

How alarming is our capacity for self-deception under the hypnotic influence of that bloodless and senseless instinct for profits which is the marrow of our unpractical and uncivilizing finance! Our strange mental processes concerning this munition business furnish a fair measure of this capacity.

In the early summer of 1914 it would have been difficult or impossible to find anybody in a responsible official, journalistic or academic place who, upon consulting the open legal records, would not have agreed substantially to the following propositions:

(1) That since the beginning of the history of war no neutral nation had ever made a staple and principal business of the furnishing of fighting-tools to a belligerent, or claimed the "right" to do such a thing.

(2) That neutral governments are bound to prevent the use of their national soil or resources for the strengthening of the fighting force of either belligerent—except that they are not bound to make changes in their industrial system or put a stop to any established trade.

(3) The trade in contraband, so far as it consists merely in the prosecution of an accustomed business, may be regarded as a thing outside the purview or protection of the neutral government, and therefore does not involve a breach of neutrality.

(4) But when the trade in contraband distinctly passes the limits of the industrial status quo ante, builds new factories and makes exceptional profits, the neutral government can no longer refuse to take cognizance of it; the trade becomes illegitimate and unneutral.

(5) For neutral governments must never be thought of as having any vested right or interest in contraband trade, or as deriving any advantage from it. The idea that a neutral can, under any circumstances, have a right to get rich by serving ammunition to one side of a fight is preposterous. The idea that the wrong could be righted by serving both sides alike is doubly preposterous.

(6) The plain rule of the law of nations is that the neutral must not in any manner attach his economic or financial fortunes to the cause of a belligerent.

(7) In order to avoid all danger of a possible ambiguity in this rule, and to put the United States on the safe side of the strictest possible neutrality in all wars, the first President (whose birthday has just been celebrated with such effusion) strove against great opposition and finally succeeded in putting into the law of the land a series of drastic penal statutes which still stand and which describe as high misdemeanors all the possible acts, ways and means that George Washington could think of whereby a citizen of this country could help or harm a party to a quarrel that was not ours.

These statutes were framed by Alexander Hamilton with particular reference to our strong temptation of mingled gratitude and resentment, to help the French against the English in the early Napoleonic wars. They were passed in the Senate by means of the casting vote of John Adams.

What is to be said or thought of the moral and intellectual stamina of a people that cannot even make an effort to enforce these statutes, cannot remember their meaning or find them in the printed book; and that has been compelled, at the sharp, imperative suggestion of its economic masters to improvise a legend about the right of neutrals to assist in slaughter—that is as foreign to the history of war as it is offensive to the instincts of human nature?

Nothing adequate can be said or thought—except

that we should turn away from ourselves and seek another road than that we have been following.

We go on killing people in Europe in an absent-minded way, because we are caught in the toils of a bad business system that spreads its irrational and enfeebling suggestions through the universities, the

newspapers and all the common ways of the day's work.

**We must make haste to rectify our system of doing business.**

**We must make it sane.**

**We cannot otherwise be sane ourselves.**

## Economic Position of the United States After the War

### Need of Scientific and Economic Production

#### III.

**T**HERE can be no general revival of trade in the countries where we hope for it most; no large opportunities, unless we take the place of Great Britain and Germany in providing capital for development purposes. We must enter into the industrial life of those countries, engage in enterprises with them and create out of their dormant resources the new wealth from which will come our pay.

This is the practical operation of the "exploitation" of which we hear a great deal.

There is still another way by which investments in South America can be made, and that is by taking over the holdings of British and European investors in that field. Great Britain is now making very large purchases in this country and is obliged to find means of payment. Furthermore, it is to our interest that Great Britain shall be able to continue these purchases. In order to promote this trade a \$500,000,000 loan has been taken in the United States, and the British Government is now collecting American securities in England to be used for creating additional credits here. It is evident that the sale of British holdings of South American securities in this market will accomplish the same purpose, and also give us connections in South America that will be of permanent value to our trade.

How are we to make these investments? Habits of investment are acquired by experience, and conditions in this country have favored investments in land and local enterprises. We are practically without experience with investments outside of the country, and it is a problem how long it will take us to develop in this country a body of cosmopolitan investors such as there is in England. Our commercial banks cannot properly tie up their customers' deposits in stocks and bonds of foreign corporations, no matter how good they may be. Savings banks cannot do it. We must look to private investors.

This movement cannot develop without method and organization. The individual investor cannot go abroad to look up opportunities, nor would it be prudent for him to participate unless ample guaranties are afforded as to the soundness of the enterprises offered. A responsible organization, headed by men of known experience in the enterprises which are undertaken, must investigate the opportunities, organize the properties, put them into successful operation and manage them. Already several corporations have been organized under capable leadership to operate in this manner in the foreign fields, and this is one of the most tangible steps of progress we have made.

So far we have not considered the direct effect of the war, or of this inflow of gold, or of the new activities which we are contemplating, upon conditions in this country, and this is the most interesting phase of all. I have said that there is a certain balance or equilibrium in affairs which when disturbed is bound to re-establish itself. If, as the result of favorable trade conditions, gold flows from one country to another, the effect will be to augment the bank reserves in the one

case and deplete them in the other. An increase of bank reserves will encourage the expansion of credit, stimulate enterprise, create a demand for labor and goods, and cause prices generally to rise. In the country from which gold is flowing, the opposite phenomena is seen. A reduction of bank reserves results in a contraction of credit, a check upon enterprise, a relaxation of the demand for labor and goods, and falling prices. Now, with prices, interest rates and securities rising in one country and falling in the other, and free movements between, the two countries will react upon each other, and all influences in both will work together to restore the equilibrium.

Through the automatic operations of these influences, the world's output of gold is distributed over the earth. It does not stay in the countries where it is produced; they keep only so much as their share of the world's business will entitle them to hold; the rest finds its way to where it is needed just as water hunts out the low spots. At present, however, the influences which normally tend to maintain an equilibrium between this country and Europe are suspended. Gold has poured into this country in an unprecedented amount and is still coming. The rates of interest at the centers are phenomenally low, and there is every encouragement to credit expansion. Industry has now recovered and is under full headway. The labor force is fully employed; the productive agencies of the country are in full operation, and yet the stimulus of new supplies of gold continues to be applied. Under these conditions there is only one way in which additional supplies of money can find employment and that is by diluting the value of the existing stock, raising wages and prices, so that a larger amount of money will be employed in handling the same volume of business.

Such a rise of wages and prices does not signify real prosperity, but we are so accustomed to regard them as signs of prosperity that people are easily deceived. They are induced by these symptoms to act as though prosperity was assured. They spend money, and, worst of all, incur obligations, upon the strength of their belief, and the whole business situation becomes honeycombed and weakened by an extension of credit.

Since the flow of gold into this country is now unrestrained by the usual counter-influences which spring from international relations, its influence will naturally go far beyond what would be possible under normal conditions. Unless we are on our guard, the stimulus of more and more gold, with a continuance of easy money and low interest rates, will continue to expand credits, and force prices and wages upward until the level of costs upon which business is done in this country will be far above that of the rest of the world.

When the war ends and Europe goes back to industry, the influences which normally work to restore the equilibrium of trade and of credit between countries will be released and come quickly into full operation. The United States will have more than its normal share of the world's gold, according to the distribution of capital,



trade and industry before the war. Can we hold it? Only so much as our share of the world's business will enable us to hold. What will our share be, if we are exalted upon a plane of costs far above the rest of the world? Can we immediately and voluntarily reduce wages and prices all along the line to meet the competition of Europe? Unless we do so, our exports will fall off, gold will flow out, credits must be contracted, and the readjustment will be forced in rude and unrelenting terms.

If money remains easy here, and interest rates are lower and security prices higher here than in Europe when the war ends, securities will come this way faster than they do now. European holders who have hesitated from timidity to part with their safe American investments will do so then, and there will be less timidity here about buying European securities. All of this will promote an outward gold movement. Every influence will tend to drain gold from us, if we have allowed ourselves to be lifted to an artificial basis.

Of course, if we have self denial enough to simply receive the gold and hold it unused, until we have opportunity to exchange it for goods or securities abroad, we shall escape these evil effects. In that event we shall have merely given our goods for something for which we have no present use, and which will be dead property while we hold it.

If we hold money idle under such conditions, we will show more self-restraint than any other people has ever exhibited. All in all, it will be safer to have this abnormal flow of gold into the country stopped. We do not need any more for the full employment of our people or to enable us to work our industries to the limit of their capacity. More will have in it great potentialities for mischief. It will be much better to use additional credits that accrue in our favor, first, in the purchase of our own securities now held abroad; second, in the purchase of securities representing good properties in other countries, preferably the countries of Latin-America, with whom we desire to establish more intimate relations, and, finally, by temporary investments in commercial bills or government obligations in the countries from which we are likely to experience a demand for gold after the war is over. None of these forms of investment will derange the home situation; they are all better than idle gold in vaults, and all can be resold in foreign markets after the war is over, if desirable to do so, as a means of offsetting claims against us for gold. This is the prudent policy. It avoids taking gold which

we cannot hope to hold permanently, and the acceptance of which means in reality the creation of a dangerous liability; it enables us to stay down on a level of costs where we can make a hopeful contest for trade after the war is over, and it will afford us a favorable entry into countries where there is a possibility of building up permanent trade.

Concluding, I have the impression that I have not given a very hopeful view of the position we are likely to occupy at the close of the war. I have thought it quite as important to dwell upon the perils of the situation as upon the opportunities. As already indicated, I have little faith in temporary gains from the crippling of Europe. Those injuries will be reflected upon us through all the countries with which we try to do business. We have a wonderful industrial equipment for the production of things that all the world, including Europe, will want, but we can build up no permanent business abroad except as we can stand the test of efficiency in comparison with others. We ought to welcome that test and prepare ourselves for it. We ought to embrace this opportunity to get out into the world. We will be broadened and stimulated, and do better work for ourselves, because of competition outside. Some of our people have already been winning at it, by the genius of genuine leadership.

We need to have all the facts, all of the perils and opportunities of this complicated situation understood by our people, from the captains of industry down to the humblest worker. They are all alike concerned. More than anything else in this country we need a better understanding between capital and labor. The wage-earner must come to see that the problem of increasing production and lowering costs is his problem as well as the employer's. An appeal must somehow be made to his spirit, to his creative powers, which will enlist his willing co-operation and develop his latent capabilities. This is the problem of American industry and American employers are beginning to understand it. We have the highest wage scale in the world and we want it to be still higher, but you cannot make wages higher by increasing production costs. Higher costs and prices simply go around to the rear entrance and settle down on the same premises.

More scientific production, larger output, better service, these are the watchwords by which American industry cannot only win a leading position in world trade, but establish more satisfactory conditions at home.

## An Appeal to the American People

By HENRY FORD

**T**HE UNITED STATES, I believe, is confronted by the greatest danger in its history. It is not an external danger. As the President said in New York on January 7: "Nobody seriously supposes that the United States need fear an invasion of its own territory."

Our danger is internal. We are confronted by the danger of militarism.

The very burden that caused thousands of men of all races to come to the United States in search of a haven of peace, to escape the toils of militaristic government, now is being preached throughout the land by men, by newspapers, by magazines, moving pictures and, in fact, every medium of intelligence.

Conscription, the base of militarism, is advocated openly.

And it is all done under the guise of patriotism. The flag is flaunted before the eyes of the people and we are told that our "national honor" is at stake.

The flaunting was started by an organization of men known as the Navy League. It has been taken up by really patriotic men, fearful of the danger which this league first discovered. Other of these organizations started up and made their cry the danger of invasion and the need of preparing for it. The Secretary of the Navy and the other officials were made the objects of attack because they, knowing the true conditions, refused to become hysterical.

Congressman Clyde H. Tavenner delivered in the House two remarkable speeches—"The World Wide War Trust," and "The Navy League Unmasked"—giving startling revelations of an organized body of war

traffickers who promote war and preparations for war—"preparedness."

He charged that the Navy League, which inspired and financed largely the present agitation for "preparation," was founded by a group made up largely of war traffickers. He also charged that among the most active members and officers of the League today are men who not only will profit from "preparedness," but who actually hold a monopoly on the materials for war which the Government must purchase—that these war-trafficking men are in agreement with war munitioners of Europe, barring the possibility of the United States Government purchasing supplies of war at any price but that fixed by the war-traffickers of the United States. Mr. Tavenner's charges never have been refuted.

The very men who pile up the armament of all nations—and it is true that the same firm will often arm both sides in a conflict—will find an enemy for any country they arm. And they will arm that enemy, too, for the profits on arms are great, and the industry is a monopoly.

This state of affairs has been brought right home to Americans in the past few years in Mexico, where we have seen the same arms manufacturers arming every side. And the President, by raising the embargo on arms, certainly did nothing for the peace of the world.

We ought to realize that it is the people who not only pay the bills of these munitions makers, but pay the penalty also in the death and misery the use of these arms must bring.

Do we need preparedness?

The President himself, in his speeches made recently in the middle west, could find no fear of invasion, and his inconsistencies were pointed out even by the most ardent editorial advocates of the "preparedness" plan. In December, 1914, the President, in his message to Congress, said: "Let there be no misconception. The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense."

Since that time the President said he had changed his mind. No personal vacillation, however, can change the facts, and in spite of rumors and suggestions of fear there have been no material facts placed before the people of the country to show that the President had any military reason for his change of mind.

The people should think for themselves and demand to know facts.

Whatever the standing of the country's safety, this much is due the people; they should be allowed to share the secret terrorizing dispatches the President declared in his recent tour he received almost hourly. The nation is great enough and the people strong enough to bear the worst, to know what threatens them.

Not only that, but it is the right of the people to demand of their President the causes for his alarm. And if that alarm is not genuine, they have a right to know why it was uttered by the head of the nation.

The people of the United States are patriotic. But it is time for all to realize that patriotism does not consist merely of dying for one's country. I believe that patriotism consists more in living for the benefit of the whole world, of giving others a chance to live for themselves, their country and the world. A man is naturally patriotic, and to cry patriotism at him as is now being done throughout the country is more of an insult than a compliment.

I believe, too, that many more men have died because of ambition, avarice and insincerity than ever died in a just cause. I have dedicated my life's work to the education of men on this subject, with the hope that if war comes again men will know before they march against the machine guns whether they are

marching for a just cause or for ambition, avarice and insincerity.

It is a regrettable fact that many of the mediums of education in the United States have been swayed to the cry for big armament. Not only is this true, but it is equally true that these same organs have bred racial hatred by the printing of incendiary news stories and articles, preaching fear of one of the European belligerents, giving prominence to rumors of unneutral acts of violence, and paying slight regard to official denials of the same.

These organs tell us that one of the warring factions in Europe is bleeding to crush militarism, yet in the same pages the assumption of this beginning of militarism is declared to be the solemn duty of the United States.

For a hundred years, with Europe fully armed and strong, we have been safe. Now, with Europe locked in a deadly embrace and bleeding to death, we are called upon to fear its invasion of our shores.

The following from the New York Times of February 9, printed prominently by the Times, but not conspicuously treated by the great majority of city newspapers, gives some idea of the facts:

"Washington, February 8.—Testimony that pleased the pacifist element in the House was furnished to the Committees on Military and Naval Affairs today by General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., retired, and Rear Admiral Victor Blue, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation. General Miles said he did not fear an invasion of the United States and that an invading enemy could quickly be driven from the country. Admiral Blue declared the navy now was ready to meet any enemy it might be called upon to encounter in the Pacific."

And, remember, aside from the fact that we are able to do this, there remains still the greater fact that nothing more than generalities regarding the possibility of any attack have been advanced in justification of the attempt to work up an artificial hysteria as a preliminary to inoculation with the rabies of war.

Those who have opposed this militaristic scheme have been characterized as cowards, poltroons and unpatriotic. They are less cowardly than the most ardent militarists, because it is fear that is inspiring those who are not looking for the profits. And this fear is a fear without foundation in reason. Is it unpatriotic to wish for world peace instead of a universal war over commercial rights of a few men or to uphold an unpopular government?

The sooner the government of the world gets down to a business basis the better off the world will be. I cannot conceive how any business man in the United States, after viewing the result of military preparation in Europe, realizing the geographical situation of the United States, and considering the result of the Dardanelles operations, could so allow his fears to be played upon by military bargainers as to approve the plan to make this nation an armed camp. There have been fine words about "preparedness" and "militarism" being totally different, but Europe knows today that the only difference is in spelling.

Congressman Kitchin, who has risked his leadership of the Democrats in the House to oppose the "preparedness" measure, calls attention to the fact that the United States has been spending of late years a greater part of its revenue for military equipment than has any other nation in the world. With the billions that would be spent under the proposed extravagant program, the taxpayers would be giving nearly 70 per cent. of what they contribute to government revenue for the support of an army and navy.

Would any man, preparing to fight a fire in his shops, store those same shops with tons of inflammables? Yet that is what "preparedness" does. And then, of course, must come the inevitable.

What is the share of the man who pays for all this?

It is the burden of supporting the vast machine until some few men lose their heads and touch the spark to the ready-built kindling-pile. Then he must give his life, or come home a cripple. For those who remain at the end of the sad folly there is high taxes and crepe on the door.

Men sitting around a table, not men dying in a trench, finally settle the differences, anyhow.

If one hundredth of one per cent. of all that has been spent on this kind of "preparedness" had been used to do away with national and international differences built up by a diplomacy originating in the Dark Ages, war would have ceased long ago.

Every man must admit that the method is foolish. And even the old time "glory" of war is dead; the victim of science. Then why continue?

Why not begin now to build a machinery of reason to do the work that the machinery of force has not accomplished? That is the great duty facing those who govern.

In all the maze of argument for "preparedness" the facts are few. But even its most ardent advocates call attention to the coincidence that this is a Presidential election year.

If the cause lies in the fact, and I can hardly believe it, because I am not very well versed in political tricks, it is time for the voters to remind their Congressmen and any other candidates who may seek their favor that the people will not spend their money to arm for invading ghosts conjured up by the President or any other man, be he a real patriot or a munitions-patriot.

Let the President and others who are preaching this doctrine of fear point out the enemy, let them prove the enemy comes upon us, and every American is willing to lay down his fortune and his life at the feet of the President, as Americans have done before.

But the same Americans, a hard-headed business people, will not lay down a nickel if they become convinced that they are paying merely for an election or a re-

election to the White House under the guise of defense of home and fireside. And these Americans have a very disconcerting way of showing their practical impatience with fairy tales.

I strongly urge every American who is interested in this subject that should interest all, to write to Hon. Clyde H. Tavenner, House of Representative Office Building, Washington, D. C., for the speeches revealing the motives at the bottom of the "preparedness" agitation.

I strongly urge every man and woman who desires that this country should remain at peace to write a protest against the extravagant program now in Congress, to write to his Congressman, to the two United States Senators from his State, and to the President of the United States. A sentence or two will do. But make your meaning plain.

Remember, too, that the men now in Congress who have come out strongly against the project need encouragement from home. They face generally a solid wall of ridicule or silence in the press of the cities, and human nature finds it hard to bear up before such a constant hammering, even though the object of the attacks feels that the pressure rings not of sincerity. If you feel that the country's safety is being jeopardized by political manipulation, then make your protest a political one, so that it will strike the deeper.

I am having this statement printed in the advertising columns of newspapers and magazines throughout the United States. Others will follow. I have no other purpose than to save America from bloodshed and its young men from conscription. I feel that if this militaristic burden is assumed by the country, the United States within 10 years will be in turmoil, its industries paralyzed, and its men, instead of being at work in peaceful industry, will be dying in trenches. And I feel, too, that these men will not be dying to defend their country, as we are now being told, but will perish in the conquest of other men who have a right to live in happiness and peace.

February 22, 1916.

HENRY FORD.

## Solid Fortunes

### CHARLES FERGUSON'S WEEKLY LETTER

**I** UNDERSTAND a real democracy is to be a downright honest society in which fortunes are solid. A solid fortune, you will agree, is one that rests upon no "pull" or privilege, no trick or sharp practice, but upon personal power over materials, the ability to produce real values and to "deliver the goods."

I have spent a good many years—say about thirty—in an attempt to get to the bottom of "the social problem." Some men are curious about chemistry and some absorb their minds happily and with continual excitement in the problems of mathematics or machinery or the breeding of stock. It happened to me to be stirred and excited—from the moment when I began to have definite mental reactions upon experience—by the phenomena of social action. My play, my game, my sporting interest in life has been the unlocking of the mysteries of finance and politics, the discovery of the causes of wars and panics, of poverty and prosperity, the rise and fall of states and cities.

A peculiar interest attaches to this pursuit because, as things stand today, sociology is an uncharted realm, a land of free exploration and adventure. There is as yet hardly such a thing as social science. The learned doctors disagree on first principles. The field of knowl-

edge that involves the most precious and passionate concerns of mankind has not yet been subdued to the scientific spirit.

However, I for one, am sure, and always have been sure, that there is such a thing as a **natural law of social success and prosperity**, and that it is possible to find it and apply it.

If I had not been sure of this my interest would have flagged. I could not have gone on from decade to decade as I have done, submitting myself in turn to the discipline of all the pseudo-sociological professions as they stand—the law, the church, the news-service and what we call politics—if I had not been confident of the existence of a solid principle of social recuperation beyond the jungle of opinion and the tumult of discordant voices.

**I have never cared about reforms or reformers.** For it has always been quite clear to me that what modern society needs—and what America should contribute to a distracted world—is not social reforms but a principle of social renewal and regeneration.

**Men get what they go after.** I have not failed in my quest.

The cause of the most disastrous war in history is the fundamental dishonesty of a world-wide business

system so delicately constructed that it requires not a minimum but the **maximum of veracity and realism.**

War is the natural recoil from this dishonesty—an awful but adequate remedy to match a well-nigh mortal disease that had gangrened the very heart of civilization.

The symptoms of this disease are as marked in this country as elsewhere. It is mere ignorance of social physiology to suppose that we can—or should wish to—escape the painful recuperative discipline of war, unless we make haste to subject ourselves to a discipline less painful but equally valid.

**Wars, if they are long enough, force nations to hate lies, legal fictions and fortunes that are built on fraud.** The jobbers are thick at the beginning, but not at the end.

In a nation at serious war men do not say—as we commonly do in America today—that it is “idealistic” to expect engineers and masters of tools and materials to put their work before their pay. For the nation at war that cannot find leaders that will do that joyfully, is likely to be sponged off the slate.

As war wages on, people come to understand that honesty is a thing above and beyond the civil law and all social conventions—that it consists in doing your job scientifically not in “besting” your neighbors legally. The law itself undergoes a change and becomes a commentary on the natural laws of social life. The life of nations at war requires the abrogation of all charters and franchises of mere tradition, and the welding of people together on a basis of sheer physical and spiritual community of interest.

Well then, it all comes to this. **America can keep out**

**of war and can make solid its dropsical and flatulent fortunes**—by developing within a short time and on a considerable scale a business enterprise that is actuated by an **honesty** like that of first-rate European fighting-men, and that is driven by a like bodily energy and intellectual force.

The marvelous mechanism of modern business centres in the bank. Everything depends upon the administration of credit. That is the sovereign social function in the new order of things that has come upon us during the last fifty years.

**The radical dishonesty of American business which enfeebles all our working processes and infects our whole system of mortal disease—is lodged in our finance.**

I am not speaking of the illegality of financial operators. That is a separate and relatively unimportant matter. The point here is that the dominant financial powers in the United States are simply not interested in the working-plan by which the American people live—except to saddle upon it the greatest possible levy of unearned incomes for the support of those who do not work.

Thus the broad fact is that our industrial system is dishonest. It is not in the least what it pretends to be. It is not an army ordered and marshalled to fight hunger and cold and the natural difficulties of human existence. **It is an army ordered and marshalled for the fattening of idlers.**

In my next letter I will undertake to describe the kind of business enterprise that we need for the building of solid fortunes—and will invite the counsel and participation of my readers in such an undertaking.

## What Constitutes a Warship

By LYMAN GRANT HUGHES

**F**ROM the standpoint of the submarine, there is no room for doubt that an armed merchantman flying an enemy flag is a ship of war. Any gun, regardless of calibre, would be a menace to a frail submarine at close quarters.

Of course, the submarine has come to stay. It will become more and more a factor in war. The time is coming, perhaps not far distant, when the great naval powers will have large super-submarines, capable of doing on the surface work now assigned to fast cruisers.

Germany has done much more effective work with her submarines than any other power. We do not know a great deal about the U-boats, more especially the newer and larger of them, but that they are capable of a much wider radius of action than American submarines nobody can doubt.

For all that, however, a submarine is a submarine. Its shell is thin and extremely vulnerable. The army rifle can pierce fourteen inches of solid oak. A bullet from such an arm, fired at short range, easily could go through the shell of a submarine.

In view of the frail character of these modern sea fighters, therefore, it must be admitted that a merchant ship of an enemy country carrying one or more guns of six-inch calibre “solely for defense,” would constitute a most formidable foe.

The practice of German submarine commanders has been to torpedo merchant ships from relatively short distances, using large projectiles in order to make certain the desired result. This would bring the submersibles into easy range of the guns of armed merchantmen.

A 2½-inch gun would be a formidable weapon for use against submarines. It has a good range and could reach submarines at a much greater distance than that from which torpedoes ordinarily are discharged.

A 6-inch gun has an effective range of 5,000 to 6,000 yards. It would be difficult to pick out a submarine from that distance, perhaps, but an armed liner with guns manned by trained gunners could play havoc with any submarine from a range which, under ordinary conditions, would be a safe one.

Taken at its best, Germany's submarine warfare is a hazardous undertaking.

In fighting armed merchant ships the submarines of Germany and Austria either must mount guns of larger calibre than those carried by the enemy traders or must do all their effective work while submerged. It will be more or less difficult to determine from a safe distance at all times whether a merchant ship is armed.

In this connection, however, it should be recalled that the German memorandum makes no mention of a distinction between merchantmen armed for offensive and those armed solely for defense. The presence of any mounted gun on board an enemy merchant ship therefore would subject it to attack under the announced German policy.

The United States has a direct interest in the submarine warfare, owing to the fact that at some future time it may find itself at war with a maritime nation and confronted with the absolute necessity of getting every ounce of defensive force out of its own submersible craft.

# Issues & Events

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## ANNOUNCEMENT.

Charles Ferguson in "Issues and Events."

I HAVE great satisfaction in announcing that arrangements have been made for exclusive publication in this magazine of a series of articles (there is reason to hope that it may prove to be a very long series), by Charles Ferguson, on the economic, political and social questions raised by the Great War.

Mr. Ferguson is the only man connected with the present administration at Washington whose official duty has required him to make a comparative study of the forces of finance and business as they stood related to the governments of the several European countries during the year preceding the outbreak of war. He spent that year in ten European capitals under commission of the Department of Commerce and with credentials from the President that gave him access to the highest sources of information.

Mr. Ferguson's opinions concerning the causes of the war, the rights, duties and destinies that are involved in it, and the opportunities and moral obligations that it presents to the American people, are not of the kind most pleasing and acceptable to the "great dailies" of New York. He finds therefore in "ISSUES AND EVENTS" the most convenient medium for the conveyance of his message, in a manner duly related to the current news.

During the last seventeen years his reputation as a foreseeing and practical thinker and a writer of books that can be read without headache or heartache has been growing in Europe and America. The Secretary of The Sociological Society of London, on being asked at a public dinner who had in recent years made the most original and important contribution to European thought in social science—named this man.

In the February number of Harper's Magazine, the dean of American literature, the venerable Henry M. Alden, devotes his "Editorial Study" to a discussion of Mr. Ferguson's new book, "The Great News," saying among other things that it should have been called the Good News because it conveys a genuine gospel of social renewal.

"Current Literature" for January contains a full-page editorial article on the same subject. And the January Review of Reviews closes a column-long dis-

cussion of "The Great News" with the remark that "Mr. Ferguson ploughs deep, where writers like Mr. Norman Angell only skim the surface of the obvious."

In journalistic circles he is so well known that hardly anything can be added to his renown. His editorials have probably been read by more Americans than those of any other man.

The readers of "ISSUES AND EVENTS" will have a chance to see Mr. Ferguson turn some acres of sub-soil. But there will be no unnecessary strain about it.

I desire only to add that though his language is English and his style is French, his thoughts are of true American type and therefore very congenial to Germans and German-Americans and to all who admire the fatherland.

It is most pleasing that an old friendship should be renewed in such a practical way.

Francis J. L. Dorl.

February 23, 1916.

## SUCH A PRESIDENT!

DURING the entire course of President Wilson's administration he has proved to be incompetent to handle the foreign affairs of this country, with any degree of logic, stability, common sense and honor. His record in Mexico is peculiar enough, but his last week's quick-silver behavior causes many people to look beyond mere incompetency for a true explanation of his attitude. There is a tendency to view his strong pronouncements—always in favor of England—with growing suspicion. The President not only has shown inability, but, like most people that cannot think straight, or see straight, have secret motives, he has run his head against a wall. He has attempted to oppose Congress. In his letter to Senator Stone, he calls Germany's course inconsistent, and says that he could not abridge America's rights without dishonor to the country.

Let us see who is inconsistent and who is bringing dishonor to the country: (1) Great Britain declared an illegal blockade, illegal on the very face of it, not only against Germany, but also against neutral countries. Against this illegality no protest whatever was made. (2) Then, without any necessity or any reason, President Wilson began a diplomatic warfare against Germany's just and correct submarine reprisal. (3) When, after many months' delay, the administration tried to prove the illegality of Britain's blockade, it used the submarine as an argument, and thereby recognized the submarine as a war vessel. (4) On January 24, Secretary Lansing sent a note to the foreign powers that "... merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever ..." and that "... a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser." The German Government took this announcement as a bona-fide statement of this government, and, partly with it as a basis, proclaimed a new submarine policy. Last week it finds that the statement of President Wilson's administration is a scrap of paper, because (5) President Wilson is consistent in his inconsistency and reverses his policy.

Any business man who would use such peculiar tactics with his confrères, would be considered unfit to deal with. Instead of charging dishonor against Germany concerning an abridgment of certain imaginary rights of American citizens on high seas, President Wilson should consider the dishonor he brings on the United States by his strangely faltering, quibbling, unbusiness-



like, ungentleman-like demeanor. Such tactics are not American. They are British.

Suppose a citizen of Germany should be forbidden to go on the frozen lake in Central Park because the ice is too thin. Suppose such a citizen should attempt to go on anyhow and the police should be kind enough to warn him of the danger. Then can one imagine that the German Government would take the silly attitude that this is an abridgment of a right of its citizens and that it would be a great dishonor to Germany if it would recognize such an abridgment.

Or supposing the police of New York do not allow passengers on a boat that carries explosives. This is also an abridgment of a right to any citizen. But if Germany should protest, would she not make herself utterly ridiculous in the eyes of the world? But this precisely is what President Wilson asks and demands that this country go to war for.

Instead of worrying about the inconsistency of others, instead of seeing the mote in another man's eye, he should be attending to the beam in his own.

On the one hand the German Government is trying its level best to save American lives from English treachery, and, on the other hand, behold an American President who is willing to lead Americans to slaughter for England's sake. Has the world ever seen the like of this? For, shorn of all verbiage, Mr. Wilson's standpoint RESULTS in this: England is shaking and trembling; her day of reckoning for her awful world-crimes is approaching fast. Never did she act in a manly way, and now again she employs her dirty underhand methods. The submarine is her summons to hell and, like a criminal who looks for an associate to liberate him from his troubles, so England looks to President Wilson for assistance against German submarines. The RESULT of President Wilson's strange submarine policy amounts to a **guarantee of safe delivery of ammunition to England.**

The newspaper "A Tribuna" of Santos, Brazil, printed the following advertisement on September 13, 1915:

#### WANTED.

Citizens of the United States to embark on British ships through the War Zone. Only such German-Americans whose naturalization papers are in perfect order may call. Full particulars at Rua 24 de Maio, No. 2.

At this address lives the English Consul General. This man paid for an advertisement for neutral dupes whose lives England would sacrifice in cold blood!

Does President Wilson realize his awful position? Can't he see that he acts like that English Consul, only that he gets his copy in the newspapers free of charge?

#### WHITTILING A NATION'S GLORY AND HONOR AWAY.

ON the 12th day of February, the State Department made public its despatch to foreign governments in which Mr. Lansing argued at considerable length for "the justice and fairness" of the principle that any armament whatever on a merchant vessel should be regarded as "having the character of an offensive armament," and declared that the Government of the United States was "seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly."

Thirteen days later the President in his open letter to Senator Stone (which was in effect both a message to Congress and a circular note to European foreign offices) announced that the view taken on the 12th of February had become so unthinkable that, if the Government were still to entertain it, the honor of the nation would be lost. We should be plunged into "deep humiliation," if we should be put in an attitude of

"acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegiance," . . . "the whole fine fabric of international law" would be likely "to crumble under our hands piece by piece" and the United States would make "virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world!"

All these unnumbered and infinite woes are imagined by Mr. Wilson as the necessary consequence that would follow upon the passage of the proposed concurrent resolution advising Americans to quit riding on the floating forts and powder-magazines.

It is an ecstasy—an extravaganza of intellectual recklessness.

One is reminded of those farcical writings, familiar to an elder generation, called "Curtain Lectures of Mrs. Candle," in which a vehement lady keeps her husband awake through the long watches of the night discoursing upon the family-ruin and wreck of social order that is likely to follow upon one or another of his trivial derelictions as, for example, the lending of the family umbrella.

#### VINDICATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE.

IT is a commonplace among over-refined and supercilious people that "the masses" are excitable, incapable of self-restraint and therefore incapable of self-government.

Behold in Washington today a President of the most perfect academic culture, standing in an attitude of truculence and menace, and striving vainly with extravagant and inflammatory words to break down the composure and balanced reasonableness of the people's representatives in Congress!

The patience of these representatives is a spectacle to hearten and reassure any among us who may have begun to doubt the fundamental Americanism of the United States.

#### THEIR SUFFICIENT WARNING.

IT is hardly necessary that Congress should pass the proposed concurrent resolution advising Americans to keep off armed and munition-bearing ships of the belligerents.

The judgment of the American people on this subject has been effectually advertised. It is now well understood all over the world that two-thirds of the men in the National Legislature will never consent to go to war for the sake of the questionable delight of riding on marine powder-carts across the ocean battlefields.

#### OF COURSE DANIELS WOULD NOT ACCEPT BRITISH MONEY.

WE do not accuse Secretary Daniels of receiving money from British sources. We cannot believe that the money paid for advertising is intended to influence our cabinet officers as in the case of certain newspapers. Therefore we must suppose that Secretary Daniels accepted free the advertisement for American soldiers to enlist with the Canadians to fight for England, which appeared in his newspaper—the Raleigh News and Observer, Sunday, Feb. 20.

The advertisement occupied a full page and had every appearance of a paid advertisement. The wording took up nearly all of seven columns of ordinary reading type, devoted to the text of a report of Prof. J. H. Morgan, who, in November, 1914, was commissioned by the Secretary of State for Home Affairs to investi-

gate in France the tales of alleged outrages committed by Germans on combatants and non-combatants, English and French prisoners, reports of defiling of women and children and needless violation of private property. Prof. Morgan in his report as printed as the body of the advertisement appealing to Americans to fight against Germany really supplements the Bryce committee's work, except that the advertisement in Secretary Daniels' newspaper does not mince words in describing the cruelty, brutality, indecency, outrage, hate, lust, and passion attributed by the writer to "a policy of superior orders" given to the German soldiers. In relating one instance of outrage committed upon a woman at Rabais the writer resorts to French to describe it.

Surely it must have been Secretary Daniels' inborn sympathy for England that induced him to print an advertisement like this. We cannot believe British money had anything to do with it. It must have been his idea of carrying out the neutrality to which he and the President are pledged.

### THE GREAT IRISH CONVENTION.

ARRANGEMENTS are complete for the Convention of the Irish Race in America, to meet at the Hotel Astor, New York, on March 4 and 5. It promises to be the most memorable gathering of Irish men and women that ever assembled anywhere in the world. Its complete success is already assured. The men of

conspicuous ability, proved devotion to the Irish cause and high standing who joined in signing the call present a remarkable array. No such galaxy of distinguished names has ever before been signed to any Irish document, either in Ireland or America.

The simultaneous publication of the call in every city of the United States staggered the enemies of Ireland and put to silence the few recreant or foolish Irishmen who have been taking England's side since the European war began.

### ISLAND DEFENSES FOR PANAMA.

REGARDING the Danish West Indies, it has always been understood in diplomatic circles that it was British Court, and not German influences which prevailed upon Denmark. The next really prime important matter for us is to secure the Galapagos Islands as an element of defense of the western end of the Panama Canal.

### VERDUN.

THE English talk, the Germans act. Last week Premier Asquith in the English Parliament stated there "would be no peace till Prussian militarism was crushed." The Germans did not say a word, but acted and took one of Verdun's forts.

Maybe Premier Asquith was clever enough to state "Prussian" instead of "German" militarism.

## And They Say Pictures Don't Lie

The old saying "Pictures don't lie" no longer holds good since the inauguration of the pro-British propaganda. Here is a typical illustration of the way the news and even the pictures are distorted in America to inflame the public mind against Germany.

### Richmond Evening Journal

ISS TODAY.

RICHMOND, VA., MONDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 21, 1916.

SERBIAN WOMAN TAKES FIRE ON BATTLE LINE; TAKEN TO ENEMY PRISON CAMP



A typical British attempt to the world with distorted news. The girl shown in the top front through many campaigns. She is a prisoner in a German war prison. Unable to secure female attire, she dresses in the clothing she can borrow from fellow war prisoners.

The original of the picture was printed in the Kriegs-Zeitung (The War Journal) of Berlin. It was a half-tone made from a photograph taken in Serbia and bore the following title:

"Type of Servian Population. A Servian Gypsy Girl Borrowing Wooden Shoes."

"Wooden shoes are commonly used in Serbia on account of the poor condition of the roads."

In the New York Times and several other pro-British newspapers the identical picture cut half in two is represented as a Servian girl prisoner in the hands of German soldiers who brutally compel her to wear the masculine attire. The title of the picture as it appears in one of

### Kriegs-Beitrag



Geübte Volkstypen: Servische Jugendsoldaten beim Holzschuhtragen. Die drei jungen Mädchen, welche sich bei den Deutschen und Deutschen Kriegsgefangenen befinden.

the American newspapers (The Richmond Journal) is as follows:

"A typical Servian Amazon is the young girl pictured here. She and a hundred of her kind fought through many campaigns. She is a prisoner in a German war prison. Unable to secure female attire, she dresses in clothing she can borrow from fellow war prisoners."

# The President's Longing for War

Again This Country Has a Narrow Escape Because of Political Chicanery

By PAUL ORR.

**W**OODROW WILSON'S scheme to make himself a war President and get re-elected has once more very nearly precipitated this Nation into war on the side of the Allies. On a former occasion the country was saved from the catastrophe by the resignation of William Jennings Bryan. This time, war may possibly have been averted by the open refusal of the people's representatives in Congress to become a party to any such a plot which all the anti-jingo element believes to be engineered by Wall Street and the munitions manufacturers.

The original plan was for the newspapers, picture shows and hand-organs to work up such a war sentiment that the people would demand of the President that they be permitted to go to war. The President was to play the roll of a peace lover who would reluctantly yield to this public demand. But when the people refused to become enthused by these many agencies, the President was forced into the rather humiliating position of touring the country trying to work up a war sentiment. Instead of having the people urge him to go to war, he was reduced to the extremity of urging the people.

The American people could see no just reason for picking a quarrel with a nation that had always been their friend for the purpose of aiding one that had always been their enemy, even if that Nation had seen fit to appoint our money prince, J. P. Morgan, its financial agent.

Then the President was further hampered in the scheme by the very high-minded attitude of Germany in yielding every point he could possibly bring up as a cause for dispute. This unexpected liberality of Germany is believed to have greatly irritated the President.

When all had failed, the President has seemed determined to bring on war anyhow by completely reversing the administration's attitude on the submarine policy. But here is where Congress rebelled, and it is not improbable that Germany once more has shown herself to be a true friend of the American people, by again

backing down and thus thwarting the war scheme of the Morgan-Wilson-Munitions Factory clique.

Congress thinly concealed its resentment toward the President's Czar-like attitude in trying to usurp the powers of all the other governmental bodies in a matter of such vital concern to the people.

Only one member of Congress—Mr. Frank B. Brandegee—stood by the President in the Congressional discussion of his submarine policy. His voice alone prevented the motion for the reading of the Gore resolution to keep Americans off belligerent ships from being unanimous. And Brandegee comes from Connecticut, the greatest of the munitions states.

Senator Stone during the conference with the President reminded him that only Congress had the power to declare war. The President, it is said, replied that war might be precipitated without Congressional action, that it might come, for instance, if he handed the German ambassador his passports. The President is said to have declared that he would hand Count von Bernstorff his passports if the German reply were not a complete surrender. It was further said that the German ambassador had served notice on the State Department that if he were sent home a declaration of war would surely follow.

The opponents of the President's policy point out that such a declaration of principles as the McLemore resolutions in the House or the Gore resolutions in the Senate would justify Congress in refusing to declare war at the President's request upon any issue growing out of this quarrel.

Such a refusal would be in entire accord with the spirit of the constitution, which gives to Congress alone the power to declare war.

The spectacle of a President, controlling the diplomatic corps, and commander-in-chief of the army and navy, demanding war, with Congress stubbornly refusing its formal declaration, would be one to astound the world and humiliate our nation.

With the growing power of the executive and with the warlike machinery at his command, there is too much reason to believe that Congress ultimately would be broken to his will.

## The Ballad of Bethlehem Steel, or the Need For Preparedness

A Tale of the Ticker.

A fort is taken, the papers say,  
Five thousand dead in the murderous deal.  
A victory? No, just another grim day.  
But . . . up to five hundred goes Bethlehem Steel.

A whisper, a rumor, one knows not where . . .  
A sigh, a prayer from a torn heart rent . . .  
A murmur of Peace on the death-laden air . . .  
But . . . Bethlehem Steel drops thirty per cent.

"We'll fight to the death" the diplomats cry.  
"We'll fight to the death" sigh the weary men.

As the battle roars to the shouldering sky . . .  
And . . . Bethlehem Steel has a rise of ten.

What matters the loss of a million men?  
What matters the waste of blossoming lands?  
The children's cry or the women's pain?  
If Bethlehem Steel at six hundred stands.

And so we must join in the slaughter-mill,  
We must arm ourselves for a senseless hate,  
We must waste our youths in the murder drill . . .  
That Bethlehem Steel may hold its state.

—Grace Isabel Colbron.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### WILSON WITH THE JINGOES.

**I**N a signed statement Mr. William Jennings Bryan accuses President Wilson of "joy-riding with the jingoes." He says:

"The President's preparedness program is revolutionary; it is an abandonment of the historic policy of his party and the traditions of the country. He has departed from the safe path of experience and is following the devious ways pointed out by the big papers which voice the wishes of the manufacturers of munitions. He is joy-riding with the jingoes, and is applauded by grandstanders whose voices are unfamiliar to Democratic ears. He is being praised by militarists who seldom, if ever, vote the ticket of his party, and he is grieving those to whom democracy is a religion.

"What is the cause of this change of attitude? He has recently declared that we are not threatened from any quarter, that we are at peace with all the world, and that there is no fear among us. What, then, is the cause of the change? Is he diplomatically so close to the European war that its up-roads prevent his hearing 'the still, small voice' of the people? Has he gazed upon the floor of the transatlantic slaughterhouse until the soil of his country looks red?"

### ENGLISHMEN SENTENCED AS TRAITORS.

Albert Holt, managing director, and Dionysius Cooper, secretary, of the firm of W. A. Holt, cotton spinners of London, have been sentenced to prison for violation of the Trading with the Enemy act.

It was proved the firm sent yarn to Switzerland, where an agent of the firm sold it to Austrian customers. The presiding judge denounced Holt as a traitor to his country.

### BRITISH USE U. S. SHIPS.

Despite assurances to the contrary, the British authorities, according to information in possession of the State Department, are continuing to make use of American vessels held under British prize court proceedings.

Walter S. Field, attorney for the American Transatlantic Steamship Company, three of whose vessels have been seized on the ground that the company owning them is German controlled, has informed the Department that all three of the ships, since they were captured, have been used by the British government to transport supplies.

### TEDDY OF THE FILMS.

Theodore Roosevelt knows how to stage himself better than any man on the movie stage to-day. Here he finds that his yells do not attract attention, so he rushes off to the West Indies, to the French colony of Guadaloupe, gets in front of the French scenery, is introduced as a friend of France, and immediately tells the astonished natives that "their best men have gone into the trenches to defend the mother country." Now Mr. Roosevelt is about as French as sauerkraut, but he can adjust himself to new scenery whenever the films are propitious.

Let us hope that the films will come

out well and that the scholarly gentleman will return up New York harbor in a great rush at an exciting time to save the country. If we've got to be saved he might just as well have sat at a desk in New York and saved us there, but it will make a peach of a picture to dive into New York harbor in front of the whole admiring United States and pull old Uncle Sam out by the oesophagus just as he is going down for the last time. M. E. X.

Boston, February 23.

### AMERICAN GIRL STRIPPED BY BRITISH OFFICERS.

The story of an American girl being stripped in her cabin by British boarding officers at Falmouth, her trunks searched, her lingerie, shoes and other apparel minutely examined, was told in New York last week by a passenger on the Finland.

This passenger said the young woman thus subjected to indignities was one of the ten greatest pianists in the world. He gave her name as "Miss Spence." That she was not taken off the ship and held a prisoner was due to the violent protests of the 500 passengers on the Rotterdam.

Aboard the Rotterdam on the same voyage was Capt. Boy-Ed, the recalled naval attache of the German embassy. On the third day out, the young woman struck up a shipboard acquaintance with Boy-Ed. When the Rotterdam reached Falmouth, the naval officers came aboard, and the first passenger they asked for was Boy-Ed; the second passenger was the young American pianist.

The girl said she was rushed to her cabin and there compelled to strip in the presence of the men. She was questioned along third-degree standards and her intimate articles of apparel searched.

The boarding officers let up only when the passengers threatened to bring down the strong arm of the United States if the young woman was taken off the ship. The Finland passenger gave his name, but asked that it be withheld.

### AMERICAS FOR THE ALLIES.

The Temps of Paris publishes an editorial on "American Neutralities," which has special interest as being the first time since the war that the semi-official French organ has discussed the Americas as a whole. It puts the South American republics on the same plane as the United States.

The Temps concludes:

"The South American republics are coming out with increasing unanimity for the Allies, their attitude corresponding to that of the United States. The two currents will join and grow stronger. President Wilson will see therein a new encouragement to resist German action."

### SENATOR GORE'S RESOLUTION.

Here is the text of the resolution introduced by Senator Gore to keep American citizens off the ships of belligerents:

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that any American citizen, or other person entitled to receive a passport under the laws of the United States at the time of making and verifying an application for passport, shall also make oath under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, to the effect that he will not, during the time for which such passport is issued or renewed, travel or accept transportation as a passenger on an armed vessel of any foreign country or power which shall be at the time in a state of war.

Section 2. That when a state of war exists between any two or more foreign powers or countries no passport shall be authorized or issued by the Secretary of State, or by any person acting for, or under, him, to any citizen of the United States, or to any person owing allegiance to the United States, until such citizen shall have made oath, as prescribed in the preceding section, that he will not during the time for which such passport is issued or renewed, travel or accept transportation as a passenger on any vessel of



any foreign power or country which is at the same time in a state of war.

Section 3. That any such citizen or person falsely making the oath provided for in the first section hereof, or who, having taken such oath, shall travel or accept transportation as a passenger on any vessel of any such belligerent power or country during the time for which such passport was issued or renewed, except in case of shipwreck or other distress at sea, shall be guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000, or by imprisonment for not less than one year nor more than five years, or both.

Section 4. That no person owing allegiance to the United States who shall travel or accept transportation as a passenger with, or without, a passport on the vessel of any country or power which is at the time in a state of war shall be entitled to the protection of this government.

Section 5. That any employee or officer of the United States whose term of office is not fixed by the Constitution thereof, who shall be convicted of violating the provisions of this act, shall, in addition to the penalties above prescribed, be removed from office or from the public service.

Section 6. That the President shall have the power by proclamation whenever, in his judgment, the public peace, interest or safety will not be jeopardized thereby, to suspend the operation of this act as to the vessels of British Honduras plying exclusively between that country and the United States, and the vessels of the Dominion of Canada plying exclusively between ports and places in the Dominion of Canada and ports and places in the United States, and he shall have power to revoke such proclamation whenever the public peace, interest or safety require it.

Section 7. That all acts or parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed, and this act shall take effect fifteen days after the date of its approval by the President.

\* \* \*

#### CURB ON SWEDEN TIGHTER.

Nielsen & Lundbeck, New York representatives of the Swedish-American line, have received cable instructions from the home office directing that all exports handled by the line from the United States to Sweden be consigned

to the Swedish government or to the Swedish Food Commission.

The order also prohibits the receiving of any cargo consigned to an individual or firm in Sweden unless it is accompanied by a permit issued by the British War Board of Trade. These permits, G. Hilmer Lundbeck said, were obtainable only in England, and goods intended for individuals or firms in Sweden offered for shipment must not be accepted until such a permit has been issued and received by the shipper.

\* \* \*

#### U. S. ACTS IN CHINA CASE.

American consular representatives in China, particularly at Shanghai, have been instructed to gather full information of the removal of thirty-eight Germans from the American steamer China on the high seas last week.

\* \* \*

#### TORONTO TROOPS FARMED OUT

Charges by Col. John Currie, late commander of the Forty-eighth Toronto Highlanders, that thousands of Canadian troops were exploited by British contractors in England last winter in building railways and doing other work, will be investigated by the Canadian government.

Col. Currie alleges the Canadians were engaged under the impression that they were working for "King and Country," but that in reality they were working on private contracts of English firms. The men received no extra remuneration, the contractors thus getting their labor free of cost.

It is probable the contractors will be asked to pay the Canadian government an amount equal to the regular pay received by the soldiers thus employed.

\* \* \*

#### FRANCIS GOING TO RUSSIA.

David R. Francis, of St. Louis, a former Governor of Missouri, who was a member of Cleveland's Cabinet, has accepted President Wilson's offer to appoint him Ambassador to Russia to succeed George T. Marye, of California, who has resigned.

\* \* \*

#### SENUSSI INVADING EGYPT?

Senussi tribesmen advancing through Egypt from the west are approaching the Nile Valley, according to reports from Constantinople. The reports add that several Arab tribes have joined the Senussi, who are said to have ad-

vanced after taking the towns of Siva, Sollum and Said Berad.

The news agency's statement adds: "In the Sudan the British commander has asked help of the natives, who refused to give it.

"The appearance of a German submarine on the Egyptian coast and the torpedoing of English ships in Egyptian territorial waters have made a strong impression.

"Reports from Cairo of a rebellion that recently occurred among the reserves there are printed under the date of February 10 in the Italian paper, L'Ordine. The report states that 35 persons were killed and 40 wounded. During the mutiny, it is declared, a British Major shot an Arab who would not allow his shop to be searched.

"According to the advices, there were ten executions in Cairo during January."

\* \* \*

#### BURTON AND CUMMINS IN RACE

Theodore E. Burton, ex-United States Senator, filed with the Secretary of State at Columbus, O., his announcement as a candidate for the Republican nomination for President.

United States Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa also has filed with the Secretary of State at Des Moines affidavits as a candidate for the Republican nomination for President.

\* \* \*

#### A NEW DISEASE.

To the Editor:

Members of the medical profession in Great Britain have discovered a new disease which is spreading with alarming rapidity among the male population of the British Isles. It first made its appearance among certain members of Parliament, and it is thought that the Germans enclosed the germs in the airship bombs used in their visits to England. A marked spread of the disease was noted after each Zeppelin raid, and now that conscription has become assured, there is hardly a male between the ages of 19 and 45 who does not show some trace of it.

The trouble seems to be of a nervous origin, and has been given the name, "Chronic Consternation." No remedy has yet been found for it. Perhaps your paper could suggest one?

Yours truly,

C. M. T.

\* \* \*

#### TO THINK ABOUT.

Be sure you're right—then take another look.

There are two things in this world for which we are never fully prepared, and that is—twins.

The mule has a reputation because it knows which end of its ability to use.

Half the world makes a living out of the darnfool mistakes the other half makes.

Every man has a perfect right to his opinion, provided it agrees with ours.

When a young man takes a girl to a picnic, she always tries to make the other girls believe she can marry him any day she wants to.

A man may be too gallant to say it, but a nagging woman has about the same effect on his nerves that a hissing snake has.

After the shades of evening fall, keep out of the way of drafts, but during business hours get in all you can.

A woman doesn't necessarily see the point of a joke because she laughs at it.

Every time a girl announces her engagement all the other girls say, "Poor fellow!"





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## America's Eternal Enemy

By ERNEST SETTON RANDOLPH.

**E**VENTS of the past three weeks in Washington have no parallel in American history. An enemy infinitely more dangerous than the Secessionists of 1861 has turned all its guns on the fabric of our national integrity. It is, indeed, the old, eternal enemy of 1776, the English-Tory alliance; and, unable now to burn the capitol it seeks to make the Constitution a scrap of paper, and American tradition only a dim memory.

No one who has gone through these weeks in Washington with eyes open misunderstands for a moment the real situation. It has been a supreme effort of the Anglo-Tories to capture the American government, and it has been carried out with a determination and wealth of resources as notable, in their way, as the German assault on Verdun.

The necessity for this supreme political "drive" arises from the desperate financial straits of England. Those Tories who have worked to involve us in the war over the various Lusitania, Arabic, Ancona and other issues, have heard a final cry for help from the "motherland." And the suspicion runs through the conversation of well-informed people that one of the three principal Tory historians of America—and these three are Messrs. Lodge, Roosevelt and Wilson—presumably sent word by one Col. House to Berlin that the American Government was about to modify its attitude toward the armed ship question; that he then sent, by his Secretary of State, a note to the Entente Powers which confirmed the intimation given by Col. House; and that then, after the Central Powers had announced that they would act toward armed merchantmen in the very spirit of the American suggestions, and after Col. House was safely out of Germany, the trap was deliberately sprung. Germany was perhaps led into the declaration for the purpose of picking a quarrel with her. The subsequent events have resulted from the frantic but timid and bewildered effort of Congress to extricate our own country from this trap, for it was a fatal trap for us too.

These are serious suspicions to voice, but the times are serious times; and moreover we shall find that there is not wanting warrant for our words.

The Administration committed its about-face on February 16; on February 17 Congressman Jeff McLemore of Texas introduced a resolution to warn Americans off armed ships of belligerent powers. By February 21 Congressmen were beginning to hear from the constituents in favor of the McLemore resolution, Representative Shackelford of Missouri began his fight to have it reported to the House from the Foreign Affairs Committee, and that night Chairman Flood of that Com-

mittee, and Senators Stone and Kern, went to the White House to tell the American President their sentiments, and what they believed to be the sentiments of Congress and the country about the approaching crisis. What happened at that meeting will figure in history as a shameful page. Instead of welcoming the counsel of statesmen more tried and experienced than himself, the Chief Executive put on the manners of a Czar, defied public opinion; and, fortunately after having jumped too fast and far, put his foot in it.

At this juncture it can be stated with the utmost assurance that the people in Washington who had most concern with this matter, knew almost beyond doubt that it was the plan to break diplomatic relations with Germany in two or three days. But on the evening of February 23, Congress awoke, and spoke its mind vehemently. The sudden apparition of war distracted them from their routine bills, and man after man, including almost every leader, spoke his mind vehemently against war with Germany over the right of non-American ships to arm. The next day the President was down from his throne and begging the leaders of Congress to save him. The House was ready to pass the McLemore or any old resolution of that tenor. And in the Senate, Senator Gore had served notice that he would introduce a similar measure. The Tory world awoke with a start and rallied to the fight with all their men and artillery.

The leaders of the Democratic Party now made what was probably a fatal mistake. Almost all, it may be asserted on grounds of knowledge, they despise un-Democratic Woodrow Wilson, and they fear him as the Jonah of the party; nevertheless, in terror of a split, they saved him from the passage of a resolution which would have humiliated him only because he had set himself firmly against logic, truth, facts, fairness and law. To save him, cowering in "solitary retirement," they failed in their duty to the American people. The Tories were quick to seize this situation. Almost every big newspaper attacked the Congressmen who were standing for American, as against English interests, with every weapon of blackguardly abuse. An organized campaign flooded Congress with telegrams based on the un-American demand that they "stand by the President." So far have thousands of our people degenerated by Toryism that their attitude toward Government is similar to that of the Russian moujik; Wilson is the "Little White Father." And after he knew that this campaign had had time to take effect, Mr. Wilson, who had been pleading that Congress should not vote on a resolution submitted to it, turned around and commanded it to vote forthwith!

And here developed a situation typical of present-day politics, and fraught with danger to the Republic. The present writer knows from talking with Congressman after Congressman, that from first to last three-fourths of the members of the House were in favor of a warning resolution, and yet by February 28 the President felt sure that a majority would vote against such a resolution, and in favor of resigning the Government of the country to him and his secret advisors.

And yet the issue was so clear! The German-Austrian intentions to sink merchantmen "defensively armed" did not threaten a single American ship! They did not threaten a single American flag! They were based on two propositions: First, that changing conditions have changed the law affecting the right of merchantmen to arm, and secondly that even the old law has been violated by England and Germany in manning the "defensive guns" on their merchantmen with sailors from the naval forces. And to support these propositions, Germany submitted proofs! Moreover, the German case was based on the plainest common sense, that a "defensive gun" sinks a submarine just as deep and kills the crew just as dead, as an "offensive gun." All Germany asks is that she and England be left alone to fight it out; all that patriotic Congressmen have asked is that Americans stay out of danger so as not to embroil their country.

And the action of Democratic Congressmen in obeying the Presidential lash was inconceivably puerile politics, for if they had come to a break with Wilson then and there, they would have cast him off and taken on some new leader and a new life and hope.

The issue came to a head on March 3 amid impressive scenes. The galleries and corridors of the Senate swarmed with American citizens, serious-faced and anxious. The issue of peace or war might hang upon the event! And in this solemn presence Senator Gore, knowing that Senators would cower before the Presidential mandate, withdrew his resolution to refuse pass-

ports to Americans who would travel on armed ships, and substituted one declaring that the loss of an American life on an armed ship by the act of a German submarine would be a cause of war between this country and Germany. Suddenly confronted by a resolution embodying in naked words the conclusion toward which their acts were secretly tending, the Administration Senators in panic hastened to table the resolution! Chaos had triumphed, and the Ship of State was left to drift!

But the events of these weeks, beyond any question, by making as clear as day the fact that Congress does not want war—that Congress does wish Americans to stay out of danger—have held up, let us hope, permanently, the President's and the Tories' plan to save England by sacrificing America. If true Americans had during these weeks written and telegraphed their Congressmen, as the Tories did, a complete victory would have been won. A final victory depends entirely on how emphatically the people now let Congress hear from them.

And even while Congress refuses to pass a warning resolution, which three-fourths of the House and many in the Senate favor, the revelation that Woodrow Wilson has been plotting war, is bound to sink deeper into the minds and souls of the people as the days pass. The solemn charge of Senator Gore, that Wilson believes we would serve the cause of civilization by helping the Allies, was only a public revelation of what official Washington had been whispering for a week. Senator Stone did not deny that Wilson said that; he evaded the question; Senator Kern refuses to speak. The charge is true, and the great illusion of Wilson the Peace-Keeper is shattered. He is now trying to convince the Germans through Dr. Miller of the Chicago Abendpost, that he never dreamt of war. The people will judge him by his deeds, not his words. Meanwhile, Congress does not want war, but lacks courage to vote decisively against it. Therefore, all citizens, write your Congressman today!

## The Great Victory at Verdun

**C**APTURE of the towns and forts and the steady successes of the Germans in the region of Verdun seemingly confirm the repeated predictions of the German military experts that the army had strength capable of penetrating the Entente allied lines when the time came for it to do so.

With characteristic audacity it did not oppose some weak sections, but attacked the strongest fortress at the pivot of the line, whose fall would force the abandonment of the whole Aisne positions.

Fort Douaumont crowns a hill 318 meters high and was the strongest and highest fort of the eastern sector of the outer ring of forts of the Verdun defenses. Between Douaumont and Verdun intervene Forts Souville, 385 meters high, and Saint Michel, 347 meters high, which belong to the inner girdle. Douaumont commands a view of the city, the heart of which is less than five miles distant, the favorite range of the German mobile mortars.

The successes were due to the German troops fighting furiously under the eyes of Emperor William, but signs of the weakening of the French morale were evident in the collapse of their resistance south of Verdun.

The Frankfurter Zeitung discusses the military situation about Verdun with constraint. It character-

izes as nonsense the suggestion that Germany's aim was a decisive battle at Verdun and maintains that there has been a deliberate attempt to belittle the German achievements by exaggerating their purpose.

Any attack on Verdun, the Frankfurter Zeitung contends, must have begun as the German attack began, by a powerful and victorious advance followed by a lull.

"It is difficult to imagine," the newspaper continues, "that the conquerors of Fort Douaumont and the neighboring works can remain inactive after their great victory, but to what extent the commander of our army will utilize at Verdun, the still impetuous passion for attack and our unweakened fighting power remains to be seen."

Three of the forts defending the city of Verdun from the east have been almost totally wrecked by German bombardment.

Fort de Vaux, five miles northeast of Verdun, is in ruins, Forts Moulainville and de Tavannes, next in line south of de Vaux, have been badly damaged by German mortars, if they have not been totally destroyed. Dieppe, only two miles northeast of Fort de Tavannes, is held by Germans. From that point they could bring heavy guns to bear upon the forts.



# England Wants Peace

Would Like for America to Stop Munitions Shipments in Order to Afford an Excuse

By CHARLES WORTHY KING.

FROM different sources comes the inference, growing stronger each day, that England is beginning to pull her diplomatic wires for peace. The Pittsburgh Leader of Feb. 12 publishes the following:

"Through Lord Howard, envoy extraordinary to the Vatican, peace terms have been suggested to Germany."

Conscription and the mouthings of the maddest jingo are held out as what will happen if Germany does not concede terms that will save England's face.

From other sources it is learned that the Union of Democratic Control in England has launched a vigorous campaign for peace. Ronald Campbell Macfie, M. A., M. B. C. M., LL.D., of London, who is in America trying to influence this Nation to exert itself in behalf of peace, says the Union of Democratic Control is growing in popularity, and its peace campaign gaining ground among the thinkers.

In the New York Evening Mail, Dr. Macfie says that "no men in the world are working so wisely and so courageously for peace as the leaders of the Union of Democratic Control in England."

## Leaders Work for Peace.

The Evening Mail says that among the leaders of the Union of Democratic Control are "distinguished statesmen and distinguished philosophers, men of high character and noble aims, such as Arthur Ponsonby, Charles Trevelyan, E. D. Morel, Bertrand Russell, Ramsay Macdonald. These men are fighting for truth and fighting for peace; they are fighting in the face of tremendous odds and in the face of obloquy and abuse and persecution. They are the true lovers of England; they are the true patriots. Will Mr. Henry Ford not help these men to help him?"

While England has not yet called off the American newspapers, there is a marked slackening in the English papers' campaign of vituperation, also of the Canadian. London publications even have begun to record deeds of German heroism.

Historical observers will recognize here an old system of Britain's when she has had enough—to "jolly along" her adversaries. The reason for not calling off the American newspapers lies in the stupid British supposition that the British hand is not detected in the jingoism of this country. It is probable, therefore that England will permit the American newspapers to continue as heretofore under the original agreements.

The British peace advocates are beginning to hint that if America would stop her ammunition shipments it would furnish England with a good excuse and permit her to save her face. Therefore, it is contended, America could best prove her friendship for England by discontinuing the ammunition shipments and supply the one good reason for ending the war before its damage to Britain becomes irreparable.

## A Plea for the Truth.

Dr. Macfie says: "Let America, as a friend of England, find the truth, listen to the truth and declare the truth, faithfully and impartially, and she will do more for peace than any peace conference. It is useless to appeal to the higher feelings of the belligerents—to their love of peace, to their love of humanity; that is just what they all are fighting for. But let America, instead of fanning the hell-fire as she has been doing—let America point out that all parties more or less are tilting at windmills; and that peace and humanity do not require high explosives, and are never to be served

by such methods, and she will do much to help put an end to this atrocious war."

But the friends Britain has in America are of the kind that desire dividends. When the dividends cease their friendship ceases.

The Pittsburgh Leader, commenting on England's peace moves, thus sarcastically remarks:

For England is aweary of her victories.

The brilliant dash into Holland after Antwerp's impregnable fortresses had fallen, the year-long progress on the western front that at the end left English troops a mile west of where they first entrenched, the masterly retreat from Gallipoli, their daring in sinking their own dreadnaughts and cruisers as a lesson to Germany that they were not indispensable to British prestige, the diplomatic successes in the Balkans, and the solicitous regard for small nations everywhere—all have conspired to cloy the unparoled pirate till he suggests peace.

## Can This Be Mighty England.

England seeking peace! Surely, no!

While Neptune's trident is still on the English half-penny, the mistress of the seas need not beg the Kaiser, whom she was to send to Saint Helena, and whose fleet she was to dig out, like rats, for a few more years of grace.

But yet it is true.

And when the history of the negotiations is made public, it will make another interesting chapter of England's regard for small nations and of England's faith towards her allies.

Still, if England's enemies knew how the war has exposed all her blustering weakness, they would pity her.

He who runs may read her position abroad, and it is only the counterpart of her weakness at home.

In France her armies are incapable of progressing, and are a bye-word for cowardice, incompetent generalship and inordinate boasting.

In Mesopotamia her army has been decimated by the Turks, and the last remnant of it has no way of escape.

In the Balkans her diplomacy has antagonized Greece and made new enemies of Montenegro and Serbia.

In Egypt and India she is faced with revolt, without a remote possibility of being able to quell it.

She has suffered the greatest defeat in history in the attack on Constantinople.

In the extreme east her name is merely an expression for weakness and treachery.

## Fleet Has Done Nothing.

Her fleet has suffered enormous damage, and, as a French statesman pointed out, has not done anything, and is incapable of doing anything to end the war, and today Germany is economically as strong as when the war started.

France admits that the Central Powers have plenty of copper ore, and in the London courts London traders are being prosecuted for buying cotton in Germany.

So much for England's economic pressure.

The fall of Montenegro has minimized the influence of Gibraltar by giving Austria new egress to the Mediterranean, and Spain is clamorous for the return of Gibraltar itself, which England stole from her, and Rumania, Russia's little ally, is supplying Austria with thousands of tons of corn and meat.

Russia is bankrupt, as is Italy, and England is now trying to sell one or both in making peace for herself.

France she dares not sell, for fear of the proximity of the French coast and a possible alliance with the Central powers, which would undoubtedly be advantageous to both France and Germany, as well as to the world.

At home the financial strain is already telling.

Her citizens refuse to enlist, and but for the inherent cowardice of the race would resist conscription, and the recent enactment of the Conscription Bill itself has

been a crowning proof that 50,000 armed Irishmen hope to help her, not to victory, but to the grave.

In her ruin, as she will be utterly ruined if peace is not concluded within a few months, she will bring down much American commerce, but an American policy would have prevented that.

But the world will be well rid of the bully of the nations.

## Charles Ferguson's Weekly Letter

### No, We Are Not A Traitor Nation

**T**HE Hungarian premier, Count Tisza, may perhaps forestall the judgment of history in his exclamation that "for the United States to take part in the European war would be a crime against humanity."

As things stand in the world at this moment, the principal recuperative powers of modern civilization lie between Eastport and San Diego, Takoma and Key West. Here in this unique country, set apart by nature and history for the supreme adventure of democracy, the destiny of the age will turn.

Elsewhere, outside the region of carnage, there is no hope of a strong impulse of recuperation. The shattered world cannot look to Africa, to South or Central America, or to Asia—for its mending. Without us there appears to be no help. We, if anybody, must preserve the organic filaments of world order. We must keep up the faith in a democracy that crosses all frontiers.

My opinion is that if we go into the war it will be because we have no real democracy in us. So far as this present historic cycle is concerned, democracy will have failed. In that case there will be an immense reaction to antique and mediaeval social forms—a recrudescence of feudalism and the old rate-hate. There will be another dark age before the coming of another age of light. Thus the weight of the moral responsibility that rests upon our shoulders is indeed an Atlas-load.

Democracy, as I understand it, means—when it means anything—a conviction of the virtue and valor of the mass of mankind. It involves a scornful disbelief in the essential meanness or badness of any nation.

If you can believe that the people of Great Britain are at bottom base, perfidious and hypocritical—deserving therefore to be destroyed—you are not an American, you have not been touched by "the genius of these States," your spirit is foreign and alien to democracy. If you can believe that "Germany must be crushed," that she lay in wait forty years for a good chance to spring upon the back of human nature and enslave mankind, or if you are able to persuade yourself that it is cruelty and malignance that makes Prussians strong—or even the Hohenzollern family—then you have no real sense or understanding of democracy. It is not upon such as you that dependence may be placed for the restoration of the health and beauty of the world.

On the contrary those who insist that we should plunge into this bloody stream, from either slippery bank of it, are people that need watching and warning. They are being drawn—and are drawing the rest of us—toward the brink of an appalling betrayal and apostasy—the highest and the lowest treason against the moral Constitution of the Republic.

If they succeed—if we are drawn in—we shall fight of course, all of us, tooth and nail, beak and claw—as one man or one monster. There will be nothing else to do. But only the feeble-minded among us will hug

the delusion that they are fighting for democracy—or for anything but life.

The end of it all, or at least a cessation, would come after a while. In a matter of a few years or a generation, we should have a breathing space.

Then those of us who were left would crawl up out of the abyss into the sunlight. With or without natural eyes or hands or feet, we should have sight and sense such as we lacked in the beginning. And we should hate with a loathing beyond any words of tragedy or satire—not any man or nation—but lies.

We should hate the lies that made the war and that fuelled its torturing flames—such lies as the newspapers are now full of—without special fault of newspapermen—falsehoods that have become an atmosphere. We should understand then what we can understand now, if we choose—at no cost but observation and reflection—that great wars do not come out of a larcenous or murderous heart of man, but out of a deluded and unsophisticated mind.

\* \* \*

The answer to Mr. Roosevelt's swaggering poser is that no nation of men since the beginning of the world has ever made the smallest motion toward "slapping your wife's face." Nations don't do mean little things. And it is always possible for an honest nation, by fair play and brave truth-speaking, to evoke the honesty of other nations.

We shall keep the peace if we are big enough. If we have the magnanimity that belongs to democracy we shall set to work to establish new and substantial standards of international law and order. We shall take this time to lay the foundations of a permanent community of interest among the nations. A positive "constitution of peace."

International law, as it has come down to us from the past, is a poor thing at best—a vague and mostly futile system of negotiations, mainly designed to soften the asperities of war. The futility and the vagueness is here in the very idea of a war-code, lacking all positive and civilizing purpose.

The existing law of nations for the mitigation of destructive processes, will hardly outlast the present struggle—unless it shall be energized by an affirmative constitution, a code of co-operation for the advancement of the practical arts.

This is no time for the United States to break off relations with any people. It is the time to devise new and stronger bonds of neutrality.

The burden is our own as a nation. We cannot shift it to the President or Congress. They will, no doubt, do what we want them to do. We can keep out of the war if we will.

If we go into it, the cause will lie in our national character. We shall go in because we have not blood or bone or spine enough to stay out.

The democratic idea will be pigeon-holed for a while in the archives—until a manlier race has been bred, somewhere, out of dark experience and bitter suffering.

# England the Traitor to the White Race

## Employment of Hindu and Other Colored Colonial Troops in Europe Has Killed European Prestige in Africa and Asia, Famous German Declares

By BERNHARD DERNBURG.

**Y**OU will not deem it strange if I feel a certain inclination to write about the colonial domain in which I worked so long, and about international relationships across the seas, with which I have become familiar in my extensive travels. Just as the belligerents in Europe are divided by nationality, so people are divided by race in the colonies; and, just as closer ties bind nationalities and nations, so there is also a community of races. Just as in European politics every member of a nation is answerable to every other for the maintenance of his rights (a relationship which we call the State), so in the colonial domain, every member of the white race is answerable to every other for the maintenance of his purity, culture, and prestige of this greater community.

The object of successful colonization among savage natives, wherever the climate does not allow white men to live, is to exploit the soil for its treasures, to make lakes, streams, and, above all, human beings, useful to the colonizing race. The essential thing is to raise such articles as do not thrive in northerly climates and are suitable for rounding out the economic life of the inhabitants of northern lands. This can be done successfully only when the hostility of the natives toward order and regular labor is overcome and their interest aroused in the activities of the colonist. To achieve this, the colonist must realize that the only thing which will justify the imposition of his will—by force if necessary—on these savage natives is that he give them, in exchange, better methods, zealously introduce a higher culture among them, seek ways and means toward the careful maintenance and increase of the subject race. In short, he must consider colonization as much an ethical as a mercantile task.

This is possible only when no unnecessary attack is made on the peculiar character, organization, and usages of law which exist even in the most savage States of Central Africa. Instead, these must be left alone in so far as this can be done without jeopardizing the objects of colonization and the relationship of motherland and colony.

But as in the colonies, it is a question of dealing with great masses of undeveloped beings, far superior to the whites in number and not united among themselves, this task of the colonizer can be accomplished only if he succeeds in maintaining the prestige of the white race morally and culturally. If the white man is looked upon as mentally superior, on a higher plane economically, superior in weapons and power, the natives will decide that to render obedience to him is not only necessary, but wise. That is what is called the prestige of the white race. It is based on the native's belief that the will of the white man is good, unshakable, unconquerable.

The above applies to the power of the white race in general, not merely to that of whatever white nation may happen to be known to natives—in short, it applies to all colonizing nations. This is true because, among the nations of the dark continent, there is a constant movement to and fro, a whispering and murmuring; bits of news that trickle into Kamerun travel the most incredible distances, are drummed from place to place by the village drummers. One catches the sounds from the other, and thus, within a few hours, news travels over regions in the French and Belgian Congo which it takes whole days for a man to cross. On the way, the news becomes either better or worse, according to the amazingly active but illogical whim of the negro. What is big becomes little, what is little big, and the

chatter about some deed or plan of the whites is nowhere livelier than in the native villages of Africa.

For this reason what concerns the German concerns the Belgian, the Frenchman, the Englishman, and the Portuguese quite as much. It is, therefore, an axiom that there must be solidarity of all whites as opposed to blacks—at least it was until now. When Cortez, with a handful of Spaniards, captured the City of Mexico, the Mexicans thought that the Spaniards were immortal and their horses sprung from the gods. But when the first horse had fallen in battle and the first Spaniard had been sacrificed on the altars of the Mexicans' god, it was all over with this belief, and the Spaniards were driven to a bloody and terrible retreat.

One can agree with the English when they say that they have carried out their mission of culture in the colonies intelligently and efficiently, after a number of mistakes—though it must be added that they hit upon the right method comparatively late in the day. They have succeeded in dominating and developing under their flag a family of nations which has justified high hopes for the future development of the human race. They have sought successfully to bear in mind the idiosyncrasies of their vassals, to respect their wishes and aims, to allow them as much freedom as was compatible with progress and the accomplishment of the national purpose. In that great European land, Austria-Hungary of many races, where the same methods have been applied successfully for centuries under the leadership of the Hapsburgs, and are still being applied, this may not seem especially noteworthy; it is to be assumed that the Austrians would have made good colonizers, had their destiny led them toward colonization.

Germany turned to colonizing because, both industrially and agriculturally, she was suffering from too great an increase in population; because she is essentially a manufacturing country which cannot forego a certain control of the raw materials; because she was obliged to forestall schemes to hem her in artificially, and make her suffer from increased prices; because, in order to support her people at home, she had to extend her foreign trade and seek new fields of activity and education for her overflow of young men. I need not point out to you the difference between the Dual Monarchy and the German Empire. A glance at the statistics shows how much larger Austria-Hungary is than Germany and how much less thickly populated, how much less the agricultural yield per capita is in Austria-Hungary than in Germany, how a smaller volume of manufactures suffices to satisfy the population and maintain equilibrium. The war has wrought many changes, so that the development of Austria-Hungary will be more closely akin to that of Germany. The large emigration from Austria-Hungary, contrasted with the almost complete cessation of emigration from Germany to lands not under the German flag, gives a hint as to the consequences of German economic development. As is well known here, Germany has been for many years a country attracting a large stream of immigration.

I have remarked that England has, in general and at times in an exemplary manner, conformed to one of the essential requirements of colonization. But in so far as another is concerned—viz.: the maintenance of the prestige of the white race—she has sinned grievously. This was true, first, in the Boer war, when she loosed black Bantu tribesmen against white men. It is true

again now, when England is leading all sorts of uncultured colored men against whites, and fighting by the side of such savages. In order to make clear to you what I mean allow me to give you an example:

When I was journeying through Central Africa in 1907 at the head of my caravan of from 500 to 600 blacks, captained by a small band of whites, our only protection was about 20 Sudanese Ascaris, marching ahead of us, beneath the folds of the great black, white, and red German flag. All the rest were bearers carrying our tents, stools, tables, beds, and luggage, our provisions, even our drinking water, the provisions for the bearers themselves, for our escort, for the muleteers driving our few mules. Behind these came the procession of soldiers' wives, with their little boy servants, for every one of us had one or two black servants or "boys," and the latter, in their turn, would have deemed themselves degraded had they not some little chap to carry their bundles—these little fellows are called by the camp wit "boy-boys." In this way we traveled, hundreds of miles from railway and telegraph, through regions which until a few years ago were absolutely wild, protected only by our national flag, yet feeling ourselves perfectly safe. At night we lay in our tents, pitched in a great circle around a camp fire, behind which glowed the countless little fires at which our bearers warmed themselves, and we slept as securely as in our beds in the fatherland. Yet there was nothing to protect us but the big flag which waved and fluttered in the middle of the camp, guarded by a lone sentinel. And that flag seemed to say: "Here is law and order, behind me lies the full power of the great German Empire, against which as yet no foe of the black race has prevailed."

I recall likewise a visit to the Sultan Kahigi of Kisenyi on the western shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, where we walked for hours between rows of white-clad negroes holding palm branches, where the women sprinkled luck-bringing rice over us, until at last we reached the Sultan's residence, where, in an enormous courtyard, many thousand blacks welcomed us with shouts of joy. On the terrace of the Sultan's stone house we witnessed the barbaric spectacle of a wild war dance, played by musicians decked with fantastic headgear and tiger skins, which the Sultan called his "concert."

We whites were in a hopeless minority. The Sultan had a large bodyguard, armed with muskets. There we were, in the heart of Africa, cut off from the rest of the world. And the thought of the German Government was not exactly pleasant to that Sultan; he had to pay taxes and kotow to it. But he had been made a German subject by the prestige of the white race.

On the big flooring behind his veranda he had a museum consisting of several battered coffee cans and pots, a gramophone long ago put out of commission, a half dozen alarm clocks, none of which worked, lanterns, candlesticks, epaulets. But what he prized above all else was a German sabre, the knightly gift of a representative of Germany. And nothing gave this potentate greater pleasure than the big school in which hundreds of children recited their lessons aloud, as do all children of nature, and learned Swahilia and Arabic letters, and pointed proudly to the place on the map where the great Sultan of Germany lived, whose most august representatives were now their guests. It was not belief in our friendliness but the absolute belief in the power behind this friendliness, a power guaranteeing them unhindered development, that underlay the rejoicing of the populace.

Every time that we halted in the course of our long marches under some mango or bread fruit tree; some Sultan or other, great or small, appeared, bringing cattle as gifts. He received a generous present in exchange, and discussed whatever grievance was on his

mind—usually it dated back to a long time before the German occupation. And late in the night, after we had retired, we could hear the monotonous shuffling of naked feet, the outcries, the songs in minor keys sung for hours by the women, dancing in a small circle with their unfortunate babes bound on their backs, in token of their joy and satisfaction, before the admiring eyes of the black members of our caravan.

It was the same everywhere—now under the stars, in the idleness and pleasure of the camp; now in the German courtroom, almost a temple, where the German district chief, with a black interpreter on his right and the Arabic elders on his left, recited much learned lore, while hundreds of squatting black figures confidently argued their cases, backed up worthily and with moderation by the representatives of their chieftains. Yes, everywhere there was the same relationship, everywhere the same sense of order, introduced by the white man and recognized by the blacks thousands of miles from the coast, on the Equator, in Darkest Africa.

Upon this foundation rests nearly the whole colonial structure. Yet the greatest colonial power of all, England, is guilty of overthrowing this foundation. For it is England who, in co-operation with France, is leading men of the black and yellow races against the Central Powers; England it is who is transplanting them to Europe, making them familiar with even the last word in modern weapons. Probably they argue in England that this step can have no dire consequences for England if she wins. But suppose England does not win? And even if she does? All who know the minds of the subject races know that those who return to their native land, the men who know how to use the best of the white man's weapons, will tell their fellow-countrymen that they and their brothers saved great England from destruction, that England was forced to summon the black man to save her; that henceforth they must behave differently, make demands, remember that the future must belong to the colored man—Africa to the African, India to the Indian.

Because of this it is that the colored troops in Europe are put in the most exposed positions, in the thickest of the melee, for every Englishman shudders at the thought of letting these men return to their homes. For this reason it is that he is waging his war against Germany's colonies and that he cries out, tortured by a guilty conscience, that England is fighting for civilization against the barbarians. In this way he seeks to forget that he is not only waging war against barbarians, but by their side, by means of them.

The consequence will be that a tremendous restlessness will take possession of the entire colored world, that dominion over the colonies must be erected on an entirely different foundation, that what was conquered peacefully must be retained by force, and that much progress and development of the subject peoples must be lost. Never has a world power so criminally played with great ethical values for its own ends as has England, and never has England so seriously undermined her own existence as when she forgot that 80,000,000 whites must rule over 400,000,000 colored human beings.

That is what lies behind the news which comes to us from every part of England's colonial empire, telling of dissatisfaction, rebelliousness, treason, defection of subject peoples. I do not mean that all these things prove the existence of the perils I have cited, but they are the symptoms, the first fruits, of the sin committed by England when she murdered the prestige of the white race to which she belongs; they are the first signs that she must pay a tremendous price for the help asked by her from the blacks, and likewise from the men of her white colonies.

(To be continued.)

# You Can't Manufacture Sentiment in America

By VICTOR AYER.

**S**UCH a powerful effort to manufacture sentiment as we have witnessed in America has no parallel in history. Fathered by Great Britain and backed by the moneyed interests of the world the movement has had the unstinted support of the American press, of theatrical and moving picture concerns, and of the new-born giants of the munitions industry. Yet it has failed utterly, a fact that is attested by the present averse attitude of Congress, the public apathy toward the preparedness program, and the rather humiliating position of our President. The scheme had been elegantly planned and worked out. All points had been taken into consideration, but one—they had failed to reckon on the intelligence of the American people.

Knowing President Wilson to be of English blood and tendencies, the schemers had figured on an easy task. But they did not want the President to commit himself. Their plan was to place the entire responsibility on the public, to so inflame the public mind through the newspapers, popular songs and motion pictures that it would demand war on Germany. The idea was to have President Wilson play the King Richard act, to "thrice refuse" and finally to reluctantly consent. The President really thought the newspapers bespoke public sentiment. He really thought the people were so anxious for war that they needed some restraining to prevent them from rushing in before all plans had been completed. That is why we beheld such a display of "loving kindness" between the newspapers and the President at first, notwithstanding that the newspapers were for and the President apparently against the war. That is why, though the President counseled peace, and the press demanded war, the press kept up its cry—"Stand by the President!"

Here was a cunning ruse of British diplomacy to catch the whole country in the war net—conservatives and jingoes. The President's seeming reluctance would hold the conservatives with him, it was thought, while the wild-eyed press would rally all jingoes. It was a scheme which it was believed would hush all opposition. It explains why it was that, while the President's early utterances were all against war, he penned the war-like notes to Germany, that while he made the "too proud to fight" statement, he wrote the "strict accountability" ultimatum.

The President's unwise advisors supposed more substance to be back of the newspaper harangue than there really was. They thought the people really were clamoring for war. They pictured the President at the head of a mighty mass of inflamed people all begging him to let them fly at the enemy which the newspapers had pictured so horridly. They fancied him standing there holding up his hand in restraint until the crowd was large enough and their cry loud enough, when he would lower his hand and say, "well then, my children, since it is your will, go to it."

But it happened not to be their will. The American people are not of infantile minds that can be made to follow the beck and call of political schemers and unscrupulous newspapers. So the plans all went awry. The newspapers kept up their harangue with louder and louder din to inflame the public mind, but the public mind wouldn't inflame. They kept shouting to the people to rush to war and punish the bold, bad enemy. But the people looked about and couldn't see any enemy, except possibly the Nation the newspapers were trying to get them to aid.

## NOT FIRST CALAMITY HINT FROM WILSON TO CONGRESS

**O**N three occasions President Wilson has coupled his demands for Congressional action with veiled suggestions of dire calamity should his wishes be disregarded.

To the tune of "The Bogle Man Will Catch You if You Don't Watch Out," he said in his Panama Canal Tolls message of March 5, 1914:

"I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the Administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters OF EVEN GREATER DELICACY AND NEARER CONSEQUENCE IF YOU DO NOT GRANT IT TO ME IN UNGRUDGING MEASURE."

On his recent Western tour to urge action on preparedness, he said in Pittsburgh on January 29:

"We are daily treading amidst the most intricate dangers, and the dangers that we are treading amongst are not of our making and are not under our control, and that no man in the United States knows WHAT A SINGLE WEEK OR A SINGLE DAY OR A SINGLE HOUR MAY BRING FORTH."

In his most recent demand on Congress urging a vote on the question of warning Americans off armed vessels, he said:

"THE MATTER IS OF SO GRAVE IMPORTANCE and lies so clearly within the field of executive initiative that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate consideration."

Now the newspapers are very wroth, and so are Wall Street and Morgan. England calls us cowards and the munitions men say we are unpatriotic.

And so we have our President in his present most peculiar predicament. He has had to right about face. Instead of "being persuaded" by the people to abandon his reluctance policy for their sake, he has had to persuade himself to abandon it for his own sake. Instead of his reluctantly lowering his hand, and with bowed head permitting the people to rush to war, we behold the President actually touring the nation in person urging the people to prepare for war. All of a sudden he has discovered that it was not restraining the people needed, that what they needed was urging, and so he has stopped restraining and set out to urging. And even in that he has failed.

The moral is that sentiment is a thing you can't manufacture in America. No people are more impulsive, none more ready to avenge a just wrong. But the American people are blessed with a keen sense of discernment. They can see the hand of Britain, and Morgan and Munitions men back of the preparedness agitation. They are quick to resent an insult, but they want to know they are insulted. They are not going to take the newspapers' word for it. They do not blame the President. They feel sorry for him. They believe the schemers have taken advantage of his British blood and sentiment and schoolmaster simplicity to make a dupe of him.

## THE 5,000-TON SUBMARINE.

As submarines become larger, naturally they must be constructed of heavier metal. For example, if the report from London is to be credited that Germany has evolved a 5,000-ton submarine, capable of crossing and recrossing the Atlantic without stop, this new sea monster must be much stronger structurally than the 800-ton U-boats.

It is possible that Germany has developed such a submarine and is ready to send several of them to sea. It is hardly probable, however, that Germany can have gone so far ahead of other nations in working out submarine problems.



# Issues & Events

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## A CORRECTION.

**L**AST week we copied an advertisement from the Brazilian paper, "A Tribuna," concerning the hire of Americans travel through the war zone on belligerent ships.

At the time of going to press we were informed that the address given was that of the British Consul. We have since been informed by cable that the address was not that of the British Consul, and therefore make this correction.

## THE MEANING OF IT ALL.

**F**OUR facts stand forth protuberantly in reflecting over the remarkable proceedings in the House this week and the Senate on the days preceding. They are:

First.—That President Wilson has been working tooth and nail for war all the time he has been preaching peace.

Second.—President Wilson seems to have cast aside all pretensions to neutrality, and is in open sympathy with England.

Third.—That in his rapid switches President Wilson has switched from the principles of the Democratic party, his main support both in the House and Senate coming from the Republican representatives of the munitions districts.

Fourth.—That the final votes represented a sentiment to save the President's office from the humiliation into which Mr. Wilson had unwittingly plunged it, rather than an approval of the President's pro-British sentiments.

## YOUR POWER.

**T**O all who were in Washington last week and studied the details of the great parliamentary battle in Congress, it has become immediately evident that the true Democrats have not availed themselves to full degree of their opportunities and of the agencies at their disposal.

Many Senators and Representatives have been blackguarded by an unneutral and un-American press who have had the impudence to assail as unpatriotic the men who more than any others have upheld the standards of intellectual liberty and political Democracy.

**Why don't you back them up? Why don't you let them know that you are with them? That you recognize them as your spokesman?**

Are you aware that your political opponents have done so in immense numbers? Are you aware how tightly men stick together in that commission of privilege and plunder?

You should on the other hand make known at once that there is at least equal solidarity of honesty and intelligence.

It is the editor's personal advice that you take immediate action. The telegraph and the postal services are at your disposal as well as theirs—you have power—use it.

## YOUR RESPONSIBILITY.

**D**O you know that the occasion of war or peace rests in your hands? Do you realize the tremendous moral responsibility on your shoulders? Seldom in the history of any country has a greater obligation of duty been laid upon the shoulders of serious men.

Thousands of telegrams and letters are pouring upon Senators and Representatives in the Capital demanding the kind of action or non-action that must infallibly lead to war.

**To what extent have you done your duty? How much have you done to counteract these dangerous and destructive influences?**

If the stuff of Democracy is in you, you must realize that you are as much of the government as the President is!

**You have the decision in your hands. Do your duty as a citizen! It is a moral crime to neglect it. Decide the issue! Write! Telegraph!**

## YOUR INSTRUMENT.

**I**N addition to your power over Congress which you can exert by personal correspondence, you have this journal as a sword and a pen formed to your hand. **Use it!—Spread it abroad!—Make others read it.**

It is your advantage, your profit, your peace, your prosperity that is at stake!

Can an investment of a nickel or a few dollars bring greater dividends? Just think of such tremendous possibilities?

**If it pays the rascally financiers to work secretly through the press, would it not pay you to work openly through a paper?** The financier can only make money on another man. He does it cleverly. Do you want to be his victim? He creates panics and prosperity at will. Through his power over the machinery of the government he will tax you.

And you can much less afford to lose than the plutocrat. The financier does not really need a few millions more, but you need your savings and a stable income. To him it is a mania, to you an essential need.

What do you do to protect yourself? Are you smart enough to help or encourage those who fight your battles? **What would you say to a people who let their generals starve when they could well afford to feed them? Stupid— isn't it? Well—the financier knows that there are a lot of stupid people.**

**Do you or will you stand by your generals?**

## BAMBOOZLING THE NEUTRALS.

**G**REAT BRITAIN mines the open seas so that neutral trade vessels are bound to traverse the Allies territorial waters, and when they do come within those waters they are seized. By this means millions of dollars of American securities dispatched from Holland to the United States have been held up by the British authorities.

It has been common knowledge that securities bearing the German stamp have been coming upon the New York market from time to time ever since the war began.

These securities have usually come through Amsterdam and have been forwarded on Dutch steamers.

The action of the British Government came without warning. Heretofore no seizures have been reported.

When protests are made the British defense is that "*the seizures are made within the Allies' territorial waters—the*

*allies having taken care to insure that all vessels leaving Amsterdam are obliged to proceed within the three-mile limit."* This they are forced to do to avoid the mines.

In the highest financial circles the seizures are regarded as provocative of fresh trouble between the United States and the Allies.

### SECRET AND ARBITRARY DIPLOMACY.

**I**NSISTENCE of the Washington Administration upon "a free hand" in foreign affairs threatens to make a new and emphatic degree in the declension of essential Americanism and democracy. No sober writer on the constitutional law and tradition of this country could possibly have formulated in cold blood the principle which the Administration has assumed in its contest with the national legislature.

There would have been no war in Europe if European executives and foreign offices had not had "a free hand" to do as they pleased with the destinies and fortunes of their several peoples. And now we are brought face to face with the fact that the United States will or will not be plunged into the bloody sea according to our settlement of this question of secret and arbitrary diplomacy.

By the constitution and tradition of our people, the Senate has a right, and in the present serious emergency a most pressing duty, to advise the President in foreign affairs. And both Houses of Congress are under the strongest moral obligation to define the terms of our neutrality and to take counsel and enact measures to minimize the strain and peril of the war.

To those among us who have in mind or soul any remnant of the free "Spirit of '76," any surviving sense of the meaning of the sovereignty of the people—there must seem to be a dearth in the dictionary of scornful words fit to characterize those who impudently invert the word "American" and claim it for those who shirk all responsibility for the maintenance of their own honor and integrity of mind—delivering themselves over, body and conscience, to the somewhat inscrutable will and purpose of one very moderately wise man.

### SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

**T**HE business of the State Department is not to keep us out of the war or to fling us into it. Its business is to know where we stand and to formulate that knowledge in pertinent ways to our neighbors.

It is impossible for the State Department not to misrepresent us abroad, if it refuses to pay attention to those who represent us at home.

The injection into our foreign business of the foreign fashions of secrecy and autocracy has not registered any gain in reasonableness or consistency. Even if the case were otherwise we ought to understand that logic in this matter is not of first-rate importance.

What is of first-rate importance is that we should not be committed to ideas and measures that are not characteristic of us. We should not be forced into positions that we do not care to maintain.

The diplomacy of a democratic country should clean its mind of cant and its mouth of theoretical unction and fine phrases. It should be above all things realistic, practical, business-like.

The *code duello* and the ceremonial ritual of "honor" have been outworn and put away from the private relations of gentlemen in democratic countries. Yet the notion of personal combat over a point of honor has in it a reminiscent beauty and dignity that is wholly lacking in the case of national combats on the same basis.

The idea of two vast civilizations crashing together on a question of honor escapes ridicule and farcicality only because of the overpowering aspect of tragedy. It is nevertheless as a matter of fact—absurd. And the

literature of our day needs nothing so much as a new Cervantes to put an end to the sentimental honor-jousts of nations—with a bitter and mournful irony, that should turn to a burst of universal laughter.

### "KULTUR" IN RUSSIA.

**I**N an interview in a London paper the Russian Foreign Minister Sazonoff said: "Their arrogance—that insufferable arrogance of the German—has the world ever seen anything like it? It is an offense to all mankind. And they speak of culture! They dare to disdain Russia on the grounds of culture—Russia, who has given to the world two of the very greatest masters of literature—Pushkin and Dostoevsky!"

As the paragrapher truly says, the Russians have certainly appreciated the services these two great masters have rendered their country. Dostoevsky had to spend ten years of his life in Siberia, while Pushkin was dismissed from his office, sent to his estates and kept there under police surveillance. Later, being permitted to return to "Petrograd," he was put under the "observation" of a chief of Gensdarmes.

Yet, remarks the New Yorker Herold, the Russians are the very torchbearers of culture!

### MAKING LIGHT OF WAR.

**D**URING these last twenty months of agony and terror, no government in the world—save one—has thought of entering into the *melée* for the sake of avenging an episodic injury to itself, or of maintaining an abstract theory of law.

The administration at Washington has now for nearly a year kept the world in an attitude of anxiety lest some word might be spoken or some incident befall that should preceitate a catastrophe colossal in proportion to its cause.

On this question of descending into hell ours is the only government of capricious "nerves" and hair-trigger sensibilities. All the others that have plunged into the pit have done so under compulsion of a tragic moral or physical necessity.

If an exception must be made in the case of Japan, at least it must be admitted that in that case the material again was immense and the war-cost disproportionate.

Certain it is that no government except our own has dallied with the war-issue as if it were a question of rapiers and ruffles—the flick of a glove at the rude turn of a phrase.

This might all be very pretty, if it did not jar so hard with the realism of the age and our actual national character. It is felt to be a poor kind of play-acting. We have not, in fact, the temper of Hotspur or the mental preciosity of Monsieur Beaucaire.

The American people are not disposed to fight for any but the solidest reasons. There are still wise old men and women among us who remember the crude and ghastly realities of the Civil War.

### THE RIGHT TO ONE BITE.

**I**F we should unhappily go to war on this issue of "defensively" armed merchant ships—it will be necessary for the State Department to initiate the educational zeal of the Department of Agriculture—and to send through the country train-loads of legal lecturers, to explain to a bewildered crowd at every railroad crossing the precise nature of our *casus belli*, and the intricate motives of our diplomatic indignation.

In that case clever and persuasive speakers will, no doubt, vie with one another in the invention of tropes, types and homely similes to convey a lively notion of the wrong done us—and our friends the British. The British theory that every merchantman has a right to

one perfectly innocent shot at a German submarine will, no doubt, be justified by our ingenious lecturers under the common-law rule that a domestic animal cannot be regarded as dangerous until it has actually maimed somebody—and therefore that every cross dog is entitled to one bite.

### WEAKNESS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ENTENTE.

**T**HERE are no boundaries that can divide the hearts and minds of brave and generous men. Art and science are not matters of racial breed, and the spirit of the university rises above all nationalities—as it was announced in the great epiphany that there should be “neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Sythian, bond nor free!”

But the plainest lesson of recent history, culminating in the great war, is that nationalities are mutually repellant and exclusive that all international alliances are fragile and flitting, and that the idea of a solid and permanent friendship between two political sovereignties is a sentimentality that no man of the world can for a moment entertain.

There is a common life of mankind that transcends sovereign states and that will, no doubt, some day make an end of them. But so long as men are commonly expected to live and die for these sublime legal fictions, and so long as men on opposite sides of a geographical line are expected to live and die for different fictions, such friendships as that between the United States and Great Britain—now so loudly proclaimed in London and New York will remain brittle and illusory—terminable without notice.

For several days past the news from England has had much to say about a meeting of the British Association of Chambers of Commerce and of certain energetic measures of that body undertaken on advice of such men as Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Holden, to combat the commercial ambitions of the United States in South America and elsewhere.

The kind of antagonism thus expressed is of the very stuff and substance of the present war, and—taken in connection with the long line of commercial aggressions against us that has characterized the war-policy of Great Britain—we may fairly expect that our “hands across the sea” will cease to have any contact, even at the finger tips, from the moment that the **entente** ceases to “pay” in munitions and “war-brides.”

This should not be taken as a counsel of cynicism. The bonds of language, literature and cultural tradition that bind us to Great Britain are a fixed and important fact in the history of mankind.

But under modern conditions of economic and financial politics, this fact cannot have any appreciable weight against an antagonism of commercial interests.

And it is difficult to imagine how such an antagonism between the English economic system and our own, can be postponed for a single week after the moment when the guns stop firing on European battle-fronts.

### OUT-HERODING HEROD.

**B**EN B. LINDSEY, of Colorado, famous for his championship of children against the cold rigor of legality, has returned from a visit to Germany with statistics and a record of personal observation concerning the slaughter of the innocents in that country by the pressure of the British blockade—which has no color of legality.

Speaking at the Casino Theatre on February 27 Judge Lindsey stated his reasons for believing that half a million babies have perished in Germany because the

Government of Great Britain, in defiance of the law of nature and of nations, will not permit the United States or other neutral country to sell milk to the German civilian populace.

So fatal has been the milk shortage, says Judge Lindsey, that in cities of Poland, with a population of thirty or forty thousand, there is not a baby alive under three years, and there are towns where there is no living child under ten.

Travelling a thousand miles in Germany, he observed nowhere any lack of food supplies, save this one indispensable thing for the sustenance of child-life, milk and its derivative products. He speaks of the perfect civic and sanitary arrangements for making the most of a milk supply which—saving all for the children—yet falls short of the demands of vital necessity by about one-fifth. He describes the long lines of waiting mothers with tiny starvelings at their breasts and the bitter disappointment that falls upon those that cannot be served today, but must wait and hope that the life of their little ones will last until tomorrow. “Never shall I forget the sight of the hundreds of women gathered in a room, who having suckled their own babies, were nursing the babies of others in the hope of saving those children from starvation until another day could bring new supplies of milk from the dairies.”

It is painful to note that news of such significance—such poignant human interest—news so credibly and publicly avouched and attested—has been printed in only one of the “great dailies” of New York.

One would wish to believe that one’s fellow-countrymen mean in all things to be fair and human, and that the one-sidedness of judgment is an honest infatuation—a mere mental blindness.

But how is it possible to maintain—in the face of such facts as these to which Judge Lindsey witnesses—that the Washington Government may, without moral compunction, be tolerant and dilatory in its dealing with the wide international lawlessness of England—on the ground that its violations of the law of nations involve only questions of property and not human lives!

Gigantic cruelties have been practiced on both sides—as is the way of war.

But the deliberate and calculated cruelties are hardest to forget.

King Herod’s slaying of the children, by census and set purpose—has been long remembered.

### THE PENALTY OF BEING SMALL.

**T**HE problem of the German Navy is discussed in the Manchester Guardian, which paper seems to think that there will be a rattling good sea fight before the war is over. He says: “The Germans have no great traditions behind them, **but we must not assume for a single instant that they lack the desire to fight.** To make that assumption and to base anything upon it would be the height of folly. They may have soiled their character for all time, but they have shown in every engagement **that they fight to a finish, and do not strike their flag.** We would risk our everything and we must surely expect that the enemy will do the same. He knows that his fleet cannot remain in his own hands. He will certainly not permit it to fall into the hands of the enemy, to be used in case of necessity against himself. Again, if he destroys the fleet in harbor, it does no damage, but if he allows it to fight it has a chance of victory, and will no doubt do some damage to the enemy. . . . We should say, ‘Let it fight’ and Germany will say the same when, and if, the time comes. The elimination of the ‘if’ in the last sentence depends on two things: First, that our determination to see the enemy beaten remains unshaken, and, sec-

only that Germany clearly understands that she shall not possess a fleet after the war is over."

The penalty that Great Britain proposes to inflict on Germany for not having succeeded in building a navy equal to Britain's will be either its destruction or its distribution among the victorious allies. From this we may gather an idea of what would be our fate with an inferior navy, in a war with Britons.

#### PASSING IT UP TO BERNSTORFF.

WASHINGTON'S innuendo now is that Bernstorff, through his press agents, put up this whole job on the President. Bernstorff, it is intimated, made all the newspapers believe that President Wilson was favorable to the Bernstorff doctrine of torpedoing armed merchantmen without warning when, as a matter of fact, the Administration had no such thought. Because the Administration got itself in bad with the American people, therefore, Bernstorff got himself in bad with the Administration.

#### JAPAN TO LOOK OUT FOR HERSELF.

GERMAN newspapers print dispatches from Italy stating that a Japanese fleet has arrived safely in the Mediterranean Sea, together with a great number of aircraft.

Japan has already furnished heavy artillery with gun crews and a body of engineers to the Russians, but they have not been designated as Japanese units. In the Chancelleries of Rome and Paris there are said to be plans for the disposition of Japanese aid in case it should be required.

France and Russia are understood to approve of this plan, but not England. By the treaty of 1911 it is provided that Great Britain shall guard Japanese interests in the West, while Japan shall guard British interests in the Far East. It may be that Japan has sent her cruisers to the Mediterranean because she does not con-

sider that her interests are sufficiently safeguarded there.

#### THE REAL VIOLATOR.

GREAT BRITAIN's contention that her merchantmen have the right to "resist capture" is more clearly a violation of international law than any infraction of which Germany has yet been guilty. It is the most dangerous development of this whole submarine issue that we now know Great Britain proposes to maintain the right of her merchantmen to resist capture. It is a plain case where one country arrogates to herself the right to change international law.

Apart from all technical phases, we have been given to understand that Great Britain has advised her merchantmen to escape, and she has actually given instructions how and when to use the guns while escaping. Nothing could be more clear than that, if Great Britain now holds that on sight of a submarine the merchantman may flee and begin firing at the submarine, she has simply changed the rules of international law.

#### OUR WEATHERVANE ADMINISTRATION.

OUR vacillating administration has been compared to Gretchen's play in "Faust."

Today it says the Appam is a prize; tomorrow she is not. Today President Wilson forbids travel on armed merchantmen; tomorrow he permits it. Today such vessels in American harbors shall be regarded and treated as auxiliary cruisers; tomorrow they reassume their original character. Today such arming of merchantmen conflicts with international law; tomorrow it is in accordance with international law. Today the President has his henchmen working to table a congressional resolution; tomorrow he demands that the resolution be acted on. Today he wants to be re-elected; tomorrow there is talk of his resigning.

### To Drive Dull Care Away

#### THE WAY OF THE WORLD.

Why expect justice in this life? Josephus Daniels is a lot funnier than Charlie Chaplin, yet he gets but little more in a year than Charlie gets in a week.

\* \* \*

#### DIDN'T CARE TO MENTION HIS NAME.

A colored woman in a Suffragette state presented herself the other day at the place of registration to qualify for the casting of her vote upon the school question at the next election.

"With what political party do you affiliate?" inquired the clerk of the unaccustomed applicant, using the prescribed formula.

The dusky "lady" blushed, all coyness and confusion: "Is I 'bleeged to answer that there question?"

"Certainly, the law requires it."

"Then," retreating in dismay, "I don't believe I'll vote, 'case I'd hate to mention the party's name. He's one of the nicest gents in dis town."

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#### SINGULAR EPITHETS.

The following was placed on the tombstone of a London cook:

"Peas to his Hashes."

Here is another strange epithet:

"In memory of our father: Gone to join his appendix, his tonsils, his olfac-

tory nerve, his kidney, his eardrum and a leg prematurely removed by a hospital surgeon who craved the experience."

"Now, madam," began the attorney, who is always saying the wrong thing, "repeat the slanderous statements made by the defendant on this occasion."

"Oh, they are unfit for any respectable person to hear."

Then, madam," said the attorney coaxingly, "suppose you just whisper them to his honor the judge."

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#### WHAT'S THE USE.

A prominent politician was asked a short while ago if he would consent to be a candidate for the presidential nomination against President Wilson.

In reply he said: "Did you ever hear the story of the two skunks?" His questioner assured him he had not.

"They were sitting by the roadside one day when a big automobile came whizzing past, leaving a trail of gasoline that was blown down on the animals. Whereupon one skunk turned to the other and remarked in a tone of utter disgust:

"Say, what's the use?"

\* \* \*

#### MAMA WAS HASTY.

Borson—You look all broken up, old man. What's the matter?

Craik—I called on Miss Pruyns last night and no sooner had I entered the parlor than her mother appeared and demanded to know my intentions.

"That must have been rather embarrassing."

"Yes, but that was not the worst. Just as the old lady finished speaking, Miss Pruyns shouted down the stairs, 'Mamma, mamma, he isn't the one!'"

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#### FROM PUP TO WIENER.

Two men were seated in a small cafe, Eating limburger cheese and tripe; And one of them was heard to say, As he filled his corn-cob pipe, "My little doggie left me, Left me, sad to say, Old Schmidt, the butcher, caught him yesterday."

#### CHORUS

I didn't raise my dog to be a wiener, I brought him up to be my little pet; You never saw a puppy any cleaner, Oh, how I wish that he were living yet. I'd rather see him run around before me, Than have him served to me within a bun; But pup no more can run, They got him with a gun, I didn't raise my dog to be a wiener.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### REPORTS SUPPRESSED IN WASHINGTON.

Mr. Francis J. L. Dorl: If there were more men of your courage we would soon have an embargo on munition. Every right thinking man and woman should heartily thank you. According to your paper, I think we can still have success, if we try to do everything in our power. Therefore, I think it would help very much if you would send the following quotation from "Mach's Germany's Point of View" to every and all senators in Washington. It reads thus: "There are today official records on file in the State Department in Washington which exonerate Germany from the charge of having committed atrocities in Belgium" (pages 374-5).

If they were published, the bottom would be knocked out from the anti-German propaganda. No American paper would dare to print any more of the dastardly lies besmirching the honor of Germany.

There are admirals in the navy and officers in the army whose mouths are sealed, but who know that no nation facing the conditions like those met by Germany in Belgium would have shown the forbearance that Germany exhibited.

There are official reports in the files of the several departments in Washington which relate the marvelous success of Germany's reconstruction of Belgium. Thousands of women and children have been freed from the slavery in the mines and some of the German welfare legislation has been introduced. The school system has been improved and all children have been forced to attend school. This will wipe out the terrible illiteracy still prevalent in the country. The census of 1910 revealed that of every 1,000 people over fifty years of age, only 689 could read and write. And that in the richest little country of the world! All this will be changed in the future, for even though Germans evacuate the country, no government will be able to send the little children to the mines again instead of to the schools, and will dare to deprive the laborers in their old

age, and in sickness of the pensions granted them by Germany.

These are facts, but America does not know them. The voices of individuals are helpless, but when the people as a whole demand it, the President cannot refuse. Let the people rise and demand the truth that their officials are keeping from them. Let them force the publication of the official documents, let them request the President to unseal the lips of those officers who know the truth.

If all the members of both houses in Washington would get to read these, I am sure it would help our cause very much. If I had means and influence, I would tend to it myself. The great Irish papers would surely help.

Thanking you heartily, I am  
PAUL WITTE.  
1006 Second St., Louisville, Ky.

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### NEW YORK DELEGATES UNPLEDGED.

The New York Democratic State Convention in an atmosphere of apparent harmony decided to send unpledged delegates to the national convention in June.

In spite of the insistent efforts of Wilson lieutenants to obtain more emphatic expressions of support, the platform merely ratified the administration of President Wilson and "recommended" his renomination and re-election. An effort to "urge" his re-election was defeated.

The following were chosen as delegates-at-large to the St. Louis convention:

United States Senator James A. O'Gorman, William Church Osborn, chairman of the Democratic State Committee; Samuel Untermeyer of New York and George J. Meyer of Buffalo. Meyer is a German-American and an ardent supporter of President Wilson.

Dudley Field Malone and Stuart G. Gibboney, who were present to look after President Wilson's welfare, were responsible for a quarrel which disrupted for a time the meeting of the Resolu-

tions Committee. They insisted upon a more definite Wilson plank.

It was their plea that an unqualified pledge be given that the "Big Four" support the President for renomination. They also asked that the party should guarantee its unswerving loyalty at the polls. A canvass of the Resolutions Committee disclosed a majority against both of these suggestions.

"To guarantee unswerving loyalty to a President who has well nigh wrecked his party would be meaningless and impossible," said one of the influential members of the committee. "Wilson if re-nominated must take his chances for re-election. This convention cannot control the voters."

After a twenty-four hour dispute over the wording of phrases dealing with the convention's attitude toward the President, the compromises were finally agreed upon.

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### ANOTHER REVOLUTION THREATENED.

Felix Diaz, who is a nephew of the former Mexican President, Porfirio Diaz, and who is said to have landed on the east coast of Mexico to launch a new revolt, has effected an understanding with Zapata and the followers of Villa, according to friends of the latter. They declare that conferences held at El Paso last week with emissaries of Diaz have resulted in an agreement among the leaders.

A junta, it was also stated, has been established at El Paso.

Villa followers frankly declared that their leader, the proscribed Chihuahua chieftain, would willingly co-operate with Diaz. Villa previously had an understanding with Zapata. Villa's principal desire, they said, was to overthrow Carranza, and he would give or accept any aid in accomplishing that purpose.

Villa partisans who said they took part in the conferences declared they had been assured that Diaz was amply provided with funds to finance a far-reaching revolt in Mexico, but that no proof was furnished them.

If Diaz has sufficient financial backing, they declared, his revolt would succeed. If not, it would fail.

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### PROHIBITED BRITISH IMPORTS.

Among the articles prohibited to be imported into England since March 1 are:

Materials used in the manufacture of paper, including wood pulp, esparto-grass, linen, cotton rags, paper cardboard, periodicals, publications exceeding sixteen pages and imported otherwise than in single copies through the postoffice; tobacco, unmanufactured and manufactured, including cigars and cigarettes; furniture woods, hardwoods, veneers, stones and slates.

The Royal Commission on sugar supply has given notice that the supplies available for the current year are probably 25 per cent. less than the amount imported in 1915.

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### BRITISH ARE SEEING THINGS.

Floating mines, equipped with what at first appear to be periscopes, are said to be the latest device used by the Germans in bringing about the destruction of enemy ships. Captain B. J. Keelty of the British steamship Hart-





field, which arrived at Baltimore from London to load grain, told of having sighted one of the new destructive agents in the English Channel.

According to Captain Keely, what he thought was the periscope of a German submarine was sighted about half a mile from his ship. What was most singular about it was that it apparently remained in the same spot. There is a \$2,500 reward offered by the British Admiralty for ramming a submarine and visions of it flashed across the mind of Captain Keely.

On second thought Captain Keely concluded to waive the possibility of getting the \$2,500 and proceeded on his voyage. Shortly afterward a British patrol boat was sighted and spoken to and the commander was told of the sighting of the supposed periscope. An investigation immediately followed, which developed that the "periscope" was attached to the mine.

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### MASTERY OF THE AIR.

Warning that German supremacy in the air may within the near future render England's supremacy on the seas of no avail in repelling disaster, is sounded by several aeronautic experts in comments on the Zeppelin debate in the British House of Commons.

Graphic pictures were painted of whole fleets of Zeppelin dreadnoughts, accompanied by huge 200 mile an hour aeroplanes attacking England from the sky within, perhaps, another generation.

Unless England awakes to the danger and begins building mighty air battle fleets, she can no longer enjoy isolation from Europe because of superiority in dreadnoughts and battle cruisers it was declared.

"The problem of the mastery of the air is a matter of life and death to an island power," said the Times. "In a very short time the mastery of the air will be as essential to us as command of the sea. In the past that command has rendered the heart of the Empire absolutely safe. Already it is no longer safe from insult; in the near future it will not be safe from serious attack, however complete our control of the seas may be.

"We must be as strong in the air as we are upon the water. There is little use in keeping the enemy out by water if ever he can strike at us effectively from the air."

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### LET US NOT FORGET.

"Let us not forget that it was Britain's threat to starve Germany as a nation and to bring her women and children to dire want that caused Germany to war on the merchant marine of her foe—a marine which is constantly engaged in warfare on the German people by carrying contrabands of war or death-dealing munitions of war and troops over the seas to war and crush England's antagonist. . . .

"We misjudge what to us appears that cringing, mercenary, dishonorable Americanism that would covet peace at the loss of honor in Mexico, while we would 'butt-in' the affairs of nations abroad and involve this nation in war and bloodshed because some capitalists having heavy investments abroad would use the adventurous American as a pretext to fortify his dollars as a safe investment in London."—White Plains Argus.

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### PORTUGAL'S SEIZURES.

The first seizure of German merchant vessels by Portugal occurred on Feb. 23

at Lisbon, when the naval authorities took possession of thirty-six German and Austrian ships in the Tagus. On Feb. 25 the seizures of eight German steamships by the Portuguese authorities at St. Vincent, Cape Verde Islands, was announced, and it was unofficially declared that the requisitioning of German and Austrian vessels had been extended to all those lying in the ports of Portugal and her colonies.

A Lisbon dispatch on Feb. 26 quoted Premier Costa of Portugal as declaring that the Government's action had been prompted by the necessities of the nation's economic situation. The Premier further declared that he considered it to the best interest of Portugal that the existing treaty with Germany be allowed to lapse and that the Portuguese Government was prepared for all eventualities that might arise from the exercise of Portugal's rights. Assurances had previously been sent to Berlin, according to Lisbon advices, that the rights of the owners of vessels should be respected.

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### ENGLISH NOW PREFER AMERICAN LINERS.

"I never knew until today how much real comfort an Englishman can get out of the American flag," said a passenger sailing for Liverpool on one of the American liners recently. "Most of the passengers on this ship are English, and it seems peculiar to me that their much-vaunted patriotism would permit them to sail under the American flag when a much newer and finer vessel, flying the British flag, is sailing for Liverpool on the same day at the same hour.

"A friend of mine, an American, is sailing for Liverpool on the Cunard liner Orduna, one of the finest passenger ships in the Atlantic trade. I tried to make him take this American ship, but he said he preferred to take a chance on being torpedoed than to forego the comforts that he knew he could have on the Britisher and couldn't have on the American.

"I went down to the Cunarder to say good-by to him and the big ship was practically deserted. In front of the blazing open fire in her beautifully furnished smoking room there was one

lonely passenger—an American, I think. Most of her luxurious state-rooms and suites were empty. I saw another solitary passenger pacing the decks sadly.

"The contrast between the sailing of that ship and the sailing of this one is astonishing, to say the least. This ship is alive with passengers—most of them British subjects. Perhaps, after all, there is a certain comfort in having Old Glory floating from the taffrail that makes up—from a British viewpoint—for the discomforts of antiquated staterooms on an old-fashioned steamer.

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### THE MAKING OF MODERN GERMANY.\*

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## A Receivership For Civilization

By CHARLES FERGUSON

VILLA'S raid into New Mexico last Thursday was probably planned by that unspeakable cut-throat with a view to forcing intervention by the United States—to the discomfiture of Carranza.

There is no good reason, however, why the government at Washington should not deal summarily with the assassins whilst leaving Carranza to go on doing his best in those parts of the unhappy country over which he has some sort of real jurisdiction.

The United States need not attack the shadowy "sovereignty" of Mexico, or assume responsibility for the orderly government of the whole vast Mexican territory. The thing to do is to mark out a neutral zone on the Mexican side of the frontier, to be policed temporarily by United States troops, pending the establishment therein of a **Receivership for Civilization**.

The chaotic condition of Northern Mexico invites political and sociological experiment. This is the best possible time and place to do a thing that has never been done, but which when once done, may go a long way toward the conquest of that wider chaos into which the whole world appears at this moment to be sinking.

The unprecedented thing here proposed is the setting up in Northern Mexico of a government that does not pretend to have any mystical sovereignty to guard—a government framed not by lawyers but by engineers and working civilizers who acknowledge no allegiance except their obligation to develop the country and raise the standard of living there. The Receivership for Civilization should be a commission of expert men—such as Col. Goethals, Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, Mr. Morgan Shuster and their like from other lands—men picked from several nations on their personal merits and not as "representatives" of anything but science and sound human nature.

It is here submitted that such a commission could "take over" a bankrupt and disorderly piece of territory—as receivers appointed by a court on petition of stockholders to undertake the management of a railroad or an industrial corporation—and could administer it, for fair wages, with a single eye to the public advantage.

The work of such a commission, like that of court-receivers, would be mainly financial. They need as-

sume no arbitrary power over existing industries or over the customary local political institutions of the people—only the power that is intrinsic to a centralized modern finance.

For the fact is, though we stubbornly refuse to admit it, that finance is the predominant power in all modern states. It would be immensely advantageous to the on-looking world to observe in Northern Mexico the workings of a financial power that acknowledged its political supremacy and consequently its complete social responsibility.

It is to be supposed that a regime such as is here suggested could, after a few months, do its own policing. Young men of many breeds would, no doubt, develop a taste for the risks of such an adventure of honest fortune. There would be no trouble about getting men to work or fight for this kind of a square deal.

It is to be expected also that people to the south of the neutral zone would soon move to come into it. And the frontier of the new order of things would thus be pressed gradually southward. It might get to the Isthmus and beyond. There is no telling.

The blunt point of all this is that we have all been mentally fuddled in this Mexican matter (and in other matters of world-wide consequence) by a decrepit and obsolescent legalism and diplomacy. Thus we have erroneously assumed with respect to Mexico that we must either seize upon the "sovereignty" of the country and crush all the people into subjection, or else must stand helplessly wringing our hands on the left bank of the Rio Grande—submitting even to be "shot up" occasionally rather than touch the sacred soil of the imaginary sovereignty aforesaid. In fine the ghosts of dead lawyers and diplomats have laid an obfuscating voodoo-charm upon our Yankee common sense.

Let us break this spell. Let's stop talking in the language of Grotius and Puffendorf, and just press this galling, insufferable Mexican frontier a little way off from our lacerated side.

And having done that why not refrain from putting the screaming eagle brand upon the quiet little strip thus won from chaos? It has belonged to the very devil for a good while. Let it be God's country—a little space dedicated to real neutrality in the midst of the crash and jangle of sovereign States.

Something very good might come of the experiment.



# The President and the Submarine Issue

By WILLIAM BAYARD HALE.

ON January 18, at the instance of President Wilson, the Department of State transmitted to the Governments of the Allied Powers a communication in the course of which it was declared, as the opinion of the United States Government, that "there can now be no reason for the maintenance of even small calibre guns on merchant ships" unless the guns were for the purpose and with the intent of depriving submarines of "their undoubted right with safety to warn and search such merchantmen."

Brushing aside at one stroke all verbal sophistry on the subject of "offensive" and "defensive" guns, the United States Government then said that "any such armament of merchant vessels now might be regarded as offensive armament."

The memorandum went on to state that the Government of the United States was "very much impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that any merchant vessel which carries guns in any position has forfeited her non-combatant character." The memorandum concluded with the statement that the American Government was "seriously considering" instructing its officials in this sense.

The language of another paragraph in Mr. Wilson's January 18th communication to the Allied Powers is significant: Reiterating, as he had already done again and again, his grave doubt of the legal right of so-called merchant ships to carry arms, he remarked: "It is submitted that all nations should be animated by a desire to save the lives of innocent people, and therefore should not insist upon the exercise of any supposed technical right."

Such was Mr. Wilson's attitude on January 18th, and for some days thereafter—up to the time when he was notified that the British allies would not consent to our enlightened and progressive view. From that moment it was no longer Mr. Wilson's view. From that moment Mr. Wilson began to denounce the German Government because it had dared to assume the position which he had been urging the Allied Powers to assume. From that moment it became his opinion that still to maintain the proposal he had submitted "would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman for the law and the right."

That is, until England had declined to give its approving nod, the President of the United States pleaded the reasonableness of regarding armed merchantmen as belligerent ships, and urged that view upon other governments, but the moment the English frowned upon the idea, he decided that to insist upon it would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman for the right.

Today the President is telling Congress: "I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. A fortnight ago he was urging this very abridgment of the rights of American citizens—if it be a right to tempt death by taking passage on an armed ship.

Today he is asking Congress to assure the world that it entertains "no divided counsels" on a subject of which he himself has within the month entirely, completely, diametrically and absolutely reversed himself.

Today, he is vociferating: "Nations should not be moved by a desire to save the lives of innocent people, but should insist upon the exercise of some supposed technical right."

Today, the President is denouncing those who are meekly content to "yield."

But who are really "yielding," and to whom are they

"yielding?" There is no question of yielding to Germany—because what Germany proposes to do is to act precisely in accord with Mr. Wilson's suggestion. The "yielding" in this case is a surrender to the British Allies, who would deny us the right to carry out a measure with the reasonableness of which the Administration was impressed only six weeks ago.

In view of these unquestionable circumstances, what is, in truth, the question which the President is submitting to Congress? Is it in truth to be stated thus: "Shall the United States, at the instance of the German Government, surrender the right of Americans to travel on armed ships?"

Or is it, rather, to be thus stated:

"Shall the United States, at the instance of Great Britain, surrender its right to enact such legislation as it deems proper for the safe-guarding of the lives of its own people?"

The real issue between the President and the Congress is as to whether the United States of America is or is not a Sovereign State.

Once more, as always when brought face to face with the necessity of taking a stand which might possibly inure to the disadvantage of Great Britain, Mr. Wilson has retreated to the position that the United States is not free to determine its own policy and make its own laws during the progress of a war, but is on every point compelled to consult other Powers and obtain their consent.

With a whirling agility unparalleled even in his own weather-cock performances, with mercurial nimbleness in abandoning his own former views and adopting England's, Mr. Wilson writes Mr. Stone, chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, the amazing affirmation that the United States cannot uphold its own proposition, "without conceding her own impotency as a nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world!"

The question of the submarine and the armed merchantman is one vital to the defense of our shores. It is upon the submarine that the people of the United States shall have chiefly to rely for defense in case of war. It behooves us then to enhance, not to impair, the efficiency of the submarine.

It is thoughtlessness of the interests of their own country that allows United States Senators like Mr. Lodge and Mr. Sterling to denounce the submarine as a pirate, and to uphold the right of merchant ships to arm themselves and still pretend to be peaceful innocents.

The proposal made in our armed merchantmen note of January 18th was recommended alike by the spirit of humanity and by the peculiar interests of the United States.

The position of the Administration is the positive one that we are inhibited from any legislation, no matter how necessary for our own interests, unless we can beforehand obtain for it the assent of England.

Suppose Congress were to take seriously the President's statement that "no man knows what any day, yes, any hour, may bring forth." Naturally the first imperative step would be to retain at home for our own use the military supplies now being manufactured here for the Allies. But, according to Mr. Wilson, we should not be free to take that imperative measure for our self-protection. It would be "unneutral."

Mr. Wilson, on assuming the Presidency, gave the world a book entitled "The New Freedom." Is this

the novel brand of freedom he had in mind—freedom to ask the permission of some Power across the sea, when about to enact legislation?

Will the American people consent to such extraneous direction? Will they give up their intention of controlling their own destiny without appeal to foreigners—an intention, a determination, never before by

one of our Presidents questioned or doubted or called into discussion?

Congress always supports a President in his foreign policies, right or wrong, for obvious reasons. But if the day ever comes when the people of the United States exhibit servility of spirit the history of American independence will have ended.

## England's Starvation Plan

By PAUL ORR.

JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY'S observations in Germany confirm the hitherto expressed opinion that England's so-called blockade of Germany amounts to nothing more nor less than a baby-killing institution. The only food England has succeeded in restricting in Germany is milk for babies. But England seems so well satisfied with this achievement that she calls the blockade a success and asks America to support her in the business of wholesale infanticide.

Judge Lindsey was bitterly opposed to Germany until he went abroad and learned the facts about the British methods of warfare. What he may now think of the war or of the Ford peace pilgrimage is not important. Nobody has ever thought of him as a military expert or a diplomat. His value in America has lain in his humane interest in children. That very interest, exercised abroad, has resulted in observations which must be listened to with respect.

"Out of a million civilians who have died in Germany as a result of the war," said Judge Lindsey in his address at the Casino Theatre, New York, "I was told that more than one-half were babies who perished for lack of milk.

"In many cities of 30,000 or 40,000 in Poland there is not a baby alive under three years, and in many places not a child under ten years, so terrible has been the demand for milk."

Regarding the efforts made in German cities to provide milk for babies, Judge Lindsey said:

"One of the most gripping scenes I ever witnessed and one that I shall carry with me to my dying day was the sight one day of a long line of mothers with tiny babies in their arms, waiting to be supplied with milk. I saw the splendid sanitary equipment and other arrangements for handling the milk bottles and caring for the milk, but I saw no milk. The supply for the day had given out and still there were hundreds of mothers left in the line who must pray for milk on the morrow, for milk to keep their babies alive. I saw the tear stained faces of those mothers as they turned away, not knowing whether the little bit of life in their babies could be sustained until the morrow."

Should that incident not convince those persons who have contended that milk sent to German babies would reach German soldiers, let them read one more sentence from Judge Lindsey's speech.

"Never shall I forget the sight of the hundreds of women gathered in a room who, having suckled their own babies, were nursing the babies of others, in the hope of saving those children from starvation until another day could bring new supplies of milk from the dairies."

Incidentally Judge Lindsey said, that during the ten days in which he traveled a thousand miles in Germany, there appeared to be an abundance of all the necessities of life except milk and its derivative products. This sort of testimony, which has come from many other sources, has puzzled many persons who cannot understand why Germany's milk supply should be short. They forget that Germany has not been a

grazing country. She had ten million cows before the war, but these were fed to a considerable extent on imported feed, particularly the oilcake and cottonseed meal, which Germany adopted as a dairy ration before the farmers of this country began to use it for that purpose. Now, of course, the importation of these feeds from Russia, Egypt and America is shut off. Even with the great number of cows that she had, Germany before the war imported annually about 75,000 tons of milk and cream from Denmark, France and Russia. The supply from Denmark has been cut off, partly because of Denmark's own lack of imported feed, partly because of the insistence of England that Denmark shall not interfere with the Allies' plan of starving the enemy. The result has been that Germany, even by forbidding adults to use milk, has not been able to secure enough milk for the babies.

Germany has about 7,400,000 babies of the milk-consuming age. There is available about four-fifths of the amount of milk required to feed them. No other food can be used as a substitute, and the actual shortage amounts to about 600,000 quarts a year.

America has plenty of milk to ship abroad, and there is plenty of money, abroad or here, to pay for it. The thing that stands between the milk of America and the starving babies of Germany and Poland is the decision of the Allies that the milk shall not reach its destination, the pretext being that it will fall into the hands of combatants! Even the assurances of American philanthropists that they will see that the milk is not misused have been put aside.

When the question of shipping munitions to combatants came up, there was a lot of talk in this country about the morality of it. The final decision was that, as such shipment was legal, we should stand for it. Our government has taken an equally emphatic position that it is legal to ship foodstuffs to civilians in any country. But we do not dare to ship them without leave of the Allies.

Shipping munitions was legal, and our government ruled that we must stand on our technical, legal rights. Shipping milk is legal. Why not stand upon our legal rights on that issue?

### TO WOODROW WILSON.

By OWEN WISTER.

Not even if I possessed your twist in speech

Could I make any (fit for use) fit you;

You've wormed yourself beyond description's reach;

Truth if she touched you would become untrue.

Satire has seared a host of evil fames,

Has withered Emperors by fierce lampoons;

History has lashes that have flayed the names

Of public cowards, hypocrites, poltroons;

You go immune. Cased in your self-esteem.

The next world cannot scathe you, nor can this;

No fact can stab through your complacent dream.

Nor present laughter, nor the future's hiss.

But if the fathers did this land control,

Dead Washington would wake and blast your soul.

# Washington's Inner Circle

By ERNEST SETTON RANDOLPH

The white flag waves over the battle field, the armies are at rest. They are recovering their wind—and badly do they need to do that. Only the sentries are on the alert for a sudden attack and the renewal of fierce combat.

It is not Verdun we refer to; it is Washington, D. C.

It is not the armies of Germany and the Allies that rest after sanguinary strife; it is the forces of Americanism and Toryism which take a breathing spell, a truce after a strategic campaign in which a great, albeit an indecisive victory has been won by the former.

Some day the forces of Toryism and Americanism are going to meet in open, decisive combat, and when the smoke of battle lifts, Toryism, which has been the chief peril of the great Republic since 1776, will be no more. Toryism cannot risk that meeting; hence it has developed a cunning in strategy which enables it to retreat far more skilfully than the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaivitch, and to remain a threat to the forces of Freedom.

## Toryism Aflame in Washington.

What happened in Washington was something like this. Toryism had succeeded in getting an ascendancy over the Administration. Thus all the wealth and all the manufacturing resources of America have been wrested to the service of the King, although our anti-trust laws, our banking laws, and the international laws of neutrality have had to be broken in the process. "We are one of the Allies," said Congressman Gallivan. We have helped to put the Ring of Iron around the Central European Powers. And yet the terrible U-boats have persisted in breaking through the Ring of Iron. The great Mistress of the Seas therefor put guns on her "Peaceful" merchantmen, manned said guns with naval crews, ordered them to hunt German submarines, and solemnly assured the world that they were "defensive guns" only. After a few experiences with "defensive guns" which convinced them that the effects of said guns were the same as the effects of "offensive guns," the Central Powers announced that they would hereafter treat armed enemy vessels, however the latter might be designated or disguised—as armed enemy vessels!

Obviously, this had nothing to do with American ships or the American flag. No American ship was going to sport a gun; no American flag would be fired on without warning. Americans travel on belligerent ships, of course, and when it was proved that such ships were breaking international law and thus endangering themselves, it was obviously the clue for Americans to stay off such ships; on the same principle which induces you and me to take the other side of the street or go around the block when we see the red flag in the hand of a workman warning us that a blast is to be set off. It was even obviously the duty of the American Government to wave the warning red flag before its people and notify them that if they went into the danger zone they were liable to whatever the fool-killer might provide for them.

But no! After a week of inspired news from the State Department that this would be the Government's course, it was suddenly discovered that an American had a right to walk right into danger, and that if he got caught in the cross-fire and lost his life, it was the duty of the Government—to hold one of the belligerents to a "strict accountability." The belligerent selected for this honor had two choices. He could back down, in which case it would be well seen to that every ship that sailed freighted with death for the brave German soldiers who are so vallaintly casting into the

teeth of their enemies the viperish brood of lies hurled at them—that every such ship would have Americans aboard to make it immune from attack; by which device there would be no interference with the profits of the munitions-makers or the American owners of ships which sail under the English flag for the sake of getting cheaper labor. The other choice was that the belligerent aforementioned could go about his business of sinking enemy armed ships before they sank his ships, and take the consequences. Germany and Austria elected the latter course.

Now, we do not accuse the Administration of seeking war. Senator Gore, as honest and conscientious a man as ever sat in the National Legislature, has made that charge. In making it he only repeated what every well-informed man in Washington had heard. He only indicated a condition which had already caused some of the favored newspapers to boast that the Count von Bernstorff would be dismissed inside of two days after Washington's Birthday. So we are justified, at least, in giving most fervent thanks to the God of our fathers that at this juncture the forces of Americanism asserted themselves in no uncertain way.

First the McLemore Resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives. Then some independent newspaper and some citizens anxious for the honor and safety of the Republic took up that Resolution and began to urge its passage; members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House began to fight for it. Other resolutions and bills were introduced or projected. The President sent for certain Congressional leaders, showed them his hand, and produced an instant explosion. There followed those wild days of fear of war, declaration that war with Germany over such an issue must not come, conferences with leaders; out of which the neat plan was evolved of defeating the Gore Resolution in the conservative Senate, and then, with the prestige of this victory, calling on the House to vote on the McLemore Resolution, but giving the House no chance to do so, but only to vote on an absurd parliamentary tangle.

## The Blind Senator Who Sees Clearly.

Senator Gore proved one degree smarter than the Administration, for at the last minute he changed his Resolution to read that the death of an American on a belligerent "defensively armed" ship by act of a German submarine would be cause for war with Germany. The Senate voted that down; but the situation was too critical for the Tory forces to hesitate, with all the facilities for lying in their control. So they heralded this to the country as a victory, and then moved on the House. Here they controlled the majority of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Rules Committee, so it was a simple matter to report the McLemore Resolution adversely, then report a special rule to lay it on the table, allowing only four hours debate on that question. This was a "heads I win, tails you lose" proposition. In the first place, while nothing but the clear, thorough Resolution fathered by the patriotic member from Texas could have put the question before Congress so imperatively, yet it was impossible for many men who favored a warning to see the virtue of such a thorough measure, and these men, deprived of an opportunity fairly to offer amendments, voted against it. Then, too, by the same token, it gave many men whose constituents wanted them to vote for a warning resolution, but who preferred to yield to the blandishments of the White House, a chance to vote against warning citizens out of danger and at the same time pretend that they only voted against one faulty resolution. And

it displeased many Republicans because it gave that party no hand in the framing of such an important measure.

#### Vote Under Duress.

To the last minute of the vote and to this day there is no question whatever that a big majority of the House of Representatives desired to vote to warn citizens against traveling on armed ships. And yet, under Presidential threats, under the lure of Presidential temptations, in the toils of red tape, the House went docilely forward to an adverse vote on the McLemore Resolution. The eager crowds of American citizens who swarmed the Capitol, instinctively realizing the greatness of the issue, did not move these representatives of the people to vote for their convictions. Rather they seemed to be under the spell of the President, who lingered in the Cabinet Room near the House Chamber, and of the British Ambassador, who smiled cynically from the Diplomatic Gallery.

And yet, in the speeches that rang through that chamber, there was heard the voice of Americanism. Men who voted to consider the McLemore Resolution and men who voted to table it vied with each other in denouncing Americans who embark on armed vessels, and in praying that war may be averted. Some protested their trust in the President and others pitilessly exposed the unneutrality of his attitude; but almost all of them let it be plainly known that they opposed the entrance of this great Free Country into the terrible war for the sake of protecting not American ships, but English and Italian ships in their treacherous modes of warfare.

That was the hopeful side of the proceedings. The sinister side was the spectacle of Congress after all failing as a Representative body, sinking to the level of a Russian Duma or a Roman Senate under the Empire. The note of grave warning was sounded by the three Congressmen, Sherwood of Ohio, Page of North Carolina, and Eagle of Texas, who after the vote announced

their retirement from public life because they could not support the President; Mr. Page even said that he could not endure to have the blood of the American people on his hands as a result of the policy into which they were drifting.

And then, behold, after this second "victory" had been exalted to the stars by the Tory press, and plans gleefully laid for war upon Germany immediately if not sooner, it was intimated by the State Department that Americans would, after all, be effectively warned off armed ships! And men in Washington recalled that Robert Lansing had been authentically reported as determined to resign if Wilson persisted in making a liar of him by going to war with Germany because the latter announced a submarine policy based on principles enunciated by Robert Lansing to the Entente Powers on January 18th!

Thus rest the forces on their arms, in armed truce. It will be well for American citizens to watch the event. Has the voice of the People, effectively heard through a Congress which talked even if it dared not act, carried the fear of God and of the wrath of Freemen into the hearts of our rulers? If so, the President is welcome to his farcical "victories." On the other hand, the means by which it is announced that Americans may be warned are by no means to be trusted to work out effectively until they have done so. After all, the way to warn is to warn. And if the warning is not given; if American lives are lost in the course of a warlike conflict between armed enemies through the negligence of the Government; then it will be the signal for the hosts of Americanism to leap to arms again, to join battle with the Tories, and to insist that the American Congress make good in deed what it has so powerfully expressed in words:

**This Republic shall not make war on the German and Austro-Hungarian people to protect English ships, and Italian ships, while they carry guns and stalk the seas in their endeavor to sink German and Austro-Hungarian submarines!**

## Charles Ferguson's Weekly Letter

### The Party of Science and Service

I HAVE just read a little book containing some Yale University lectures on "Industrial Leadership," by Mr. H. L. Gannt. He is a keen-minded engineer with a business office in the Singer Building. I understand he gives professional counsel to manufacturers as to the scientific organization and management of their industrial plants.

The book in its main drift enforces three points:

First, that a real democracy must necessarily be more efficient in its work than an autocracy—because autocracy stands for arbitrary authority and the rule of mere opinion, while democracy stands for the authority of science and the rule of the ascertained fact.

Second, that the industrial system of the United States is comparatively inefficient because it is in effect undemocratic—since most of our factories are controlled by financiers who do not understand the physical facts that are involved—and not by engineers who do.

Third, that it is impossible by any mere consensus of opinion or vote of majorities to make a country that arbitrary and unpractical power—to break the spell of

is unscientific in its handling of tools and materials, strong for the competitions of modern peace or war.

One rises from the reading of this little book with a clear sense of the absurdity of the war-controversy as it is generally stated in this country.

We are challenged with heat to say whether we are for the Anglican or Teutonic allies; and if we refuse to admit that we are either pro-English or pro-German, we are expected to confess to a colorless and evasive neutrality.

Such a statement of the case is mediaeval. It evinces a complete misunderstanding of the real issues of the modern world. I think an American should be a partisan of democracy and science—in the United States and in all lands.

He should sympathize with every expression of the modern and scientific spirit under whatever flag. And the jealousy and passion of his mind should go out to the adventure of achieving for America a world-primacy in creative realism and the mastery of materials. His absorbing thought in this anxious hour should be to make America strong.

Our task is to purge the country of the poison of arbitrary and unpractical power—to break the spell of

a decadent and enervating legalism—to laugh the pedants out of court with their solemn motley of “juridic niceties”—to put tools and materials into the hands of those who know how to use them—to abolish the rule in business and politics of the Ignorant and the Absent.

Our politics is, of course, as things stand, a letter-press copy of our business—in shrivelled tissue and paled ink. We are weak in politics because we are weak in business. And our business is weak because it is ruled by the Advertising Man—by opinions about opinions. And by the financier—who is densely ignorant of chemistry and physics, and is never on the spot where the work is going on. And by the bookkeeper—who supposes that the gigantic engines are throbbing and that the earth-wrestlers in the fields and mines are living and dying—for the sake of a balance at the bottom of a page.

We are as yet a fantastic and myth-making people. Not yet by any means have we really got down to business.

In this connection I am reminded that the New York daily newspapers in these days achieve prodigies of mental levitation. Excepting the Evening Mail and the Hearst papers, our contemporary daily journalism in this aerial city hardly touches the earth with the tips of its toes. Such romances of prosperity! What breathless tales of plots and counterplots of treason on the part of monsters who would mar our Eden! Great moral conflicts in Congress and in the busy mart between an Ariel with an English accent and a Lucifer that drinks beer!

It is assumed by editorial writers that the newspaper-reading public is devoid of personal experience in the real world of board and clothes, and that words well-rounded and oracular can be made to take the place of things.

As a student and practitioner of the newspaper business in New York City, I assure you that for intellectual recklessness and devil-may-care, for appeal to the hypnotic mind of the maddest mass—the recent war-driving performances of The Times, The Tribune, et al., have never been equalled in the yellowest golden days of Bennett, Pulitzer and the younger Hearst.

Now the point here is that our sordid-sentimental journalism—addressed to us under the easy, confident assumption that we are all mooners or muckers—should warn us of the critical need of a countervailing force of realism and practicality.

We need a conspiracy of science—a new and sobered party to insist upon the tangible facts—a democracy awake and aware of the truth that **no nation that is masterful in the handling of tools can ever again be made to take orders from a mob—people messed into unity by a blackguard press.**

If there ever was a day for the rule of massed opinion, it has passed by. There is positively no advantage at all in our all thinking alike on foreign or abstract subjects. If we can be hustled hither and yonder by being told in chorus that certain opinions are American and certain others un-American—then we are done for. The working-and-fighting power has gone clean out of us.

It is absolutely normal and natural that some of us should care very sensitively for the fortunes of one or another of the nations that are now passing through the fiery throes in which a new world is striving to be born. But it is mere diabolism—or a morbid religiosity—to desire that either party to the great conflict should crush or destroy the other.

**The plain meaning of this parturition is that a new and modern world of science, engineering and solid human service is pushing up into the sunlight through the mould and debris of our old dead world of massed opinion and senseless talk.**

## England the Traitor to the White Race

**Employment of Hindu and Other Colored Colonial Troops in Europe Has Killed European Prestige in Africa and Asia, Famous German Declares**

By BERNHARD DERNBURG

(Continued.)

That explains the extraordinary tenacity which England must put into this war, for defeat will mean for her not a setback from which she may recover, but the annihilation of her position as a colonial power. It is not by mere accident that the question of maintaining English prestige in the Orient comes to the fore everywhere in English councils.

Whereas the world power of England is founded, in the eyes of the uncivilized world—or perhaps we should say of the non-Christian world—on the prestige possessed up to now by the English as members of the white race, and now betrayed by them, it is founded, so far as our civilization is concerned, on the strongholds with which England has encircled the seas in the course of the centuries and in pursuance of a policy unhampered by party vicissitudes. For it is not the possession of the most powerful fleet which is the decisive factor in the control of the seas and the blockading of other countries, but far more the posses-

sion of naval bases and coaling stations. During the last few months we have seen how Mudros and Saloniki became English naval stations, whether their owners wished it or not, exactly as did Calais and Boulogne. The salient trait of English friendship is that it demands the doorway from its hosts.

In the United States geography lessons in the public schools have been suspended for the present, on account of the changes which the present war will probably work in the map. But this branch of instruction was not even before the war the strong point of the curriculum in these schools. When I lectured before American Chambers of Commerce and learned societies, armed with a big map, I aroused great astonishment when I showed to what extent the United States also lay under the fire of British naval stations. After my lectures were over, this map of mine was surrounded entire hours by numerous persons who kept up a lively discussion of my remarks.

That map showed them that five English naval stations were nearer to the Panama Canal than the nearest



American naval station; that the Eastern coast of the United States, between Halifax and Bermuda, is dominated by England; that the route to the Pacific Ocean is barred by the English Falkland Islands; that the entire Pacific is menaced and dominated by countless groups of islands as is the west coast of America by British Columbia; that the northern part of the Indian Ocean is controlled by Wei-hai-Wei, Shanghai, Hong-kong, Singapore, Colombo, and Koweit, the western portion by Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Durban; that the west coast of Africa is controlled by Cape Colony, St. Helena, and Lagos. Especially did these people understand the situation of Germany and her allies, the closing of the North Sea by the Orkney Islands and the Channel the cutting off of Austria and Turkey by means of Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus, the violation of the neutrality of the Suez Canal by the occupation of Egypt, the Island of Perm and Aden. This map helped more than anything else to make these Americans see the justice of our cause and the necessity of our victory.

For these reasons the demand for the freedom of the seas has found such active support in the United States. After the Americans were taught their theoretical position of vassalage to England the practical realization of it came to them when England proved to all neutrals, including the United States, the existence of this vassalage on the seas. If a big new naval program comes up for discussion in Washington, if the United States Army is to be increased tenfold, it is not, of course, being done avowedly against England, but with the avowed purpose of being prepared against anybody attacking the national and economic interests of the United States. Prussian militarism, with which we have supposedly also inoculated this beautiful land, is achieving its greatest triumph in the United States on account of England's misuse of her power. In the United States they want to build a second largest navy, place a nation under arms. The history of the world is inexorably consistent.

The unthinking way in which a great part of the American people ranged itself against Germany, because, when she was attacked, she was prepared, has caused thinking men to ask themselves how matters stand with the United States and its pacifist President who within the last year coined the phrase that there were nations too proud to fight and earnestly advocated the doctrine of non-resistance. This man today champions one of the most ambitious naval and military programs, not through apprehension of the alliance supposedly representing militarism, but on account of the attacks of that power which has emblazoned the struggle against militarism on her banners and will in the end arrive at universal military service. Might can be overcome by might alone; that is the unfortunate truth in this world of realities. They knew in England that here, too, the British Empire had feet of clay. It is amusing to hear what Lord Lansdowne—known to be one of the leaders of the Conservatives and not the guiding spirit in England's foreign policy—said recently to an American lawyer, who quotes him thus: "Lord Lansdowne said in a private conversation to his colleagues in the House of Lords that sooner or later the nations must decide to what extent a belligerent power controlling the straits forming great highways of commerce could close these passages in order to facilitate her warlike operations. Touching upon the subject in all its philosophic potentialities, he remarked that, just as public opinion nowhere would tolerate agreements whereby a local dispute about wages might affect the whole industrial life of the land, so also would public opinion in the great nations refuse to allow a local conflict involving only two nations to cause such serious damage and hindrance to the whole commercial world." All neutrals now see that such a situ-

ation cannot be tolerated, and they are now ranged with regard to this on the side of the Central powers, despite the small sympathy which they otherwise have for us and our ways, and despite their powerlessness to cope at present with English encroachments on their rights.

But Sir Edward Grey, who knows better than any one else the weakness of England, has already laid stress on the fact that he will recognize the freedom of the seas after peace is declared as a valuable and proper basis for negotiations. What he means by that he has not vouchsafed to us. But a large part of the strongholds blockading the open seas do not belong beyond dispute to England. Also, she maintains herself in part by means of a power resting on prestige. For this reason English world-power is today double threatened. One cannot assume that the Spaniards are particularly delighted because Gibraltar is in English hands, and England would just now be comparatively helpless against a determined effort to wrest it from her. Every Italian looks upon Malta as a bit of purloined territory, and recently England wished to get rid of Cyprus cheaply in exchange for Greek aid.

And what of Egypt, always restless and menaced, and the rest of the naval stations lying on the Asiatic side of the universe? And, as for the naval stations on the American coast, they will exist only as long as they are not used for exerting such pressure on America as is now being exerted on Germany and Austria. Englishmen must not deceive themselves: identical interests and similarity of views on life bring American sympathies to England today, and perhaps America will always be better able to tolerate England than military Germany, which strives toward another national ideal. Maybe—but that does not mean much. The Englishman, who usually looks down upon the American with a sort of sovereign contempt and always tries to prove to him his superiority in mind and culture, is generally pretty well hated in the United States. America just now wants to keep out of war, because she can derive no benefit from it and wants to uphold her trade and the activities of her people. For these reasons American interests are identical with English. But to base any calculations for the future on this fact is utterly wrong. The United States will invariably pursue only an American policy.

And this brings me to something else: This is the first time since my return from the United States that I have spoken in public. I was there as a delegate of the German Red Cross, and I wish to bear witness here to the admirable manner in which Americans of German and Austro-Hungarian extraction remembered their old country and its troubles. Do not forget the difficult position in which these friends of ours found themselves; nor how they had solemnly sworn allegiance to their new country, an oath which they neither wished then nor will wish in future to break. They must make up their minds as to what they, as Americans, think is for the advantage of America. They will decide as one should decide in a land of many nationalities like America, viz., "to be a good friend to all and allow no partisan taking of sides."

But from the beginning many of them were not equal to the situation. Many had to be told of the incredible slanders heaped upon Germany and Austria-Hungary by our enemies. Then their sentiments were expressed all the more strongly. \* \* \*

So the German world across the sea has at least remained morally a great human community, a community that has deserved to have other peoples and nations group themselves around it, a community which will prove its own worth by what it does for other nations. By human and Divine right we are justified in believing that glorious success awaits our unswerving will to win.

# Issues & Events

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## WRECK OF THE OLD PARTY SYSTEM.

**T**HE most significant outcome of the armed merchantmen fight in Congress is the splitting of the two old parties along a line that roughly defines the real issue of our time.

It is made plain that neither the Democratic nor the Republican party as it stands, can possibly win the coming election.

The political forces of the country must break up and re-form along a new line. In both houses of Congress the vote on the question of "supporting the President" showed a distinct cleavage between a peace party and a war party. And that is the division that is going to count in practical politics this year.

For the present the power of the war party centers in the New York financial district, with an outlying bastion in Boston. The congressional strength of this party spreads itself through those regions of the country that are particularly enamored of the munition business. In the test votes in the two houses, the war party was largely supported by the southern states. But this support was accidental. The South voted to sustain the President as the leader of the Democratic party—not because of the fact, but rather in spite of the fact that the President appeared for the movement as the chief of Jingoism.

It should be noted that the President is by no means definitely committed to the war party. He has been playing with fire. But his friends may still hope that he will escape the flames. The effect of his recent pose as a sabre-rattler has been to put Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt in the purring pussy class. He has "dished the Whigs"—i. e. he has split the Republican party and stolen its "paramount issue."

Whatever one may think of the morality of Mr. Wilson's recent manouever, its immediate effect has been to throw his adversaries into confusion. His friends have also been thrown into confusion of course. But it is a rule of practical politics that general confusion works to the advantage of the man in actual possession of power. A king does not need to organize his friends—unless he has failed to scatter his enemies.

The veracious muse of history will be obliged to record the fact that up to this present date, Mr. Wilson has shown himself to be clever rather than wise, facile but not strong. He has failed to furnish inspiring and far-visioned leadership in a time that cried aloud and groaned unutterably for the need and lack of such leadership.

However, what is past is finished and regrets are futile. Mr. Wilson has at least another year of unique power and influence, and the crucial test is before and not behind him.

## THE TWO NEW PARTIES.

**A**T the coming national conventions in St. Louis and Chicago it will be found that neither Democrats nor Republicans will be able to get together on a traditional basis. And the Progressive party has been thrown into hopeless bewilderment by Mr. Roosevelt's commitment to the Wall Street view of the war.

All three of the political organizations of 1912 are shot through with Toryism. In each one of them there is a powerful element that is bound tight to a foreign interest—the cause of the Anglican allies.

On the other hand each of the old parties contains a contingent that is determined to keep out of the war, and to turn the reforming forces of the country to the development of the resources of the United States and the cure of our own social sins.

Here are the elements of the two new parties that are to divide the people's suffrage next fall. One or both of the new parties may capture the name, insignia and political "good-will" of an old organization. But the old parties, in their historical character, have come to an end.

This year's all-absorbing issue goes so much deeper than anything that our politics has had to do with for half a century, that the whole race of politicians will lose their footing.

The choice now presented is this: Shall we follow the lead of Wall Street—the buyers of British bonds and the instigators of new forms of belligerent business planned by Mr. Morgan with his familiars in London—or shall we break with the Anglo-American financial autocracy and reorganize the industry and commerce of the country on an American plan?

Shall we confess that Americanism has no specific meaning—and so drift back into a quasi-colonial relation to Europe? Or shall we understand the disastrous failure of the European political system, as a solemn summons to renew our faith in the world-saving significance of the work that was begun in the Revolution of 1776?

That is the question. The issue is bound to grow clearer week by week though the march of this fateful year.

It is not possible to keep up the illusion that Wall Street speaks for Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. It is incredible that Americans in general should be led to believe that solid prosperity can be established on our safe assistancy in the slaughter of our friends. Credulity must soon crack under the strain of the preposterous doctrine that patriotism requires of us that we now despise our own peculiar mission and spend our strength in support of a political system from which our fathers broke in anger and in blood.

## THE TRIO WITH CONVICTIONS.

**T**HE decision of Representative Page, of North Carolina, not to seek renomination, is an incident well worth discussing, because it is only one of the few surface indications that the Democratic party under the leadership of President Wilson is not doing its full duty to realize all its ideals.

It was a serious step, but the solution for Page was easy, because he is a whole man first, and then a party man. Men like him are the best friends of the Democratic Party. Only the Page spirit will rejuvenate it and free it from a yoke that has been put on it by others, either consciously or unconsciously, or by mere stubbornness. Mr. Page's decision becomes so much more dramatic if it is considered that his brother is the Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Mr. Page's decision is one of the signs that the old parties are breaking up. Real democracy will have a period of renaissance—a revolt against Toryism. It

will bring forth men of conviction who stand above the mere empty tradition and etiquette of party. He refuses to stain his hands with blood, even though it may be directly or indirectly demanded by his party. Only this spirit of manhood, decency and justice, makes for human progress. This is axiomatic. And it follows that men who refused to support a resolution to warn Americans from belligerent ships, for no more than mere party sake, are not only the weak members of the party, but also weak human beings as well. Neither human society nor a political party can trust them.

Every act of Mr. Page shows strength. Mr. Page also is to be complimented for his keenness that the great danger to American Democracy is a violently partial press, a press which unconsciously or purposely has kept American people in ignorance of facts. He is one of the few that have realized the full import of this great crime against the people.

His letter to his constituents is an example of frankness. He has represented them in accordance with his oath and convictions, but realizing that he may not represent the opinions of his voters, he prefers to withdraw.

North Carolina may well be proud of such a strong and stirring character, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Page will change his decision and seek renomination on precisely the issue which he has created. His campaign should be based on the fact that the opinion of the people is not correct because a Tory press has kept the people in ignorance of facts or in ignorance of their true interpretation. If Mr. Page goes before his people with this issue, he will be re-elected, and he will truly and positively represent, not only the opinion of the people, but then he will have the additional credit of having set right the opinion of the people. It is certain that such a campaign will not only appeal to a man of Page's character and capacity but also to the people, whose sense of justice is always in the long run correct.

Whilst Mr. Page's action is the most dramatic in view of his relations, the above is none the less true of Sherwood of Ohio, and Eagle of Texas, and similar credit is due to them. The spirit which moved them was the same, and they should go before their constituents on the same issue. We venture to predict that the "trio with convictions" will rapidly grow to a larger number.

### THE GERMAN BAZAAR AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN.

Nearly 50,000 men, women and children flocked to Madison Square Garden on Saturday night, March 11, for the opening ceremonies of the Charity Bazaar for the widows and orphans of German, Austrian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Turkish soldiers. From the time the doors were opened at five o'clock in the afternoon until the early morning throngs of people of all nationalities went in and out of the Garden, which was a blaze of light and color, most charmingly decorated.

The bazaar is one of the most remarkable demonstrations given by the German sympathizers in New York City and vicinity. It is estimated that almost 50,000 persons attended the opening and that from \$25,000 to \$40,000 was taken in. It is confidently expected that from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 will be realized for this most noble and worthy cause before the close of the bazaar on March 23. Every German industry is represented. Booths which attracted much attention were those exhibiting models of a Zeppelin and other aircraft; another great attraction was a model of S. M. S. Appam.

ISSUES AND EVENTS occupies Booth 136, where highly entertaining and interesting literature is sold for the benefit of the cause. Those of our friends and patrons who visit the bazaar have a splendid opportu-

### NOTICE.

**W**E have been informed by the post-master of New York City that an arrest has been made of a person for tampering with and rifling the mails.

We have also received various complaints from readers stating that they have forwarded remittances which, however, did not reach us, hence, in case money orders or checks were lost, we request our patrons to send a duplicate, but in the case of loss of currency or stamps, we cannot accept responsibility.

In case any of our readers or patrons have not received a reply to their communications or their orders have not been filled, we request them to inform the

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ity to aid us in disseminating the truth and counteracting the malicious propaganda of belittling and besmirching the name of the fatherland.

### THE EXPORT OF CAPITAL.

**Do We Want to Supersede England as the World's Chief Money-Lending Country?**

By CHARLES FERGUSON.

I have a special right and duty to state an opinion on the political and social effects of the export of capital, because I have investigated the subject at public expense and from the public point of view. Most of our present advisers on this matter of lending money to foreigners speak with entire sincerity no doubt and with the best of patriotic intentions, but from the habitual view-point of a class—the class that lives upon its investments.

So far as I know my good friend, Hobson of London, is the only man in the world of professional economics, who has made a deliberate study of the social significance of foreign loans and has published his findings. In all countries hitherto the subject has been left to financial technicians and has been treated as if it had no social bearings.

I spent the greater part of last year and the year before in ten European capitals, some of the time at my own expense and the rest as a government official, trying to find out just what modern grand-scale business and finance have been doing to European states and to European peoples. I had credentials from the President addressed to our diplomatic service; these gave access to good sources of information—perhaps the very best.

If from such a survey one were to state the most summary conclusion as to the economic vitality of the great creditor nations, how could one fail to note that the vitality of the greatest was the lowest, and that the vitality of the next to the greatest—France—was next lowest? England had become the world's chief creditor-nation. Its vested foreign interests were said to amount to twenty billion dollars or more. Its income from this source outran the proconsular revenues of imperial Rome. And the annual rate of increase was prodigious. In 1911 new foreign loans were floated in London to the amount of about three-quarters of a billion dollars. In 1913 the increment was a round billion. A person unaccustomed to the miracles of finance might suppose that a billion-dollar increment in British claims against the foreigner would need to be represented by actual and tangible goods going out of England to the borrower. But such was not the case. During the years immediately preceding the War, the annual imports of Great Britain exceeded exports by about three-quarters of a billion dollars.

Thus England had entered into the very Olympus of international usury. All the world served England with precious cargoes, and yet the world sank year by year deeper in England's debt. What could be more felicitous? It seemed to the enthusiastic vision of financiers that a day was at hand in which the whole British nation would become the world's free border and dead-head passenger, utterly absolved from all the contaminations of work.

Now such prospects, exciting though they be to the imagination of orthodox finance, do not comport with the hard laws of the universe that condition the strength of nations. War came—which tries all things to see whether they are iron or hay. And it was revealed almost within an hour that England was not altogether and unqualifiedly rich. One is reminded of the deeply thought plot of the stage-play called, "The Admirable Creighton." It is as if counsel and competency in face of the elemental human and economic problems were left only in the hands of butlers and humble working folk.

England once led the world in real and practical power, the mastery of the tools and engines of civilization. Its decline in technology has gone on steadily for a generation. I am told by Englishmen, notably

and with much specification by Mr. Towne, the Secretary of the London Chamber of Commerce, that the management of great English factories has of late been passing rapidly into the hands of Belgians and other foreigners. The present generation of endowed and leisured Englishmen are excellent sportsmen, but they cannot manage the big machines. They have to a very large extent taken on these amiable but futile characteristics of the "remittance man," so familiar to American ranchmen and miners in the West.

I mean to say that any real wealth of nations is simply highly organized practical power over tools and materials, that the whole fabric of English wealth is unsubstantial, that the cause of this lack of substance is the unfortunate commitment of this proud and generous people to the economic heresy of Shylock and that the Americans who are urging us to follow in the footsteps of England to the throne of Universal Money-Lender are—if it be granted that they mean well—profoundly ignorant and misleading men.

The exhaustion of France through the export of her capital—is another story. On the other hand it remains to be shown, by the experience of Germany, that it is even better to be a great borrower than a great lender.

## America Should Enforce Peace

By KUNO FRANCKE, Professor of the History of German Culture at Harvard University.

Harvard University, March 7, 1916.

In his recent speech before the Gridiron Club, President Wilson is reported to have said that only the call of humanity and justice could make it a duty for this country to take an active part in the European conflict. That call, it seems to me, has gone forth long ago; its command is daily becoming more imperative.

If, instead of bending their energies upon upholding the formal right of neutral individuals to travel on belligerent armed vessels, American statesmen were giving heed to the real call of justice and humanity that comes to us from a whole continent, they would thereby enable this country to serve mankind in such a way as perhaps no single nation has ever been privileged to serve.

The European conflict has assumed such appalling proportions, it has wrought such endless havoc, it is so seriously threatening the future of all civilization, it is so fast approaching a fatal deadlock in which all the nations of Europe will waste their vitality without any one of them gaining any advantage from a further prosecution of the war, that America's mission to stop this purposeless slaughter cannot any longer be ignored.

We cannot and must not forget that Europe is our common mother. We cannot and must not sit by indifferent to her nameless distress. Least of all should we go on profiting ourselves ingloriously from her death agony. True Americanism demands that we make an end of this frightful war, even if we are forced thereby to go beyond the limits of formal neutrality.

I do not pretend to know just what diplomatic action would be the best means of accomplishing this end. But whatever form our diplomatic procedure may have to take, let us proclaim the principle of our action without ambiguity.

Let us issue a declaration addressed to both the warring factions. In this declaration let us, in effect, say to Germany and her allies: "We offer to submit for you to your enemies peace proposals which will insure the

restoration of Belgium and Northern France and the establishment of some sort of Polish independence, the precise definition of these terms to be made a subject for negotiations between the belligerents for which the United States cannot assume responsibility. If you decline this offer we shall assist your enemies in every possible way, even at the risk of war, to force you to such conditions of peace." In the same declaration let us say to Great Britain and her allies: "We offer to submit for you to your enemies peace proposals which will leave the territory of Germany and her allies inviolate and which will assure a sound economic basis for the future peaceful development of the great Central European powers, the precise definition of these terms to be made a subject for negotiations between the belligerents for which the United States cannot assume responsibility. If you decline this offer we shall cut you off from munitions and all other war supplies and thereby help to force you to such conditions of peace."

It is hard to believe that either of the two warring groups should remain deaf to such warnings. But if one of them should refuse to listen then we should clearly be justified to side with the other. If both of them should refuse and thereby make American action impossible, then America would at least have put herself on record as really standing for the principle of humanity and justice, she would have shown herself conscious of her supreme duty, the effort to save Europe. And in the end she would receive recognition as having been inspired by friendliness and good will toward all the warring nations.

Can there be any doubt that such a policy would be more truly American than the partisan policy which now is being advocated so vociferously by violent fanatics on both sides? Is there not here a program which might bring together for common action all sincere believers in international justice, which would furnish a concrete illustration of what may be accomplished by a League to Enforce Peace.

KUNO FRANCKE.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### BRITAIN DEMANDS GERMAN DYE FOR HER UNION JACKS.

England will not let Americans dye for the English flag. Only Germans can dye satisfactorily for John Bull. Britannia may rule the waves, but Germania rules the dyevats.

This came out yesterday in Federal District Court in a suit over 12,400 Union Jacks returned to the Syndicate Publishing Company, No. 9 East Thirty-seventh street, because they were colored with American dye. The British inspectors said German dye was guaranteed, and they'd accept no substitute.

The Syndicate Publishing Company secured a war order for Union Jacks to be shipped to England via Canada. In Canada it was noticed that American dyes had been used, and the flags were sent back.

John C. Dettra & Co., flagmakers, sued for breach of contract, asserting there was a shortage of German dyes, and that it was understood that if no German dyes could be obtained American "fast colors" might be used. American dyes, the Dettra company held, are as good as the German product.

### THE EXPLOITS OF THE MOEWE

The return of the German commerce raider Moewe to a "home port"—presumably Wilhelmshaven—after sinking or capturing fifteen enemy ships and sowing "points of the enemy coast" with mines, closes the second chapter of a thrilling tale of the sea which any maritime nation might envy. The arrival of one of her prizes, the Appam, into Hampton roads, was the first.

How this tramp steamer, converted into a formidable engine of destruction, could have steamed out of Kiel canal in the teeth of the entire British naval power, to prey upon British commerce, is mystery enough. But how this daring "Sea Gull" could have steamed back unscathed, despite the mighty vow of the admiralty to capture or destroy her for the sake of the honor of the British navy, is still greater mystery.

The commander of the Moewe has a rather formidable name—"Capt. Burgrave Count von Dohna-Sehlodien"—but he has effectually fixed it in the memory of the world and in the history of naval achievement. The old captains of the main have in the commander of the Moewe a mate worthy of their genius and their gallantry. Even British seamanship must admit that he has made a record of which any Englishman might be proud. The list of captured merchant ships and the destruction of a battleship by means of a mine in the course of a few months' cruise show extraordinary activity, audacity and resourcefulness, and would be sufficient of themselves, even if the Moewe had been finally taken herself, to entitle her commander to take high rank for naval ability and daring. But the most surprising feature of the German raider's campaign is the fact that, after boldly playing havoc with British vessels on the highways of commerce, after venturing almost under the guns of British warships, she eluded all the pursuers who were scouring the seas for her, and con-

temptuously made her way into a German port on the North Sea in spite of the so-called English blockade.

The British can stand the material damage inflicted by the Moewe, but their naval prestige suffers by the brilliant exploits and successful escape of the German cruiser. It was the whole British Navy against one German auxiliary, and she beat and baffled them on the element which Britannia claims to rule.

So far as naval dash and the romance of the seas are concerned, Germany has carried off the laurels in this war, and has left the British record dull, routine and tame. But the more serious thought which the Moewe's successful evasion of the British blockade suggests is—how far is it a real blockade at all as to warships which may desire to emerge from German ports?

If the Moewe can go in and out as she pleases, may not a German battle fleet find means of getting to the ocean when the psychological moment arrives? Perhaps not, but the career of this German raider makes us wonder what might be done with some adventurous and able commander like Captain Dohna in charge of a formidable German squadron.

The British Navy still has no trouble in detecting and holding up ships carrying American goods either to Germany or to adjacent neutral markets. Are we to infer that it is so busily occupied in this way that it has no eyes for German sea-raiders moving out from and back to German ports under its very nose?

### ITALIAN MERCHANTMEN TO ARM.

The Italian Ambassador at Washington, Count Macchi, has notified the American Government that, notwithstanding the German and Austrian decrees regarding the sinking of armed merchantmen, Italian merchantmen will continue to carry armament.

The Ambassador also has been instructed to say that Italian merchant-

men will use their artillery only for defensive purposes.

### PORTUGAL AT WAR.

The formal declaration of war by Germany against Portugal does not change conditions in Europe materially. Portugal's recent seizure of interned German ships was in itself an act of war and was probably the hardest blow that it is capable of delivering.

"The German Government therefore considers herself from this time in war with the Portuguese Government," is the conclusion of a declaration handed by the German Minister at Lisbon to the Portuguese Government and in Berlin to the Portuguese Minister.

"The German declaration emphasized the fact that this step was made necessary by the recent illegal seizures of German ships in Portuguese ports, which is the gravest sort of breach of neutrality and of special treaties.

"The declaration enumerates a long series of breaches of neutrality by the Portuguese Government, such as the permission of free passage to English troops through the colony of Mozambique, the permission given to English men-of-war to use Portuguese ports for a time exceeding that given neutrals; the permission given the English navy to use Madeira as a naval base; actual engagements between Portuguese and German troops on the frontier of German Southwest Africa and Angola; frequent insults to the German nation by members of the Portuguese Parliament who never were reprimanded."

By declaring war against Portugal Germany has terminated an ambiguous situation which has been of some value to the Entente while it operated against the interests of the Central Powers, especially Germany. The event which now has taken place has cast its shadow before for two or three weeks past. Portuguese diplomacy, evidently determined to bring about a state of war with Germany while laying the onus for such an act upon Berlin, has





been playing a provocative part from the beginning of the great war.

At a time when Portugal was nominally at peace with Germany, and the German envoy was in Lisbon, the Portuguese government ordered the seizure of all German ships interned in Portuguese ports. No explanation was given at the Portuguese capital for the benefit of the neutral world of an act which by no quibble of diplomacy could be construed as anything but an act of overt hostility. The assertion of the Portuguese that the seizure of the ships was not protested by the German minister may be dismissed as highly improbable. It is not Germany's custom to accept such spoliation meekly.

One explanation of the possible purpose of Portugal's plainly provocative policy toward Germany may be seen on the map of Africa. The Portuguese possession of the State of East Africa borders upon German East Africa, and German East Africa is the only German possession on the erstwhile "dark," but now somewhat lurid, continent which has not been wrested wholly or in part by the Entente.

A few years ago there were persistent rumors of negotiations between Portugal and Germany for the cession of the Portuguese possessions in Africa to the latter country by purchase, and of the prospective withdrawal of Portugal from the African colonial field. There was some popular sentiment in Portugal in favor of such a transfer, on the ground of the impoverishment of the country and the steady drain upon its resources by the needs of the African possession.

There have been frequent reports that Portugal was about to declare war with Germany because of her treaty relations with Great Britain, which bind Portugal to place 10,000 troops at the disposal of Great Britain when required. Immediately after the war began the Portuguese Congress decided that the nation would cooperate with the Entente allies whenever that step seemed necessary. Early in the war there was fighting between German and Portuguese troops in the Portuguese colony of Angola.

It is apparent that the trend of feeling at Lisbon on the matter of colonial policy has undergone a decided change since the war began. Instead of desir-

ing to get rid of a colonial liability, Portugal is now inspired with the aim to add to it by the annexation of a part of German East Africa.

Without counting Canada, Australasia and India, fourteen nations are now in conflict, viz.: Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, San Marino and Portugal on one side, and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria on the other, with a fair prospect that Roumania and Greece may presently be added to the number.

\* \* \*

### BRITISH DIRECTIONS TO ATTACK U-BOATS.

Following is the text of the instructions regarding submarines applicable to vessels carrying a defensive armament, which were found on board the British steamer Woodfield:

"Defensive armed vessels should follow generally the instructions for ordinary merchant ships.

"In submarine waters, guns should be kept in instant readiness.

"If a submarine is obviously pursuing a ship by day and it is evident to the master that she has hostile intentions, the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding the submarine may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo.

"In view of the great difficulty in distinguishing a friend from an enemy at night, fire should not be ordered after dark unless it is absolutely certain that the vessel fired at is hostile.

"Before opening fire the British colors should be hoisted. It is essential that fire should not be opened under neutral colors."

\* \* \*

### HAVE WON 105 SQUARE MILES.

Summarizing the present situation around Verdun, German correspondents at the front assert that between Feb. 21 and March 1 a total of 170 square kilometers (105 square miles) of terrain was gained by the Germans, this being four times as much as the French won in their entire offensive in the Champagne last Fall.

The taking of this ground north and east of Verdun has shortened the German radius of action from the north to the southeast by several kilometers.

The German tactics are to avoid consistently the possibilities of great loss of human life, and therefore, to avoid direct storming, and replace it by the constant collaboration of all arms. The consequence is that the entire advance consisted of a series of tidal waves, each of which during the past few days was productive of gains.

The gains were obtained with losses which were comparatively insignificant.

\* \* \*

### REACTION AT PETROGRAD.

The appointment of B. V. Sturmer as premier of Russia is an event which will carry a distinct sense of discouragement to all friends of the Russian people. Goremykin, whom Sturmer succeeds at the helm of affairs at Petrograd, was sufficiently reactionary to please the court clique and their followers. But Goremykin's reactionism is exceeded by that of his successor.

Sturmer belongs to the school of provocative reactionism of which von Plehve, commonly designated as "the butcher," was the conspicuous exemplar. Von Plehve, in his passionate hatred of the liberal movement, provoked disorders in order that he might suppress them with a hand of steel. Von Plehve was the father of the Tchernia Sotni, or "Black Hundreds," that ingenious device for the stimulation of national feeling by systematic massacres of Jews. With von Plehve's name will be associated in history the crime which has made Kishineff a word of horror. And Sturmer was a persistent supporter of von Plehve and his shocking conception of government by mobs and Cossacks.

Sturmer's promotion from the comparative obscurity of the council of the empire to the place of greatest power after that of the czar may well be regarded as the answer of the Russian bureaucracy to the optimistic predictions of those who believed that Russia, by her association with two of the great democracies of Europe in the present war, would be impelled to take the earnest advice proffered by Baron Rosen, and choose the path of modernity and progress in her internal administration.

To Americans the present trend of government in Russia is of especial interest, in view of the efforts which are being made by that government to raise in this country enormous sums, not only for the conduct of the war but for the development of the country when the restoration of the peace of Europe shall usher in the period of reorganization.

\* \* \*

### AN ARGUMENT.

England claims the right to starve the civilian population of Germany (baby killing), because "all of Germany is one vast camp." So are, of course, France and England. Armed camps are subject to bombardment. Hence Germany has the right to bomb any part of England or France. Chickens come home to roost.

\* \* \*

### FRIGHTFULNESS.

The French bomb open cities far removed from the front, such as Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Freiburg, i. B., ostensibly in retaliation for the bombing by Germans of fortresses and places immediately behind their front. The



French employ as soldiers savages "once removed from the ape" (expression used by an American nurse), both the British and French attempt to starve Germany. Against such frightfulness any sort of retaliation would seem justified.

### MADAME ARTOIS.

Among the passengers last week who quietly, unostentatiously and unobserved alighted from the gangplank of the Holland-American liner at New York was one named Philippine Artois, Belgian actress and lecturer. It would be hard to convince the newspaper men at the dock, eager for news from Europe, that the diminutive little woman hidden in furs and wearing a thoughtful air had been the center of interest in Brussels during her visit of a few weeks prior. Often destiny is overlooked though standing at our elbow, and so the cute little reporter passed up Philippine Artois, who had been the guest of honor in the Belgian capital, in their hot-footed zeal to obtain the opinions of a few American millionaires' views as to how long they considered the war would last and if they considered it safe to continue sending their products through the submarine zone to the Allies.

Philippine Artois is back from Europe; this information carries with it pregnant facts. First, she started without a passport and continued her journey past Kirkwall, by the English Channel, censors, English warships and English tea to Copenhagen. Secondly, still without passports and favor she succeeds in reaching Berlin, this after 10-days' wait at Copenhagen. At this capital she is received at the Foreign Office on the terms a monarch receives a messenger from a neutral country and with the confidence that Philippine Artois would take no unfair advantage of any permission or privileges accorded her in view of her being a Belgian. Thirdly, after over three weeks at Berlin the Governor General at Brussels telegraphed permission for her to enter Belgium and at this city she was received by the authorities with all honor and distinction, and, fourthly, she went from Belgium to Holland and thence by steamer past Falmouth and the British lions with a heart full of good wishes from her own people in Belgium as well as the German authorities now reigning in that country.

The vital point is how does Philippine Artois remain loyal to her own people in Belgium and still at the same time entertain no malice towards the conquerors of Belgium.

Philippine Artois, it would seem, if you will take into consideration her intimate knowledge of the Belgian situation as it stands today and her understanding of the attitude of her people towards the Economic, Military, Political and Industrial conditions introduced into Belgium since the German occupation of her country is in a sound position to act as referee between factions resenting German rule and those cranks advocating more stringent measures of reform.

Madame Philippine Artois has told her pulsating and dramatic story of her own personal experiences, assisted with new pictures from the Belgian fighting zone at the Arion Hall, Brooklyn, N. Y., last week. This, her interesting story, she will give in various places in New York State as also in the West for the aid of her countrymen.

### ARMED MERCHANTMAN A CRUISER.

Commenting on the question of submarine warfare Professor John W. Burgess, of Columbia University, says in part:

AS all submarine procedure against merchant vessels, armed or unarmed, is a new thing, there are no rules of international law directly applicable in regulation of the same.

Rules for this purpose must be developed from the rules governing the procedure of cruisers against merchantmen, with such adjustments as the nature of the new warship reasonably requires.

The submarine is universally received as a legitimate weapon of war, else we, as well as the rest of the world, would not be constructing them.

In deriving rules from one situation to be applied to another, every difference of condition must be drawn into consideration and given its due weight.

The all-important difference which governs the question, is the fact that on the surface of the water the cruiser dominates the merchantman completely, while the armed merchantman, on the other hand, dominates the submarine.

While we are warranted in adopting the rules regulating the relation of the cruiser to the enemy merchantman, for the relation of the submarine to the unarmed enemy merchantman we are not warranted in doing so, without modification, where the enemy merchantman is armed, or is furnished with the means of calling prompt assistance, or is under orders to ram the submarine.

Any armament of the merchantman whatsoever makes it dominant on the surface of the water over the submarine. In fact, its ability to ram the submarine is a great danger to the latter.

Therefore, if we recognize the submarine as a legitimate weapon of war, we must class all armed merchantmen as warships, while upholding the immunity of the unarmed merchantmen strictly according to the existing rules governing the relation of the cruiser to the same.

This seems the proper solution of the question from the point of view of legal theory. It seems also the proper solution from the point of view of American interests. Until we shall have constructed the most powerful navy of battleships, cruisers and other surface craft in the world, we would be following a suicidal policy to the urging, or assenting to the formation of rules governing submarine warfare, which would deprive us of an effective defense by submarines of our own coast or of an effective means of preventing access to the coasts of Canada or Mexico by any foreign power seeking to make either one of these a base of operations against us.

As to the question of warning our citizens against traveling on the armed merchantmen of the belligerent powers, of course if all armed merchantmen of belligerents are classed as warships, this question would solve itself.

Any American citizen traveling on such a ship would do so at his own risk, with or without warning from his government.

So long, however, as armed merchantmen are not considered by our Government as so classed, we must have recourse to the proclamation of warning or else be continually exposed to the chances of serious foreign complications at the will of any citizen.

The warning would be simply a disavowal of responsibility by the Government for the security of the individual who persists in doing the thing against which the warning was proclaimed.

It would not forbid his doing it, but would simply notify him that if he does it he must do it at his own risk, and, in case of injury, must not require or expect the Government to reimburse or avenge the same.

The matter of warning is not a question of diplomacy or of international law, or of international relations at all. It is a purely domestic question.

It becomes a question of diplomacy or foreign affairs only after the Government shall have assumed such responsibility and undertakes to deal with the foreign State charged with inflicting the injury.

As a domestic question it is, therefore, a question of internal law, to be settled by the provisions of the Constitution or the Statutes of Congress, and not by the executive.

If the act declines responsibility for the security of a citizen in a certain event, then the happening of the event does not concern the President or demand any action on his part.

It will be an improvement if the responsibility of the government for the security of its citizens when outside its own territorial jurisdiction be more strictly defined by law, and the citizen not encouraged to consider every privilege he may, by custom, enjoy in a foreign country or, at times and under certain conditions, upon the high sea, as a right, the enforcement of which may be demanded by him of his Government without any regard to the exercise of individual prudence or to the convenience and welfare of his fellow citizens and his country or the peace of the world.

It must not be overlooked that there is a good deal of deceit and hypocrisy mixed into all this controversy about the right of a citizen of a neutral country to travel upon belligerent merchantmen in declared war areas.

We are manufacturing and selling billions of dollars' worth of war munitions to Great Britain and her allies. It is not considered unneutral for a neutral government not to prohibit its citizens from carrying on such trade so long as it does not reach such dimensions as to make the neutral country a real base of supplies for one of the belligerents against the other.

But the belligerent purchaser must take the risk himself of the delivery of the munitions.

His enemy is within his right to capture or destroy them if he can.

The main object of German submarine warfare around the British coasts is to do this; and the main object of getting American citizens to travel on these merchantmen carrying contraband of war is to shift the duty of securing the delivery of these munitions from the shoulders of the British Navy to the Government of the United States of America, under the cloak of the claimed legal duty of the Government of the United States to hold the belligerent operating the submarine warfare against the munition ships of its enemy to strict accountability for any injury happening to an American citizen by reason of a submarine attack upon such ships.

The point of real humiliation to our country, our people and our Government is that we should permit ourselves to be used for one moment for such a purpose.

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## A President and Ex-President

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**T**ODAY there are two distinguished Americans out before the people trying to arouse their countrymen to insistence upon greater preparation in the matter of national defense so called, but in reality to enlarge our military establishment. They are Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States, and Theodore Roosevelt, the Jingo and warlord, ex-president of the United States. These two men represent the extremes of political thought, as well as personal characteristics. They are nevertheless guided by a self-same purpose. Except as a thing to play with, as an automaton to be tossed about at their pleasure, the country and the interest of the people have but little of the consideration of either. The object and purpose uppermost with each is how to be the next President of the United States. Their present attitude is the best expression of the wisdom of the "one term plank" in the last national democratic platform yet given to the people.

The President lately went on "a swing around the circle" making speeches, telling the country how wrong he was in December, 1914, when in his annual message to Congress, he opposed any increase in our military establishment; and how right he is now in 1916 in advocating a policy he once condemned. The ex-President is now seeking every opportunity to air his war-like views, whenever he can get an audience. The substance of the utterances of both are much alike, barring the venom of the ex-President. It is plain as "whisper in the ear" that these distinguished Americans do "Not love the country less, but the presidency more." This is true in acts if not in words. So far with these two men, especially with the ex-president, their efforts have been to appeal to the passions and prejudices of the people, rather than to their reason and higher emotion. Passions tend to war; reason to peace. It is now up to the country to make answer to the utterances of these two men—upon that answer may depend peace or war, the good or bad in the destiny of the American people. So far, the President has the advantage of the ex-president in dignity and decorum. Besides what he says is not accompanied with the sulphuric vapor with which the ex-president usually emphasizes his speeches.

### Siamese Twins of Politics.

In the present condition of our international, as well as our domestic affairs, the people should be addressed in "the language of soberness and truth." And he who essays to instruct the people, whether President or ex-President should do so from the standpoint of disin-

terested patriotism, unbiased by any selfish motives of candidacy. While these two men in temperament and in politics are wide apart, yet in other things, they are as one. In their English sympathy, they are **Siamese Twins**; but the President's sympathy for England and her allies has no special hatred for any of the nations of the Teutonic alliances; while the ex-President makes his hatred of Germany the basis of his sympathy for England. The President goes to Milwaukee, a city of Wisconsin, whose population is largely German, and speaks upon patriotism; whereupon the whole pro-English press of this country heralds that fact over the land as a wonderful performance to **invigorate the flagging anti-German sentiment** which it has heretofore worked up.

There is no evidence that the Germanic element and its sympathizers of our people are not as patriotic and as loyal to this country, as are those who are engaged in creating anti-German sentiment in this country. No one has yet shown, and no one can show that from any correct standpoint of American neutrality that it is any less patriotic, or loyal to our own government and country to sympathize with Germany than it is to sympathize with England. So long as we are at peace with the warring nations of Europe, every individual American can give his sympathy to whatever country he feels is most entitled to it by reason of his relationship or otherwise. Nobody in this country has so **unmistakably exercised this right as has both the President and the ex-President.**

### Confound English With American.

So long as we are neutral in this war, that long each American can sympathize with whichever country he may choose. No one has yet told us why it is more American to sympathize with England, than it is to sympathize with Germany, though many have said hard things about Germany and good things about England. **It is not on opinions, but on acts that the questions of patriotism and loyalty are determined.** The naturalized Germans, the German-Americans and their American sympathizers have just as much right under existing conditions to sympathize with Germany and her allies in this war, as have the English, French, Italian or Russian element of our population to sympathize with their respective countries, from which they originally came. This is too plain for argument. Then why all this talk about patriotism, about Americanism which the President and the ex-President are now inflicting upon the country in common with all the utterances of a pro-English press? They are simply **exercis-**

ing a right that they would deny to others, acting directly in face of constitutional guarantee of equal rights for all, and special privileges for none.

How do their talks and acts square with patriotism and Americanism? It is natural for an Englishman, or a person in America, born of English ancestry to sympathize with England in this war; so likewise with a naturalized German, or with a person in America born of German parentage to sympathize with Germany in this war; and so long as we are at peace with these warring nations of Europe, there is neither law nor morals which would deny this right; but when war is declared, whether right or wrong, then there is a change, and it becomes the duty of all to stand faithfully by this country. But the trouble is, that efforts are made to make English sympathy the test of Americanism. This is approaching disloyalty.

It is the common fault of both the President and of the ex-President that each sympathize with England in this war from personal motives and reasons. Both are so egotistical, as to be impatient with everybody who does not think and feel as they do. Each of these worthies is offended when they take "Snuff, but the rest of the country does not sneeze." It is said that the Emperor Charles V. failed in his mad efforts to make a number of clocks keep time alike. No wonder that it is impossible for the President and the ex-President to make one hundred millions of people think and act alike. It is too big a job even for so eminent personages as a President and an ex-President.

This country is at least technically neutral in the war, and friendly with all parties thereto. We have no special interest in the war nor in its result. It is alike our duty and interest to do all we legitimately can to stop it.

#### The Need for a Neutral Leader.

The position of the President and of the ex-President is that it is unpatriotic and un-American to sympathize with Germany and her allies, but patriotic and American to sympathize with England and her allies, as they both are doing. What other basis is there for their talk about patriotism and Americanism, if they do not mean this? Then what meaning is there to their speeches? At this time, it is a most unfortunate attitude for these two men to assume, especially in view of the ambition of each to again become President of the United States. **We need a leader who is firmly and squarely neutral between the warring nations of Europe, and indifferent as to the result of the war—one who can hold the balance with a just and impartial hand. A task which neither the President nor the ex-President can do.**

There are plenty of American statesmen just as able as is the President or ex-President who can be trusted with that task. Neither of the political parties, nor the country is now so poor in presidential timber as to make it necessary to force the choice of either. **It will be a sad day for the United States whenever but two of her sons are found fit for the presidency.** Already there is too much of a spirit of hero worship among the American people. Each of these two self-constituted instructors of the people overlook that inefficiency and unblushing graft which cause the bad condition of our armaments. We do not get more than fifty to seventy-five cents on the dollar of the amount of our appropriations. There is too much leakage. We individually and as a people do not understand economy and thrift. Until this lesson is impressed upon the public and official mind, it is folly to increase appropriations for national preparedness. We need more the lessons of economy and thrift than those of war. We would but feel the tax, but not get the benefit of the increased appropriations. Besides, after the present European war is over, we can by reason of their exhaustion proceed with leisure in the program of enlargement of our armament,

for it will be fifty or more years before either of the warring nations will have so far recovered of their exhaustion as to be able with any hope of success to attack us.

#### Belgium and the Jingo.

Few if any are opposed to a proper and reasonable program of preparedness or betterment of our national defense; while there is much opposition to all this furore and excitement now manifest over all this land, worked up for a political purpose, and originated to make a market for the munition plants when peace is made in Europe. The President and the ex-President are in a race to see who can utilize to the best advantage all this manufactured alarm; and thereby turn it to his own account. The country should look at this matter calmly, not from the standpoint of alarm which politics, candidates, and the munition plants have created. If this country was safe from aggression when Europe was prepared and at peace, why is the same armament not sufficient now when that continent is exhausted by a great war? If there was then no disposition of its great nations to attack us, why should exhaustion incite them to a hopeless attack now? Is all this furore about national preparedness for the purpose of giving vigor to the President's undiplomatic notes to Germany? Or, is it to enable the Jingo ex-President (should he unfortunately be again nominated and elected President) to make war on Germany in behalf of Belgium? He seems greatly disturbed about Belgium, but not at all about China, Egypt or Greece. So far as the country knows these suggestions are about as well founded as are the pretended reasons given by the Navy or Security Leagues, the partisans of the munition factories.

Is all this fuss to prepare the country for a career of conquest, or to make a market for the munition plants; or is it to make actual and physical the fact of American sympathy for England and her allies? Or is it for the invasion of Mexico, under the name of pacification? **So curiously has the propaganda for national preparations sprung up, and so recently has the alarm seized the country that the people have become distrustful of the manner and the purpose of the leaders who urge it.** Well they may be. When any power or influence has revolutionized the policy of a great political party, and caused the national administration of the party to completely reverse itself it is time to think. What under ordinary conditions the people would willingly grant, the intensity of the campaign for increased armament, the source from whence it originated, causes popular hesitation and distrust. Why cannot the people be candidly and squarely dealt with in this serious matter? **Uncover the cause which is making all this stir!** From the manner of the campaign, the people are beginning to suspect that there is no cause, save the greed of the munition plants, and for the candidates to align themselves with Plutocracy.

#### Is This a British Colony?

The plan seems to be a million more men for the army, and a navy superior to any except that of England. Why all this deference for England? Is there any secret understanding between England and this country whereby all differences between that country and this be "quashed" or (to be diplomatic) be arbitrated? Let the country know. Would not defeat at the hands of England be just as humiliating to us as it would be at the hands of any other country? Then why this exception in favor of England? Why is there not at least as much danger of aggression from England as any other European country?

It seems that English influence is already too nearly supreme in this country, and our obsequiousness towards England is a just reproach upon our govern-

ment. In view of the pro-English sentiment in this country, it is significant, that any person is viewed with suspicion if he suggests to increase our naval force that it be larger than that of England. Why do we thus yield the palm of superiority to England? For what reason? Why not begin on our coast defenses; perfect them; enlarge our army, so as to properly man them, thus securing our first line of defense; then at leisure take our time to make such further additions to our army and navy as experience during the period of Europe's recuperation may dictate? That is the common sense way. If we are to adopt the warlike policy of a big army and navy, why not have the best and biggest on earth? Why accord first place to England or anyone else? Unless we do this, have we secured the safety which we pretend to seek by the enlargement?

The ex-President in his zeal to nag the President and punish Germany, because of what he says she did to Belgium, forgets that any other country other than Belgium has been overrun in this war, and made desolate and waste. With a true man, this would not have happened, but for a shifty politician and candidate, it appears easy enough. The press of the country has already made known Belgium's fate, and her sad story; but Greece or Poland with a worse fate excites in the ex-President, according to his recent Brooklyn speech, no emotion of pity. His heart is not touched, save by "votes." It would be useless to sympathize with any country whose miserable condition is not well advertised by the British. To do so would be wasted energy, as it would have no effect on the people. The ex-President has no time to sympathize, or assist in making sympathy for Greece or Poland.

#### Our Chameleon President.

But in this matter of political agility, the President

is perhaps more expert than the ex-President, for the President after his nomination at Baltimore became a progressive, assuming positions condemned in his writings, embraced Mr. Bryan, who he had hoped the country could be rid of. He went back on the Panama Canal tolls in favor of our coast-wise shipping to please England. He now courts predatory wealth which he once opposed. Three months ago when he opposed a big army and navy, he said, "We are threatened from no quarter"; he now says, "Every hour makes the situation more difficult to handle." Yet he fails to tell the country from whence comes the increased difficulty; and in what way an increased armament would relieve that situation or make it easier to handle. The President thus presents himself as a shifty politician, rather than as a wise statesman. If he perseveres, he will yet catch up with the ex-President.

Let the country get down from excitement which has been worked up by the munition plants, and calmly adopt a reasonable and proper plan for the betterment of our army and navy, and a gradual increase of the same, even working out a system of military training suited to our need. And above all to inculcate lessons of economy and thrift among the people and among the legislators and officials of the country. Let us learn first the arts of peace, so that when war comes, we may be the better prepared to learn successfully the arts of war.

The President and the ex-President in common with many of the people have become unduly alarmed. It is a case of *hysteria*. Let us get over this, then as sensible people go to work. Adopt a reasonable program of preparation for national defense. We will have plenty of time before Europe recovers of its exhaustion to do this. In the meantime, let the parties make suitable choice of presidential candidates.

## The Strong Nation

By CHARLES FERGUSON.

There is going on day by day—before the eyes of the American people a demonstration of national strength such as the world has not heretofore seen. The actual strength of Germany is unprecedented. It is nothing to what might be; the social organization of Germany is full of archaisms, contradictions, imperfections—yet Germany is, beyond all question of observant and unimpassioned men, the strongest extant nation. If the United States is to be made stronger than Germany—which of course is possible—it is necessary that we clear our eyes of passion and our lips of rancor, and that we find out and declare to each other the real cause of the strength of Germany. We may then consider ways and means for bettering that excellent instruction.

Now the plain reason why Germany is stronger than Great Britain or France or Russia or the United States is that her working organization and her fighting organization are not wholly discordant—as is the case with the other nations. The significant, the symbolic, fact is that a great organizer of private business in Germany can become overnight a great organizer of public business—without making any revolutionary changes in his mental processes. Thus Mr. Karl Helfferich can pass from a directorship of the Deutsche Bank to the control of the imperial war treasury, without reversing the methods or motives of thought that have won him distinction as a promoter of private enterprises. And the most notable business men of Germany, such as Ballin or VonSiemens, when called into war council in Wilhelm Strasse, are confronted merely with an intenser form of the very same problems of

imperial economics with which their great private projects in peace times have made them thoroughly familiar.

Back of this significant fact lies the broader fact that modern imperial Germany may be said to be the youngest of the great industrial nations. The spirit of its public law has been developed since the rise throughout the world of that most portentous of all social creations within the last semi-millennium, namely the modern business system—the system of credit, contract, corporate organization and instantaneous communication, which has developed the most powerful agencies of social control known to the history of politics since the decline of the secular authority of the mediaeval church. England, France and the United States—with their 17th and 18th century constitutions—are like stiff old men with hardened arteries resisting the transfusion of the hot blood of modern business. But Germany—in spite of her disguise of feudal trappings—is constitutionally young and mobile. She has undertaken with considerable success to adapt her legal and political frame to the new and dynamic order of the working world. The western nations, on the other hand, have hitherto been content with legal and political institutions that antedate the rise of modern business. They have in general treated the consequent antagonism between business and politics as if it were a fixed fact of nature. They have made no serious effort to resolve that contradiction.

The notion has been carefully cultivated in this country that Germany has simply feudalized its national or-

ganization of industry and commerce under an arbitrary authority that crushes down all personal liberty of action. The fact is that personal initiative in industry and commerce is better developed in Germany than anywhere else. Observe for example in the organization of agricultural interests—the *Landwirtschaftsrat*—how strictly the Government confines itself to the task of merely keeping the ways open for the free play of private action. Or note, in the arrangement for the regulation of German railroad rates, how all parties in interest have weight in the decisions. It is in the western countries, rather than in Germany, that governments are arbitrary in their relation to the business world. Thus in the United States the rates of railroads are fixed by a very lofty authority, deriving its power from a single person—an authority that is necessarily disposed, by the strong traditions of our law, to hold under suspicion the testimony of all parties in interest. Here indeed lies the all-important difference between the spirit of German law and that of our own archaic jurisprudence. Our somewhat supercilious legal system—relic of an age when gentlemen didn't work—assumes loftily that the state is not interested in the processes whereby the citizens make their living, provided only they do not steal it; while on the other hand the law of the modern German state assumes that

making a living is the very quintessence of citizenship, that a man's way of doing it is much more determinative of his own power and the power of the state than voting is, that the working organization is the living tissue of society and that the controlling agencies of business—the bank, the bourse and so on—are vital organs of government.

It should indeed be admitted and asserted that the abstraction and transcendentalism of ancient law, which are so overpowering in England and in this country—continue to be a burden and a bewilderment to the striving spirit of young Germany not yet, even in that most modern country, has the ancient chasm between the working organization and the organization for enforcing laws and fighting battles, been utterly bridged over or closed up. The distinction of Germany is that she has made a tremendous start toward the integration of modern society—and has shown the way.

Those who understand that the cause of the weakness of the western nations is the suicidal antagonism between their business and their politics, will understand also that great changes and readjustments are about to take place in our national life. They will understand that the mere existence of a strong nation compels other nations to be strong—to be stronger, if they can.

## Into Mexico—and Then?

By ERNEST SETTON RANDOLPH

National pride is the tenderest, most delicate blossom in the political garden. The first article of the faith with every nation is its own impeccable virtue. That is one reason why history is "a vast conspiracy against truth." In most wars between nations, as in most fights and litigations between individuals, one party is right and one wrong; but each has its books to prove that it was always right. Complacent or even vehement belief in its own virtue gives a nation, moreover, the best standpoint from which to misunderstand and hate other nations. If the time ever comes when the people learn to look critically into the individual and corporate doings of themselves and their governments, patriotism will cease to be the plaything of demagogues and capitalists, and will be the close-guarded treasure of the people themselves. There will be a saving element of humility in it, and it will prevent at least half the wars which afflict humanity.

It would be salutary to the souls of a lot of good people who are still distressed over the idea that Austria-Hungary and Germany started the present great war, if they could draw a parallel between certain events in Mexico and certain events in Serbia and Russia.

Stripped of all pretence, the fact is that the part of the earth we call Mexico is inhabited by some millions of inferior people. Most of them are simple Indians; others have Spanish blood; a few are of pure Spanish blood. It is idle to speculate on what they might have been had their history been different; had they been better ruled, and so forth. It is not even important to point out that a people are only badly ruled if they are incompetent to insist on being well-ruled. The one practical point is that these people are inferior in knowledge, in ideals, in conduct; that they are easily subjected to and led by unscrupulous and murderous chieftains; that they are entirely impossible as neighbors of an ordered, civilized community.

With a patience which at least did credit to our altruistic standards, if not to our commonsense, we endured the outrages which these bandit neighbors of

ours committed against us for over three years. They murdered Americans in Mexico, and they shot across the border and murdered Americans in their own homes. They conducted raids and forays, driving off cattle and shooting an odd rancher or two on the side when possible. They shot men wearing the uniform of the United States Army, and even tortured them and cut off their heads. And for enduring these things they heaped upon us their swaggering contempt. We endured even that because we knew our own superiority and felt only pity for the inferior people.

But at last came the inevitable occurrence which convinced us that there are times when chastisement must be meted out, when criminal men and nations must be punished. The shooting of a score of citizens and the burning of a town brought us to the point of action. And no matter how far that action may extend, whether it amount to the rounding up of one band of assassins or the long and difficult conquest of the whole of Mexico and all the "governments" in it, we feel and know that we are justified by the fact that we are, with all our faults, a superior people, and our ways and ideals ultimately must triumph and work out to superior results.

Now the case of Serbia was not unlike that of Mexico, as it affected Austria. The chief difference, to be sure, was that Servian intrigues and crimes, being instigated and paid for by Russia, were far more dangerous to Austria than all the raids and murders of the Mexicans could ever have been to us. It is profitless to inquire into Servian history for traces of better possibilities. The simple fact was that they were a hopelessly inferior people, with no political competence, ruled by alternating sets of assassins; most of their educated people being the dupes of a Russian intrigue which, by setting up a selfish, historically unsound and fatuous ideal of a "Greater Serbia," made this poor people the tool of Russian plots against Austria-Hungary. For years they intrigued, they preached hatred and enmity toward Austria-Hungary; and finally they murdered the heir to the Austria-Hungarian throne and his wife. It was a far more severe blow at the Dual Monarchy

than a Mexican murder of the Vice-President of the United States and his wife would have been to us. Back of the assassin stood an organized conspiracy participated in by men high in the Servian army; back of them stood Russia. A careful investigation enabled Austria to trace these connections beyond doubt or question. Then at last the Dual Monarchy moved against Servia, with the same guarantees of Servian territorial integrity and sovereignty which Mr. Wilson has given as to Mexico. It was another instance of the necessity which frequently arises for a superior people to administer chastisement to an inferior.

Surely the parallel is obvious enough. Yet there will be people narrow enough in their outlook to patriotically approve of our move against the Mexican bandits who had become intolerable, yet continue to condemn Austria-Hungary for performing exactly the same duty toward civilization in undertaking the chastisement of Servian assassins!

A parallel may be drawn between our present adventure, too, and the clash between Germany and Russia, though here the comparative seriousness of the respective threats against civilization is ludicrously disproportionate. Russia might be called a Mexico multiplied ten thousand fold; such she was in her relation to Germany. And yet Americans have condemned German "militarism"! Our little army is seriously considered much too small to deal adequately with Mexico if the whole nation should unite against us. What would history say of us if we were neighbors to Russia, as debased and inferior as Mexico, but ten thousand times as terrible, united under a masterful autocracy, if we neglected to arm against that danger? History would not even drop a maudlin tear for a nation so foolish. History would not have dropped a tear for Germany had Germany neglected to arm against Russia; and Germany would have ceased to exist many years ago.

Germany has been much condemned for following the higher law of necessity and self-preservation in cutting a path through Belgium when she was surrounded by the iron ring of her enemies. Yet the American people have followed the higher law of necessity, without the justification of the need of self-preservation, not once but many times. American history is a history of ruthless conquest based on no right save that inherent in the

superior race. Every inch of American soil was appropriated by white men and white men's governments under the sanction of racial superiority. And to round out our national career of assertion of superiority over tribal Indians, we finally applied the same stern and practical test to our neighboring republic, Mexico. General Grant called our Mexican War "the most unjust war ever waged by a strong nation against a weak." He was wrong. By every thumb-rule of conventional ethics, by the record of the superficial deeds, it was an unjust war; but it was justified because it meant that California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, and parts of Utah, Colorado and Wyoming were to be the seats and scenes of our kind of civilization, not of the brand that prevails in Mexico. If you wish, you can put it that we embarked on an enterprise to shoot our band of "kultur" into an unwilling people, or else give them the alternative of death or expatriation. And we were ruthless in our methods, too. How then do we dare denounce Germany for politely asking Belgium for a passage in her hour of agony, and on finding Belgium also an enemy, cutting her way through?

So here we are embarked on a "punitive expedition" which may lead us far. Washington views the move with great satisfaction. A sense of national humiliation has prevailed during our "watchful waiting" policy. And everyone is asking what effect it will have on our relations with Germany? Will we be busy enough now to satisfy the jingoes? Will the Administration get all the military glory it wants? Will Mr. Wilson be a War President without having to tackle Germany? By attending to a matter which is strictly our business will we be weaned away from the habit of dabbling in things which are not our business, such as whether a German submarine or an Allied auxiliary cruiser shall have the first shot? In this act of war to the south can the tried and harried souls of the American people see a guarantee of peace to the east?

Or, on the other hand, will the present expedition be used as the starting point for a vast increase in our armed force, with the intention of turning it against Germany in the end? No one can say. An observer in Washington can only assure the country that the enemies of Americanism are sleepless, and there is no end to their resources. So far, nothing warrants the belief that the danger of being precipitated into war with Germany is past. The people must be vigilant.

## The Future of International Trade

By PROFESSOR DR. M. J. BONN.

**T**HE foreign trade of the United States after the war will be affected by many individual circumstances. Its future development will depend in no small degree upon the principle governing the future trade relations between the nations.

During the last century the economic life of nations has been based upon the principles of international interdependence in a constantly increasing degree. Will that principle be maintained or will the world return to the principle of isolation and national self-sufficiency, which was the trade-ideal of days gone by? The answer can only be given after an inquiry into some of the economic lessons of the war.

That the war stopped the trade between belligerent nations was no surprise to anybody. Given a war of such magnitude, an enormous economic dislocation was unavoidable. The imports of Germany, for example, from her enemies comprised 43.5 per cent. of her total imports.

But the war did more than that. It affected to an unexpected degree the trade between neutrals and belligerents. That the belligerents would levy an embargo against the neutral nations on goods they wanted at home—the British embargo, in wool, for example—was reasonable and legitimate. Nor could Russia's grain trade to neutral countries be maintained, as its route lay through the Dardanelles. The almost total annihilation of the German-American trade is due to

a so-called blockade declared by England. This measure may be illegal, but it is a fact.

Moreover, as far as her power goes, England has stopped the trade between neutral nations. Whenever she was afraid of goods—even non-contraband goods—reaching the enemy, she stopped that trade. She does not permit the provisioning of neutral countries unless they furnish guarantees that they would not trade with the enemy. That interference cuts both ways. A country like Sweden, neutral in the spirit as well as the letter of the law, has imposed an embargo against Russia, whenever she has had to lay one against Germany.

Sea power as well as geographical position interfere in the trade between neutrals. Roumania cannot export wheat except through the territory of the central powers, and Switzerland is entirely surrounded by belligerents.

### Surprises of Modern War.

A rupture of trade relations on a far bigger scale than was ever expected is not the only lesson of the war. The migration of individuals and the influx of capital into foreign countries played a large part in business life before the war.

So far as men liable to military service were concerned, it was quite natural that they should be interned in a hostile country. This was done with Russian laborers in Germany and with German reservists in England. But it was not ex-



pected that any belligerent would round up men who were not part of the army and who were willing to follow their peaceful occupations. This happened first in England.

And nobody foresaw that naturalized citizens, whose ancestors had acquired citizenship a hundred and more years ago, would be deprived of their property, as happened in Russia, and that more recently naturalized citizens, as happened in England, would be greatly interfered with in their business relations. Nor was it expected that the citizens of belligerent states living in neutral countries would not be permitted to return to their own countries, even if they were in no way connected with the army.

A great part of international trade was based upon investments in foreign countries. It has always been assumed that the selling of foreign securities would be an excellent way of providing funds in time of war. Here, too, expectations were disappointed. The closing of the stock exchanges made many millions of securities unsaleable. The relative weakness of French finance during the war is due to that circumstance.

It was found, moreover, that the owners of first-class securities were unwilling to part with them, despite the extra profits offered by a falling exchange. It is true that large blocks of foreign securities were sold. But even this does not contribute a tightening of international credit ties; it means a wiping out of existing debts, and with it the curtailment of that share of international trade which was due to payment of interest.

We are about to observe that "nationalization of capital" which before the war was advocated strongly in France and to a lesser degree in Germany. For the breakdown of stock exchanges at the beginning of the war is not the only argument against foreign investment. Many securities in the London and in the Paris stock exchanges, some of them English, but many foreign, were the property of foreigners. To-day all such property belonging to "alien enemies" is withheld from its owners.

#### Blow to Investors.

The interest in American or Brazilian railway bonds listed in London is paid to a trustee, but not to the owners. On the other hand, the non-payment of Turkish and to a certain extent of Austrian coupons is a very severe blow to French investors. It seems to me that the war has shown the danger of international interdependence to an unexpected degree. European economists discussed this problem long before the war. I think they underrated it. They reckoned with a war of short duration, and they expected the neutrals to be strong enough to prevent the disturbance of neutral trade. In both respects, they have been mistaken.

Part of that interference is no doubt illegal, as put on record by the United States government. Though these records state the facts, they do not alter them. If we cannot prove to ourselves and to the world that this war is the last war possible, resumption of normal trade relations will be possible only if nations take these experiences into account.

The danger of dependence to-day is felt by all nations, though not to the same degree. The strain is the least heavy in England, though even she feels it. If the index number for grain and meat, which was about 580 in 1913, has risen to 834 last October, that fact was due partly to a shortage of tonnage and partly to the absence of Russian and Roumanian supplies, which no control of the sea could make up for.

England draws a great many of her supplies from abroad. So long as the war goes on she cannot pay for them in goods. She must part with gold, or with securities, or contract loans which will nullify the benefits of former foreign investments. She cannot commandeer these goods in foreign countries and she is obliged to pay exploitation prices for them. The continuation of these supplies depends upon the good will of foreign nations.

Moreover, her present immunity from interruption of communications depends only partly upon the strength of her navy; it depends partly upon her geographical position with relation to Germany. Britain's freedom from serious attacks and her opportunity for an attempt to enforce a policy of starvation is due to an alliance. In a purely Anglo-German conflict, England could never have adopted such a policy. And alliances between ambitious world powers are no basis for permanent security.

England, however, has no choice; she must rely upon overseas supplies. She is an island accessible from all parts of the ocean. Even a superior navy hardly could blockade all her coasts. She cannot hope to maintain a growing population, which even to-day is almost the densest in Europe, on two small islands. She will have to rely upon the continuation of outside supplies. But she will have to lessen those dangers by shifting her base of supplies to her colonies.

Why should she again in the future become dependent upon Russian grain supplies or German sugar, or upon the good will of neutrals in furnishing supplies to her, while

she hampers their trade? To have achieved such a feat once, without being punished for it, is enough for any wise nation. And she rather severely feels the strain of having to continue an export trade with neutrals, for fear of losing markets at a time when she ought to be using all energy at home.

#### Imperial Federation.

Some of these dangers can be lessened by bringing about a form of imperial federation, as outlined by the late Mr. Chamberlain. In the British dominions a nationalization of British labor and capital may be brought about to a degree approaching the ideal of a self-sufficient state. Financial and political reasons, which hitherto have worked against that scheme, will favor it now. Of course, the inter-imperial communications are sea communications, too, and open to hostile attacks.

It may suit England, when peace is established, to adopt the principle of free seas. But even if she does not do so she has learned from her own experiences that the legitimate connections between neutrals and belligerents may be cut without any risks of punishment. That being so, inter-imperial trade is not more subject to foreign interruption than international trade.

The most severe consequences of the war's influence upon international relations have been borne by Germany. Three of her neighbors have closed their land frontiers against her. Her unfavorable geographical position, with no really open outlet to the sea, put her overseas trade at England's mercy. Her neutral neighbors are too weak to be able to enforce their neutral trading rights. Until lately she has been cut off from most of her foreign sources of supply. She was, of course, less dependent upon foreign supplies than England. Her territory and that of her Austrian ally is almost four times the area of the United Kingdom, while her population is not quite three times as large.

She has been able to go on, notwithstanding all pressure; but her present achievement does not give any guarantee that she will be able to stand a similar ordeal in later times, when her population may be double its present numbers. Perhaps the terms of peace will establish the principle of the open sea, making the policy of starvation more illegal than it is to-day.

Will the guarantee obtainable do away with all danger? If such is not the case, Germany must achieve economic security on a broad continental basis. A commercial federation between Germany, Austria, the Balkan states and Turkey can lay the territorial foundation upon which a policy of self-sufficiency or a broad continental basis will be possible.

#### Co-operative Federation.

This was an old idea, pronounced many years ago by Friedrich List, in the days when Austria and Turkey were contiguous neighbors. But even such a broad territorial expansion, based not upon domination, but upon co-operation, will not bring about complete self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency is possible only when all goods essential to a nation's life can be found within its confines, and that in sufficient quantities. No territorial expansion fulfills this condition. Even a commercial federation reaching from the North sea to the Persian gulf would not produce all commodities in the quantities wanted.

But a new movement has been gathering speed—a systematic substitution of national goods for imported commodities. It began more than a hundred years ago, when beetroot sugar took the place of cane sugar; it achieved a significant triumph when synthetic indigo took the place of the natural product. During the war great progress has been made. Nitrate made from the nitrogen of the air, and later on from ammonia, has taken the place of imported nitrate. A nitrate monopoly is prevented by the German government to prevent the swamping of the industry after peace is made. Natural rubber is being supplanted by artificial rubber. This movement will go on after peace is made.

Moreover, the war has given the warring nations a statistical knowledge of their business life which they never possessed before. This knowledge has developed socialization to an unexpected degree. Production and consumption are brought to a common level, no longer by marketing, but by organization.

Capital and labor will be directed toward the industries where they are needed; limitation of quantities will be applied in conjunction with the old-established machinery of custom tariffs and railway rates. A system of differential taxation, such as that imposed by Germany's levy on war profits, will make it impossible for the nation's necessities to be exploited as the source of unjustifiable gains.

For essential articles which cannot be produced at home the government will create importation monopolies, such as Switzerland has established in grains, and government storehouses may again be the order of the day. Labor and capital will be nationalized to a much greater degree than ever before.

These movements cannot be restricted to one nation. If

Germany is leading just now it is because she has been the most severely hit by the interruption of international relations. But the other belligerents and all European neutral nations have been taking steps in the same direction.

And the nations will not return to the old state of affairs. The ideal of national self-sufficiency was nowhere more widely discussed than in France before the war. Why should a nation, whose population does not grow, which has an enormous colonial empire within a day's journey, compete in the markets of the world? Why should she invest her savings in foreign countries, risking income in time of war? Surely France has learned the lesson that in international relations the creditor is at the mercy of the debtor.

#### "Ear-Marked Ex."

Russia, on the other hand, is in the position of debtor. A great share of her exports was always "earmarked," so to speak, for the payment of interest. Her debt will be swelled immensely by foreign war loans, and by foreign imports, for which she cannot pay with grain, owing to the closing of the Dardanelles. Moreover, so long as England holds Gibraltar and the Suez canal and so long as the Baltic remains a closed sea whose three narrow channels can be easily barred by England's position and by England's navy, Russia's export will never be free, even if the Dardanelles were forced. And she has felt the heavy burden which an agricultural country has to bear when it goes to war without a sufficient industrial equipment for the production of modern war material.

Russia has a fair chance of carrying out the economic ideal

of her nationalists—a self-sufficient Russian empire. All this, if I can read the signs of the times, will not make for an increase of foreign business relations. The original basis of international exchange is the diversity of natural economic conditions existing in different countries.

The growing size of the different business territories has greatly diminished the importance of this cause. Natural advantages of production are replaced by artificial advantages, which are brought about partly by inventions and partly by organization. If security rather than wealth becomes the aim of that organization, its scope will be almost unlimited.

I do not believe foreign trade will stop. Small countries, like Denmark and Switzerland, cannot hope to do without foreign trade. They must continue on the precarious basis on which they have suffered so much to-day, if they do not of their own free will enter the commercial federation of their neighbors.

The young countries of the new world will have to go on producing raw material and they will have to find material for them. The big exporting industries in Europe which are accustomed to have a big surplus production will be loath to give up profitable markets. Big ports and steamship companies will go on catering for trade. Outlying colonial possessions will not be given up.

But the obstacles to foreign trade will increase, not diminish it; that trade may perhaps become more intensified in some selected neutral parts of the world. But the economic dependence of the great nations upon each other will not be as close as it has been.

## Protection of Neutral Rights at Sea

Prof. William R. Shepherd of Columbia University, has rendered all fair minded men a great service in collecting under the above title the documents bearing upon issues between the United States and England or Germany. Probably the most remarkable single fact, evidenced in this collection, is the one that the announcement of the British admiralty of Nov. 2d, 1914, proclaiming the North Sea a military area, was not contained in papers published by the Department of State on May 27th, 1915, supposed to present the important documents exchanged previous to that time between the United States and the European belligerents.

Convinced that physical and financial endurance is the supreme test, believing also that national existence may depend upon the issue of the struggle, Great Britain and Germany, it would seem are striving to starve each other out. Impelled by such ideas they try to render the process of exclusion effectual by the only means that each has at its disposal, the one by ships that course over the seas, the other by ships that course under the seas.

On behalf of this new mode of submarine warfare it is asserted that, because of the special nature of the submarines, they cannot observe the rules of international law which apply solely to the kind of warships in existence at the time such rules were formulated. If belligerent merchantmen, consequently, were unarmed, and were they neither to hoist the neutral flags, nor to attempt escape, nor to resist visit and search, nor to summon aid by wireless, those rules could be heeded, so far at least as the safety of human life is concerned.

Compliance with these conditions, however, might be more than human nature under the circumstances would be disposed to yield. Nor would it meet the clear regulations of international law which provides for an assurance of the safety of the passengers and crew of a merchantman before the vessel is destroyed.

Just to what extent the undoubted right of neutrals to travel on a belligerent merchantman, having contraband on board, confers the privilege also of involving their government in grave compli-

cations on their account, is a question no easier to answer than the one that concerns the extent to which such a government is bound to protect the property of its citizens in areas controlled by belligerents.

Under the tremendous pressure of contending interests in which the very existence of the warring nations may hang in the balance, each of the two great belligerents has accused the other of committing illegal and inhuman acts, and each has adopted measures of reprisal accordingly. In the belief that it is invoking the supreme law of self-preservation, each has felt itself compelled to set aside an international law that aims to uphold the rights of neutrals as equal, if not superior, to the claims of belligerents.

Mindful of these truths the United States, early in the course of the struggle, proposed to the belligerents that they adopt the Declaration of London as a temporary code of naval warfare. This suggestion it withdrew on learning that Great Britain insisted upon modifications of that code which were quite at variance with it. Then, after Great Britain had declared the North Sea a military area, for the purpose of shutting out direct commerce with Germany, and Germany had retaliated by declaring the waters around Great Britain a war zone, with a similar object in view, the United States proposed the adoption of certain mutual concessions which would soften the rigors of warfare and uphold the rights of neutrals. This proposal Germany accepted in substance, and Great Britain answered, not only by rejection, but by virtually prohibiting neutral trade with Germany altogether. The protest of the United States against such a prohibition has remained unheeded for many months. Finally, in the notes following the German attacks on the Gulfight, the Cushing and the Lusitania, wherein the United States protests against the loss of innocent lives, the idea of mutual concessions appears once more with this country as its sponsor. Whether it will find favor at the hands of both belligerents is yet to be determined.

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# Issues and Events

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### FIGHTING ON A FICTION.

**O**F course we will all want to stand by the President in external affairs. Americans will maintain the Mexican views of the Administration so long as they are maintainable. But we are discovering by daily experience that the theory that our army in Mexico is entirely devoid of territorial jurisdiction and has only the legal status of a sheriff's posse—is a theory that cannot possibly be stretched to fit the facts.

That fiction will have to be given up. The fighting for order and civilization in Northern Mexico that we have undertaken cannot be carried very far forward on a fictional basis.

An army in a country that is really hostile and only formally and diplomatically friendly cannot possibly conduct itself like a sheriff's posse. It cannot possibly subject itself to the dubious and feeble civil authorities that claim, but cannot maintain, jurisdiction over the territories of Chihuahua, Sonora and the other border states.

**Our army will be compelled by the irresistible pressure of events to assume the territorial authority along the whole border.**

It will be obliged, in spite of every legal and diplomatic theory, to regard itself as a military government. It will be obliged to act like a government.

Thus we shall very soon be compelled, in spite of our reluctance to face the question, **What next?**

### The Conquest of Science.

Then the government at Washington and the American people will be obliged to give serious consideration to the programme that was outlined in last week's issue of this journal.

The President is right in refusing to undertake the ruthless military conquest of the whole of Mexico. The world at large is beginning to feel a kind of mental nausea at the very idea of crushing military conquests. There is another kind of conquest that properly belongs to the genius of democracy and to the generous spirit of our free western world. Our conquest of Northern Mexico should be magnanimous and humane. It should be a victory of science and intelligence over misery, violence and confusion.

It should be a triumph of **working-power**, rather than of **fighting power**.

We have already established a firm tradition in this line through our dealings in the past with China, with Cuba and with the Philippines. But all those matters were only experiments in the right direction, more or less tentative and in perfect overtures toward a demonstration of the creative and world-regenerative powers of democracy. The time has now come—and Northern Mexico is the right place—to make a demonstration that is full-orbed and entirely luminous.

We should conquer the Mexican border lands in the spirit in which General Wood and the army engineers cleaned the yellow-fever out of Havana and Santiago de Cuba.

### Buying Northern Mexico.

Somebody with a defective sense of humor says Col. House has been arranging things in Europe with a view to our paying three hundred million dollars to the Southern Mexicans for legal title to the land that the Northern Mexicans live on! It is as if the State of New York should strive to get the Dominion of Canada to consent to the consolidation of this state with the state of Pennsylvania on payment of a large sum of money to the inhabitants of Ohio.

This ponderous pleasantry may not amuse anybody, but at least it should serve to show something of the absurdity that lurks under cover of the legal theory of sovereignty.

We cannot buy Northern Mexico because there is nobody to buy it from. If it belongs to anybody in particular it belongs to the people that live there. But there is an important sense in which no section of the planet can be thought of as belonging "in fee simple absolute" to any particular set of people.

Civilization (or the embodied cause of general humanity) has at least a reversionary interest in all the territories of the earth. And it appears that this title ought to be asserted whenever any country falls into irremediable disorder.

Accordingly, it may be assumed that we have a right to take possession of a neutral zone in Mexico, not as "Gringos," but as trustees for civilization.

Of course we can honorably discharge that kind of a trusteeship only by instituting on the other side of the Rio Grande a civil administration to carry the development of the practical arts and sciences to the highest pitch we are capable of.

### Our Political Ignorance.

As to the science of politics most of the famous statesmen of the world are still in the infant class. For the truth is that the laws of social action and of the combination of large-scale human interests, have not yet been put on a scientific basis.

Here is one of the least doubtful laws of the yet-to-be-formulated science of politics: **The maximum social energy, for peace or war, belongs to the country whose laws are so framed as to encounter the minimum resistance.**

Therefore to achieve the highest driving-force in Mexico we must establish there forms of administration that promise well-being to the greatest possible number of the inhabitants and which therefore **engage the co-operation and support of the wills of the mass of the people.**

A conquest won by crushing down the force of the wills of a multitude of men, weakens the conqueror in exact proportion to the former strength of the broken force.

On the other hand it should be obvious that the conquest of the whole world must ultimately fall to the nation that first learns the secret of imposing laws that honest and energetic men everywhere will gladly agree to—and find their own fortunes in.

### BY PERMISSION OF THE KING.

**T**HE public will be surprised to learn to what extent certain industries are depending on His Britannic Majesty's Permission.

As a practical example the business in paper stock may be cited. H. B. Majesty's government interferes with this industry in three different manners: (1) The United States is prohibited to import chemicals from Germany. (2) Trade in pulp with neutral countries,

especially Sweden is interfered with. (3) Freight over the Eastern railroads of the United States cannot be shipped because the munitions for H. B. Majesty's government have the preference. This seems incredible, but it is an actual fact. The mill at which the paper for Issues and Events is made had a car loaded and on the track for 10 days before the railroad would move it. On the Lehigh Valley Railroad cars tagged "For Government Use" (the H. B. M. is omitted) go through to New York promptly, whilst freight for American business stays behind.

The situation is doubly bad in that: (1) The mills cannot obtain raw materials and (2) that they cannot ship what they have ready.

So severe has the scarcity of paper become that it has risen 75 to 150% and from many mills no paper can be obtained at any price. They cannot even fill old contracts. Almost all publishers are suffering alike.

**A few hundred dollars additional expense is a heavy figure in the budget of a new weekly which does not live on fake advertising and which has been making heroic efforts to print not only the best and soundest literature, but to fight for truth, decency and common sense at all costs.**

In order to reduce all possible waste in circulation, we ask our unknown readers for their co-operation. Surely we cannot be asking too much of you, to give your newsdealer a firm order or better yet to favor us with your subscription. If you were fully aware of the great difficulties of producing a sound publication you would not withhold this small help from us. Only through your support can this paper become strong. You are of greater importance than the editor or publisher who claims no credit.

For nearly two years we have held and increased our circulation and at great personal sacrifices we have had pleasant surprises for them. With the co-operation of many new friends we can and will do still better. And remember, that co-operation can logically begin only with each individual—with you!

### THE PEOPLE'S RIDDLE.

**T**ELEGRAPHIC and press reports from Germany indicate that the German people, during the submarine crisis, were absolutely resigned to war with the United States, much as though it seemed to be regretted. It appears that a large majority of the public practically demanded war, because it reckoned that America could hardly be a more dangerous enemy than at present, and that it would no longer need to give Americans protection on English war vessels. This is a fearful moral indictment.

Against this powerful demand was exerted the cool and calm advice of the German Government, and probably to the latter's wisdom is due the fact that another crisis has been avoided.

How strangely dissimilar were the circumstances in the United States. It is generally admitted that both in the Senate as well as in the House there was a sentiment of four to one, or even five to one, in favor of a "warning resolution." This was the American people's voice. And yet there was apparently a handful of men willing to force war on the country!

True Democrats will remember this anomaly. A monarchical system for peace and a republican government for destructive war.

### THE VICIOUS POEM.

**T**HAT rank poem by Owen Wister, at first published in the "Philadelphia Inquirer," in which he curses President Wilson in the most violent lan-

### THAT NOTE TO ENGLAND.

**Twenty-one weeks are past—and yet there is no answer from ENGLAND to our NOTE.**

**Is there an understanding between our administration and King George that His Britannic Majesty need not reply?**

guage, is a good example of lack of self-control. To the uninitiated it might appear that some hot-headed anti-British-American had written it. In that case we are sure that Mr. Wister would be known by now throughout these lands as a German spy and a traitor.

But the German-Americans never would commit such indiscretions—and in spite of the statement by Mr. Garet Garret (one of the editors of King George's New York Gazette) that their logic is based on false premises, a statement which is merely a feint to catch the scrupulous but timid—they have never uttered nor written such nonsense, nor have they ever wished hardship or war to this country.

Why, then, should a supposedly American paper that shouts "Stand by the President"—when it suits the purpose of its backers—attack an American President in such a vicious manner? Is it merely an indiscretion, or is it because Mr. Wister wants to obtain more for the British by the process of public intimidation, just like the N. Y. Sun recently printed a false report that the President would resign, which presumably was intended merely as a red rag to force him into even fiercer action on the submarine issue?

Clever? Yes. If the victim acts in accordance with the cunning plans. But is it not a dirty trick?

Can't the President see that he is dealing with an ungrateful lot?

### JERSEY WOMAN WORKS 1,000 NAMES AT \$1 EACH ON CLOTH FOR KAISERIN.

Miss Louise C. Hinck today is embroidering the names of the donors to the German Red Cross fund on a table cover which Ambassador von Bernstorff will present to the German Empress. Each person who gives \$1 has his or her signature embroidered in facsimile on the table cover.

Miss Hinck has already worked several hundred names into the cloth, and when she has 1,000 she will forward the table cover to the Kaiserin along with the \$1,000 contributed for the relief of the war victims.

"During war time they are building a new subway in Berlin, a railroad station in Leipzig, which is to be the second largest in the world. In Leipzig they are also building a big public library, a public bath and three large school houses, to say nothing of changing the course of a river that may endanger the health of a city. In Frankfurt they are enlarging the harbor; they are tearing down a bridge that goes back to the time of the Crusades and erecting a modern structure. They are completing a two-million-dollars university.

"In Leipzig, Dresden, Munich, Nuremberg, Frankfurt-am Main, Cassel and Hamburg expenditures of public money are being made with the same prodigality as though it were peace time. If you are a foreigner you will hear sooner or later and often, 'Everything is going on just the same as in peace time.'

"Truly the war has not held back the Berlin subway, nor the Leipzig terminal, nor the big new office building of the Hamburg-American Line in Hamburg."  
—An American Correspondent.

# The Business System is a New Kind of Government

By CHARLES FERGUSON

**T**HE rise of the modern business system—through the development of the credit function, instantaneous communications, corporate organization and other agencies for the massing of creative forces on a large scale, and the direct control of the forces of nature—**has shifted the center-of-gravity of civilization.**

The business system is in effect a **mode of government.** It is a particular fashion of social correlation and control. It competes with the traditions of the feudal state and with the constitutional devices that were invented by the men of the eighteenth century revolutions.

These delicate and subtle adjustments of credit and contract are an accomplished fact. They are interesting to more men, and more interesting to them than any other kind of social adjustments. One may regret this, or refuse to see it; but it is so. The business system is the pre-eminent characteristic of the age we have to live in.

In democratic countries—such as France, Great Britain and the United States—where government is conducted by delegates acting under narrow constitutional restrictions and with indefinite and, for the most part, merely inhibitory powers over the economic process—the business system was, up to the time of the outbreak of the war, **the predominant force in politics.**

It could not have been otherwise. The reason lies in the very nature of the case. For enterprise is stronger than criticism—even wise criticism. And the administrators of business enterprise, with **their direct control of creative forces and the forces of nature,** must necessarily be more powerful than officials having no direct relation to such forces and only a contingent and negative purview over any aspect of the working organization.

We are brought face to face with the disturbing fact that the chief political power in America and Western Europe has grown up and come to its significant place in history **without organs or faculties of political responsibility.** One need not have personal acquaintance with directors of large affairs in many countries in order to note the universal and obvious truth that the business men of the passing generation, whatever their ability and integrity, have only in the rarest instances subjected their minds to a discipline of social thought. They have not in general understood the laws of social motion or the natural principles of public welfare.

It is not true to say that there has been anywhere in the world a malevolent conspiracy of financiers and business directors against the happiness of the people. But it cannot be denied that the business organization at large has seriously misused the tools of modern science and has failed to develop adequate organs of self-control. Its historic mission is to work out a community of interest and a prosperity as wide as the circle of commerce. But its great co-ordinators and pacificators, **its Hildebrands or Innocents, have not yet appeared.**

That the chief political power of Western Civilization should have operated for a generation or more as a blind force, a kind of huge impersonal Samson or Caliban, is the tragic fact that precedes and explains these years of unexampled disaster.

To men of understanding there is no need of proving that the breach between this new pragmatic politics of business and the old platonic politics of classic tradition and the Constitution—is intrinsically dangerous and intolerable.

There are two ways of closing the breach.

On the one hand, it is possible to centralize the government to the point of autocracy and militarism; and thus by the power of weapons to subjugate the power of machines. England and France have been compelled, by stress of war, to take this course.

On the other hand, it is possible to make the business system democratic, so that it can openly exert its natural force in the affairs of government—with the consent of the governed.

When the war-storm broke the Western constitutional countries had been standing for a generation at an economic and political deadlock tempered by fluctuations of prosperity and reform.

The cause of this deadlock was a strained effort to avoid the issue of the age. It was the social fashion in these countries to fondle the illusion that the business organization was not a political power, that the intrusions of business into politics were mere wickedness and that it was the work of pure statesmen to maintain a nice line of delimitation between the realm of work and the realm of votes. It was supposed that the old political machinery inherited from the revolutions was adequate to control the immoral aberrations of the business system; but that the ordinary operations of the system—the pulsations of panic and "confidence," of misery and plenty—were for the most part mysteries of fate and chance that could not be subjected to any human control.

It appears that there was need of war to dissipate such illusions. It is now perceived—at least in European countries,—that **the processes of production are as amenable to human control as the processes of destruction,** so that it is not unreasonable to expect the emergence out of this welter of a business system that is really responsible and competent, one that cannot be satisfied with its own intelligence when the wheels do not turn.

The business interests of the United States cannot look forward to a peace made by holy alliance or the sworn documents of diplomacy, expecting such a peace to shelter commercial and financial spoils won from competing nations. Under the conditions that now obtain throughout the circle of commerce, **belligerent business must pass, by short stages, into war.**

Americans have choice, therefore, between an era of crushing armaments with scarcely intermittent conflicts, and, on the other hand, **a regeneration of the business system.**

We should develop a system so equitable and scientific that its organic filaments shall cross frontiers and penetrate all nations—instituting a universal community of interest stronger everywhere than any class or party.

The old conventionalities are played out. A time has come in which nothing can hold nations or classes together **but their common hold upon the earth.** Masses of men are divided and made discordant by intellectuality and the vagaries of an abstract idealism. They can unite in peace only through the investment of the conceptive and spiritual energy of the mind, **in the practical works of art and engineering.**

The ring of fire that has been drawn about the German people has burnt up much that was bad and weak in it. Indeed, it is a marvelous paradox—this emergency of power through suffering! Whether it be in Germany or in America, the metaling of an invincible democracy—fit to destroy all the plutocracies in the world—is likely to come through pressure and fire.



# Issues and Events That Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### TRAITORS AT CARNEGIE HALL.

THE meeting in Carnegie Hall on March 13, writes the GAILIC AMERICAN, financed by English money and run by a gang of England's emissaries and other traitors to the United States, brought out into the open the real purpose of the Anglo-American propaganda which has been going on for more than twenty years. That purpose is to get the United States into war on England's side, to shed American blood and spend American money for England's benefit. The two chief figures in this effort to prostitute American ideals and sacrifice American interests were George Haven Putnam, who was born in London, and Frederic R. Coudert, who is the paid legal representative of one of the Powers now at war with Germany.

District Attorney Marshall will not investigate, or take any action in regard to these agents and emissaries of foreign governments in their efforts to drag this country into the European war because all his efforts are devoted to manufacturing cases against England's enemies. But if there were a real American in the office who put "America first," instead of "England first, last and all the time," the traitors who insulted the American flag and attacked the Congress of the United States as "corrupted" would be brought to justice. Instead of that, the police force of New York was used by the British agent who now controls it to attack and assault men who defended the Stars and Stripes and who gave the lie to the scoundrel who uttered the impudent falsehood about Congress.

Men who were present report that 75 per cent. of those present spoke with an English accent. They did not sing "The Star-Spangled Banner," the American national anthem, but they did sing "America," and in doing so substituted one verse of "God Save the King." This fact reveals the true character of the meeting. It was an English meeting, and most of those present were not even citizens.

The Englishman, Putnam, boasted that he had served in the Civil War, but he showed by his words and actions that the Union Jack, not the Stars and Stripes, is the flag of his allegiance. After saying that if he were a younger man he would now be on the staff of the English army, he uttered the familiar falsehood that the British Empire is the most beneficent empire in the world. He was interrupted by a Civil War veteran with the question: "What is the matter with Old Glory?" Then Putnam showed that if he is not on the staff of the English army, he is on England's staff here and doing England's work by having the old soldier, who fought for the Union, flung out of the hall by Mr. Woods's policemen, who are paid to preserve the peace and enforce the law. No better proof could be afforded of the treasonable and anti-American character of that meeting—which would not be possible at all without the protection of the police.

Later one of the degenerate American college professors who have been carrying on the English propaganda for some years past, Langdon C. Stewardson, ex-president of Hobart College, had the effrontery to utter this lie about Congress: "Even the Congress

of the United States has been corrupted by German money." This was ruffianism. Instantly a citizen in the audience shouted: "You lie; you lie," and Mr. Woods's "guardians of the peace" dragged him out of the hall. Why? Because Mr. Woods is more concerned about the interests of the British Government than about his duty to the people of New York. Here were two citizens who defended the American flag and the good name of the American Congress assaulted and treated with indignity by policemen paid to protect them, and at the instance of men who used treasonable language calculated to provoke a breach of the peace. And women were treated in the same way under the orders of Mr. Woods.

Of course, nobody in New York treated this meeting of Anglomaniacs seriously. It no more represented the opinion of the people of New York than it did that of the inhabitants of Patagonia. The fact that they had to call for police protection showed clearly that they knew that the people of New York were against them. And the spectacle the managers and manipulators of the gathering presented on the platform was ludicrously comical. The poor, shivering creatures were almost in hysterics, even according to the reports in some of the Anglomaniac papers. They started at the slightest noise as if they thought it was a bomb or the signal for a charge on the platform and every wag who played a joke on them by anonymous letter or telephone call was treated seriously. And these are the brave fellows who want war. There was not a man among them fit to fight. What they want is that other men should do the fighting for them while they remained at home to make money by selling shoddy and diseased meat and fleecing the Government by dishonest contracts. If any of them did go to the front, a squad of strong-armed New York policemen would have to be sent with each of them to protect them and keep them standing on their legs. Looking over the list of the promoters, one searches in vain for a man who could influence

two votes, and some of them are not entitled to vote themselves, for they are British subjects.

If the people of New York had not the utmost contempt for these agents of England who want America to save England, they would have gone there and smashed it up. As it was, there were enough of indignant citizens outside the hall to perform that work if they could only get in. But admission was by ticket and many ticket holders were refused admission because the promoters feared them. But even the small number of protesters who found their way in discredited the meeting and made it a farce. But the worse discredit was brought on the meeting by the utterances of Putnam and Stewardson and the forcible ejection of the men who defended the American flag and the good name of the American Congress. Putnam and Stewardson ought to take themselves to England. England is their country and the Union Jack is their flag.

\* \* \*

### A DOUBTFUL SUBMARINE.

The charge that a submarine attempted to torpedo the Patria at close range without warning is probably one of the sea yarns to be taken with a grain of salt. The captain of the Patria frankly says he didn't see the wake of the torpedo, declared to have missed the stern of his ship by about twenty feet. None of the twenty-nine Americans on board saw it, so maybe what was supposed to be a torpedo by those who thought they say its wake may have been a sea serpent or something as real.

In any event, if a submarine did get as close as within a hundred and twenty yards of the Patria, in broad daylight, at 10 o'clock in the morning, it very easily could have had time to hail the ship and demand that she stop before launching the torpedo at her. Then if the vessel did not stop, as evidently there was no intention of doing, the submarine would have been clearly within her rights to try to stop the Patria by force.



The United States Government has never contended, no Government has ever contended, that a submarine has not the right to use any force at its command against a vessel which seeks to resist or to escape capture. What this Government and other governments have striven to do in the long submarine wrangle has been to enforce the principle that the torpedo must not be launched or the guns fired without giving the ship an opportunity to stop and the passengers a chance to leave the ship, and that, even if the ship attempts to escape, the submarine must stop firing when the ship gives up her flight.

Clearly enough, the *Patria* was bent on escaping, whether it was a real or fancied submarine, whether the wake of a torpedo was seen or was imagined. So not even a charge of violated international law could lie against the submarine. And, anyhow, nothing happened; so there is no chance that this case will ever be taken up seriously by the State Department.

### GERMANY AND FRANCE TO SEND THE DISABLED TO SWITZERLAND.

Berlin.—A definite agreement in regard to the transfer to Switzerland of wounded and sick French and German prisoners of war has been reached between Germany and France.

A German proposal to extend the agreement so as to cover civil prisoners has been accepted in principle by the French.

More than 700 incapacitated French and German prisoners are already lodged in Switzerland.

### JAPAN AFTER TEUTON TRADE.

Tokio.—An important revision of the Japanese tariff is provided for by a bill introduced into the House of Representatives yesterday by the government.

The measure is chiefly designed to encourage domestic manufacturing as a step to gaining more foreign markets for manufactured goods. For this reason the changes of tariff involved are chiefly reductions on raw materials needed in Japan for the enlargement of its manufacturing industries, including those of medicine. It represents another effort of the government to assist in the taking over of German and Austrian markets.

The specific objects of the bill are: First, to make hitherto dutiable articles duty free with the idea of encouraging domestic manufactured goods and the export of the same while checking the importation of these goods from abroad. Second, to lower the tariff on some articles to protect and encourage domestic manufacturing, and third, to increase the current tariff on some articles to protect home industries.

The articles affected by the proposed revision include drugs and chemicals, dye stuffs, iron, other metals and machinery.

The articles belonging to the first category, namely, those placed on the free list, include linseed, hempseed, castor seed, rubber seed, indigo seed, hides and skins, horn, ebony, cocoa leaves, catechu leaves and other tanning extracts, borate of soda, chloride of cobalt, coal tar, nickel, iron radium and radium salt, and poplar wood.

The articles on which it is proposed to lower the duty include sulphate of

quinine, sulphate of cocaine, fused silica, gas, oil or steam engines of more than 50,000 kilograms in weight, and dynamos when they are combined with these engines.

Under group three, upon which it is proposed to levy an increased duty, are milk acid, citric acid, peroxide of hydrogen, santonin, pepsin, tincture of opium, and certain grades of iron tubes. Some of the products affected come from the United States.

### LANDED IN RUSSIA.

#### Canadian Construction Gang of 570 Men Left to Face Famine.

Pierre B. Lawrence, a French Canadian of American citizenship, came back yesterday from Northern Russia and told some of the difficulties which have been encountered in constructing the railroad from Kola on the White Sea, to hitch up with the line for Petrograd, by which the Allies hope to supplement the Archangel route for munitions. When he left there last February there was still a gap of forty-seven miles left, he said, but it was covered by a reindeer service, and some of the supplies were getting through.

"Last October," Mr. Lawrence said, "advertisements appeared in Winnipeg and other Canadian cities calling for men used to railroad building in cold countries. An English company backed them, and they got together 570 fine, husky chaps who had worked on the Grand Trunk Pacific, the Canadian Northern, and the Hudson Bay Line. I was engaged as dock superintendent.

"They brought us down here to Weehawken and took us aboard the Russian-American liner *Czar*. We got to Russia in twelve days, but then found that we were not at Kola at all, but at Simienonono, a mere fishing village which was shelled by the British during the Crimean war. The nearest place was Kandalasha, but that was twelve miles away. We got in in a blinding snowstorm, at the end of October, and found it was about 10 degrees above zero. They told us to be ready to land next morning and we began to disembark at 2 o'clock in the morning.

"We got the machinery off although there was nothing but a beach and we had to walk a quarter of a mile to get off the sand. The bosses came off about 10 o'clock, and then suddenly the steamer pulled out and left Archangel. We asked for food and found all that had been landed were three barrels of green apples, two hams and one case of eggs. Think of that for 570 men! There was a rush for them and you can imagine the jam as a lot of husky Irishmen and Scotchmen started scrapping to get the grub. Some of them were shoved in the water but we got them out all right.

"When we asked the boss what to do he said, 'Make out the best you can.' He told us there was another ship already two days overdue, and she would have the provisions. Then she didn't come, and they said she had been torpedoed. It may be so, I cannot tell.

"We could get all the black bread and tea we wanted from the Russians, but there was no sugar. The Russians would give you anything, only they hadn't anything to give. There were some huts near, and we pulled them down and made shelters. Then there were seventeen horses and we killed five of them. There were plenty of turnips, carrots and cabbages brought from the South. They were just lying about on the beach and we made stew of those. So we had to live for five

weeks. In the end we got reindeer."

"When at last a ship arrived the first thing she discharged was cases of beer and barrels of rum, and for a time, at least, Mr. Lawrence said, the construction gang seemed to have forgotten their troubles.

"One day," Mr. Lawrence went on, "a Russian official, all covered with medals, came along and said he represented the Department of Rivers and Harbors. He said, 'I suppose you can give me accommodation for sixty-five of my staff,' and we had only got huts for our own men. The boss said, 'The nerve of him!' and I told him it as nearly as I could in French; so he took his sixty-five aboard a Russian ship and sailed for Archangel."

According to Mr. Lawrence there was trouble again in February with the Russian authorities about the pay, and the construction gang were driven by Russian soldiers aboard a ship. But the British Admiral interfered, and forced the Russian authorities to live up to their agreement, and give the men a passage back to this country.

Altogether this expedition, Mr. Lawrence said, built seventeen miles of track, but he had a rough sketch showing the jam of vessels in the harbor without docking facilities and piles of freight on the beach.

### THE GREAT IRISH CONVENTION

Arrangements are now completed for the Irish Race Convention to be held in New York on March 4th and 5th. The leading Irish organizations in America are taking up the matter very earnestly and delegates have been appointed from nearly every State in the Union.

### THE ISSUE'S PHILOSOPHER.

"He who boasts of his descent, praises the deeds of another."

"Not even the Gods can fight against necessity."—Old Greek Proverb.

"The child's business is playing."—Victor Ayer.

"The legs of the stork are long, the legs of the duck are short. Why worry?"—Old Japanese Proverb.

"He whom the Gods love dies young."—Menander.

"Every land where a man is successful is his native land."—Plutus.

"Make haste slowly."—Augustus Caesar.

"Gifts persuade even the Gods."—Euripides.

"The shoemaker should not go beyond his last."—Appelles.

"Do not yield to misfortunes, but go more boldly to meet them."—Virgil.

"Moderation is the best temperance; temperance is the best diet; and diet is the best doctor."—Lorenzo the Magnificent.

"Nature has good intentions, but cannot carry them out."—Aristotle.

## To Drive Dull Care Away

### WASHINGTON HELPED HIMSELF.

A snobbish young Englishman visiting Washington's home at Mount Vernon was so patronizing as to arouse the wrath of guards and caretakers; but it remained for "Shep" Wright, an aged gardener and one of the first scouts of the confederate army, to settle the gentleman. Approaching "Shep" the Englishman said:

"Ah—er—my man, the hedge! Yes I see, George got his hedge from dear old England."

"Reckon he did," replied "Shep." "He got this whole blooming country from England."

\* \* \*

### PEACE AT ANY PRICE.

Willie—"Ma, may I have Tommy Wilson over to our house to play, Saturday?"

Mother—"No, you make altogether too much noise. You'd better go over to his house and play."

\* \* \*

### DIPLOMACY.

"Yassah! Brudder Tump sho' flogged me, and flogged me plenty! He knocked me down and drug me around and beat and mauled me twell muh tongue hung out."

"What yo-all gwine to do 'bout it, sah?"

"Do? What kin I do? De gen'leman done disavow de whole incident!"

\* \* \*

John—"The French have gained four hundred meters from the enemy."

Auntie—"How splendid! That should help to put a stop to those dreadful gas attacks!"

\* \* \*

### DEFINITIONS.

Good—We.

Bad—They.

Right—What we do.

Wrong—What they do.

Salary—Our wages.

Wages—Their salary.

Reputation—That which one is unable to live up to.

Income—That which one is unable to live down to.

Revolution—An event in politics of which one rejoices at being the daughter, but ashamed to be the mother.

\* \* \*

### THE BOOKKEEPERS.

The pugilist should keep a scrap-book.

The burglar—an entry-book.

The acrobat—a balance-book.

The motorist—a check-book.

The cook—a reference-book.

The miner—a pocket-book.

The yachtsman—a sales-book.

The magician—a pass-book.

The wife—an order-book.

The husband—a blank-book.

\* \* \*

### THE POINT OF VIEW.

"You can't get in here on a half-ticket," exclaimed the door-keeper at the circus.

"I thought I could," apologized the small town citizen. "I have a bad eye, and I only expected to see half of the show."

"Then you'll have to get two tickets," said the door-keeper. "If you only have

one good eye it'll take you twice as long to see the show."

"How did you happen to become a lightning change artist?"

"I got started at the game by switching my winters flannels on and off."

\* \* \*

### HE DRANK THE LIBRETTO.

A student of human nature who is also a lover of music and has been attending all the performances of grand opera now being given here has been getting considerable entertainment out of the audiences. The other evening he says he observed a fashionable looking woman accompanied by a man who might have been her country cousin, and as he sat very close to them he heard some of their conversation, which tended to confirm that impression. When the curtain fell at the end of the first act the woman turned to her companion and said:

"Wouldn't you have time to go out and get a libretto?"

The man looked puzzled for a moment, but finally the light seemed to break, and smiling in a gratified way he said:

"Oh yes."

Then he went out.

"Where is the libretto?" asked the woman when he returned.

"Oh, did you want one, too?" he said, looking puzzled once more.

"No, of course not," was the reply; "yours will do for both of us. Where is it?"

Why," stammered the man. "I drank mine at the bar."—Philadelphia Record.

\* \* \*

### WHY HE LIVED.

A poem on the subject, "Why Do We Live?" was mailed to Eugene Field a number of years ago. He returned the poem to the author with the note: "The reason why you live is because you sent this by mail and did not present it in person."

\* \* \*

I did not think much of the close of the sermon," she remarked confidentially.

"Probably," he ventured to say, "you were thinking more of the clothes of the congregation."

\* \* \*

"Can you give me no hope, darling?" sighed a youthful lover.

"None whatever. I'm going to marry you," replied the sweet thing.

\* \* \*

### IT IS SAID THAT—

Telescopes were invented in 1590.

The first air pump was made in 1650.

Newspaper advertising began in 1652.

The first balloon ascent was made in 1783.

The first knives were used in England in 1559.

The first newspaper was published in England in 1588.

The first wheeled carriages were used in France in 1559.

The first printing press in the United States was set up in 1629.

The first steam engine used in America was brought from England in 1753.

The first copper cent was coined in New Haven in 1687.

Religious liberty was granted to the Huguenots in France in 1562, and was followed by the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572.

### WHAT IS A FRESH EGG?

"A fresh egg, to be eggsact, is an egg whose eggsellence is only eggsceeded by its eggspressiveness, there being few eggstant; one recently brought into eggsistence and not eggshumed from cold storage; one that does not eggsplode and eggshale eggstremely eggsasperating and ineggsterminable odors and eggscite eggspressive eggclamation when the interior is eggsposed for eggssamination and eggstraction by any eggscision of the eggterior. Fresh eggs are eggshibited on eggstraordinary occasions by the eggclusive and eggstravagant. No egg is as fresh as the eggssperienced and uneeggemplary retailer who, egged on by the eggssultant producer and commission man, eggsagerates its freshness eggstemporaneously and eggsacts an eggssorbitant price in eggsschange therefor and afterwards eggspertly eggssplains and eggssonerates himself when eggsscrated by his eggsspostulating customer."

\* \* \*

### ONE ON MARK TWAIN.

Mark Twain and Chauncey Depew once went abroad on the same ship. When the ship was a few days out, they were both invited to a dinner. Speech-making time came. Mark Twain had the first chance. He spoke twenty minutes and made a great hit. Then it was Mr. Depew's turn. "Mr. Toastmaster and Ladies and Gentlemen," said the famous raconteur as he arose, "before this dinner Mark Twain and myself made an agreement to trade speeches. He has just delivered my speech, and I thank you for the pleasant manner in which you received it. I regret to say that I have lost the notes of his speech and cannot remember anything he was to say." He sat down; there was much laughter.

Next day, an Englishman, who had been in the party, came across Mark Twain in the smoking room. "Mr. Clemens," he said, "I consider you were much imposed upon last night. I have always heard that Mr. Depew is a clever man, but, really, that speech of his you made last night struck me as being the most infernal rot."—E. Armbruster.

\* \* \*

### SHORT STROKES.

People who live in glass houses should flock together.

A stitch in time is the noblest work of God.

A friend in need sometimes keeps a man broke.

Even the electric button must be pushed if you would have it accomplish its purpose.

Life is like a game of cards. A good deal depends upon a good deal.

Many men say they are ready to die for their country's sake. The trouble is they don't.

"It is not reason that governs love."—Moliere.

"It is not so far from virtue to vice as it is from vice to virtue."—Victor Ayer.

"We can never measure the encouragement to continued effort that a word of appreciation gives."—Rolfe Cobleigh.

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**No. 14**

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## The Deeper Significance of the Battle in Congress

It is difficult to imagine the perspective of history—difficult to assess the relative value of current events and to see them as they will look to our great-grand-children. Yet, it is hardly presumptuous to believe that the recent Congressional struggle over the status of American citizens that traverse the seas on armed merchant ships—will pass into history as a stirring chapter in the struggle for American independence.

There have been many stirring chapters in this historic struggle—since the day when Patrick Henry flung out his challenge—"If this be treason, make the most of it!"—in the Colonial assembly of Virginia.

The majority of Mr. Henry's parliamentary associates regarded him as unpatriotic to the point of criminality—but history has settled upon a different opinion.

The case of Sam Adams in the caulkers' or long-shoremen's Club—and in the Boston town meeting—was very similar. His contemporaries were *slow to believe that America had a destiny of its own*.

Their minds were meshed in the mentality of Great Britain. They thought the thoughts of British politics, British commerce and British literature. And those who refused to think in old-world terms seemed to the majority of the moment to be enemies of society and defaulters to the moral obligations of the new world civilization!

It is a matter of ever renewed surprise and astonishment—this paradox of progress. Ever and again the men who are most faithful seem to the majority of the moment to be faithless. The loyal—men who supply the very standards of political and social rectitude to unborn generations—are cried down by the press and the people, as "unpatriotic."

There is one supreme political peril that has always menaced America—a peril that reduces all other political perils to insignificance. This danger is *that we may be seduced by an over-powering European influence into an abandonment of our peculiar and distinctive mission*.

The true historic mission of our new democratic world of the west is to renew the old world—to *make the whole world new*.

The perpetual danger is that, instead of standing firmly by our own world-regenerated standards, we shall submit to be *absorbed back into the body of that old European civilization—which so sorely needs to be born again*.

We should be prepared and braced for reiterated attacks upon our democratic integrity and national self-persistence. Our children should be taught in the public schools that these attacks have always been made, and no doubt always will be made, in the name of humanity and righteousness and *under the false colors of some specious virtue*.

It is always thus with the most formidable moral temptations. They never appear in the guise of immorality. They clothe themselves in sainthood, invoke the most sacred traditions and assume the manners and vocabulary of the most impeccable honor.

So it has been in this present epoch. We are being lured back into the arms of the British Empire by political deviltries that wear the livery of heaven. We are drawn along the lines of a temporary and illusory self-interest, toward economic confusion, moral baseness and political downfall.

It is in the light of such considerations that ISSUES AND EVENTS has undertaken to exhibit to the public tactics and strategy of the recent Parliamentary Battle—in the hope that this record may serve a historical purpose.

It seems to us that Congressman Page and those of his associates who have shared his courage and political martyrhood—are men of the essential stuff of Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams. That is, the tradition they are carrying forward, They refuse to let it lapse.

They refuse to admit that it is treason to differ from the definitions of British Orders in Council. *The fathers of the American Revolution did the same*.

In summing up the practical effect upon the country of the great parliamentary contest, the principal thing to be noted is the fact that the tendency of the United States to slip into the European War has received what seems to be a decisive check.

When the story of these times shall be fully told, historians will record the loyalty of the great mass of the American people to the *principle of neutrality*. The truth will be set down beyond cavil or question that Americans in general up to the present date, have felt that no European alliance can be depended on to sustain the kind of democracy that America stands for, that the future of that kind of democracy *depends upon America alone*.

This is the bottom meaning of our neutrality: *We deny that the fate of free government hangs on the issue of the European War*.

We refuse to believe that "government of the people, for the people and by the people" is going to perish from the earth—because of anything that can happen in the Old World. The cause of free government is in our keeping. And we intend to take care of it.

The few among us who suppose that political liberty is in danger of dying on an European battlefield, are not representative Americans. Those who imagine that the kind of liberty that has been achieved in Europe is the best kind—that it exhausts the resources of the human spirit and measures the possibilities of human na-

ture—may have been educated in Atlantic seaboard universities and may have had ancestors in the cabin of the Mayflower, but they are withal “men of the backward look,” and their *moral naturalization* on this soil must be registered as *incomplete*.

It must be recorded in history that the disbelievers in the uniqueness of the American mission in this heart-searching epoch *have all been partisans of the Anglican Allies*.

The people in this country who have strained their financial and political power and their personal influence to draw the United States into the European war, *have all been devotees of the cause of England, France, Russia, Italy and Japan*.

There is not a single notable exception to this rule. It is a fact of immense significance—which our children's children will find written plainly in their school histories—that *none of the Americans of this period who have felt affection and sympathy for the cause of the Central European powers, have tried to sink the mission of America in that cause, or have used the force of their American citizenship to thrust their country into the European fire-pit*.

Thus the check upon the warward tendency that was administered by the American democracy in the great parliamentary battle of the early days of March, 1916, was a check to the Anglican programme.

*It freed the country from a foreign influence that was perilous to the most precious interests of the Republic.*

## Introduction to the Debates

on the

### Issue of Permitting Passengers to Travel on Armed Merchant Vessels

Ever since the British Government issued its illegal blockade and war zone order to which no immediate protest was made by Washington, the German Government has undertaken a policy of reprisal, which involved the Government of the United States, and so it became a three-cornered controversy.

On September 19, 1914, the State Department issued a circular, permitting merchant vessels of belligerent nationalities to mount 6-inch guns.

The Central Powers protested, but the State Department justified its action by quoting a number of precedents, declining to consider changed conditions.

The German Government finally proclaimed a blockade for, and war zone in British and French waters, and after the refusal of the Washington Administration to decree a notice of warning to passengers, the German Government, after offering ample facilities for travel, issued a warning to the American public, as it felt that it should protect the German people against the illegal shipment of munitions to England.

In execution of Germany's policy the *Lusitania* was sunk. A loss of non-combatants was not expected, as smaller boats had remained long enough afloat to permit the saving of both passengers and crew. The *Lusitania* sank unexpectedly fast and many Americans lost their lives.

This unfortunate incident greatly aroused the feelings of the masses, and under President Wilson's instruction a strong Note of Protest was sent, plainly stating that a re-occurrence would be considered as a “deliberately unfriendly act.” Of course, as the very warning notice indicated, Germany had no intention for friction, and yet it became necessary for her to protect herself against the illegal acts of the British Government.

Hence the Central Powers repeatedly attempted to arrive at an understanding with the American Administration and offered to let go unharmed any unarmed merchantmen, but regretted the necessity of attacking without warning all armed enemy trading vessels, because these vessels had frequently attacked German submarines and because it had captured secret instructions issued by the British Government which destroyed the peaceful character of the vessel for which the American Government sought protection.

While the German Government took the Washington Note of January 18, 1916, in good faith and decreed a new order to sink at sight all armed merchant vessels, the British Government declined to entertain the American requests, and

thereupon the Washington Administration changed its attitude and President Wilson, though considering a doubtful right, stoutly upheld the British contention of the right of merchantmen to arm and of Americans to travel on such ships.

The situation was thus brought to the following issue: “Would there be war if another American be lost?”

The country became greatly aroused and as many Congressmen had not been satisfied with the manner in which President Wilson and his Cabinet had handled the foreign affairs of the nation, they took a hand in them, as they were not as anxious as a handful of speculators to plunge the country into war.

The issue was brought into the House against the desire of the Administration by Representative Jeff McLemore, of Texas, who introduced his now famous House Resolution No. 147, requesting the President to warn Americans to keep off armed belligerent vessels. On the same day Senator Sterling introduced a resolution that the United States Government do not acquiesce in the German decree.

On February 24, 1916, the sensational correspondence between Senator Stone of Missouri and President Wilson was published and on February 25, 1916, Senator Gore, of Oklahoma, introduced a Warning Resolution. Senator Jones of Washington and Senator McCumber of South Dakota, also presented resolutions in which the rights of Congress were asserted.

There was plenty of evidence around that time that the Administration, for the sake of political effect at home and abroad, wished to avoid open discussion in both Houses of Congress, but on March 3, 1916, the Gore Resolution was moved for a vote on the next day. Senator Gore was anxious for an open discussion, but reckoning that his resolution would be “tabled” he turned the tables on the Senate by his wonderfully strategical amendment to the effect that the drowning of an American on an armed belligerent ship by a German submarine would mean war between the United States and Germany. He knew full well that Congress and the country did not want war, and at his own request his amended resolution was tabled without discussion.

However, a long debate in which many Senators took part, ensued, and it may be said that the Administration's wish turned out to the contrary.

This describes in short the proceedings in the Senate. In the House of Representatives the situation was rather different, and this will be discussed and fully explained in our next number.

# THE BATTLE IN CONGRESS

## Complete Synopsis on the Debate on the "ARMED MERCHANT VESSEL ISSUE" in the Senate of the United States

EXTRACTS ARE VERBATIM QUOTATIONS OF ESSENTIAL POINTS RAISED

ALL VIEWS—PRO AND CON—ARE REPRESENTED

Only complete Synopsis of all the Debate printed in any Magazine

### SENATOR STERLING INTRODUCES RESOLUTION THAT CONGRESS DO NOT ACQUIESCE IN THE DECREE OF THE GERMAN ADMIRALTY.

IN THE SENATE ON FEBRUARY 18.

Sen. STERLING (S. Dak.). I ask unanimous consent for the reading of Senate Resolution 100.

"Resolved, \* \* \* that any recognition on the part of the United States of the claim that the necessities of war in general or the exigencies and conditions of modern submarine warfare are warrant for the order of the German Admiralty would be a step backward and so far an abandonment of our contention for the freedom of the seas. Moreover, such recognition would contravene the policy of the Government of the United States as expressed in the notes of our State Department to the British and German Governments, respectively, on the 26th of September and November 7, 1914; and that at this time, in the history of the present war, there should be no acquiescence in the order of the German Admiralty on the part of this or any other neutral power."

There has been some clearing of the atmosphere; but there yet remain some principles concerning which there may be doubt, and which may be appropriately considered under the resolution.

It is not a remote inference that the present attitude of the German Admiralty in regard to the right to attack and destroy armed merchantmen without warning was encouraged, if not invited, by the memorandum of our State Department to the Entente Powers. One paragraph of that memorandum, according to press report, is in words as follows:

"I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying armament of any sort, in view of the character of

the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of under-seas craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly."

Shall we deny to Great Britain now the right to arm her merchant fleet in the way prescribed by the British Admiralty, as explained by Mr. Winston Churchill less than a year ago in the House of Commons? \* \* \*

Mr. President, of all the peoples in the wide world, it ill becomes us to deny Great Britain that right now or to spend one hour in diplomatic haggling to secure her renunciation of it. Our export trade has been growing by leaps and bounds.

But, Mr. President, can we be "impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying armament of any sort, in view of the character of submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of underseas craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government"? \* \* \*

The vice of the suggestion of the State Department lies in this: That because the deadly submarine is not strong on defense you must therefore make the merchant ship absolutely helpless against the submarine.

And so it is on such reasoning that a late invention, the most deadly in its sea operations that can be conceived, was about to be accorded, it was feared, exemption against defense and full freedom without fear of injury on the part of its officers and crew to set adrift, exposed to the perils of the sea, its noncombatants and neutral passengers, and then without hearing or judgment of prize court send the argosy itself, richly laden with the produce of a neutral land on its way to feed and clothe those of another neutral land, to the bottom of the ocean. \* \* \*

Sen. Lodge. There have been reports lately in the newspapers and also some discussion in the press as to the question of armed merchantmen. There have also been unofficial intimations that the administration was considering a change of the attitude of this Government upon the subject.

### Secretary Lansing's New Proposal

New United States Note Denies Right to Arm Liners for Defense—Use of Submarines Is Upheld.

Note addressed to the European belligerents in connection with the recognition of submarines as commerce destroyers and the desirability of the disarmament of belligerent merchantmen.

"It is a matter of the deepest interest to my Government to bring to an end, if possible, the dangers of life which attend the use of submarines as at present employed in destroying enemy commerce on the high seas, since on any merchant vessel of belligerent nationality there may be citizens of the United States who have taken passage or members of the crew in the exercise of their recognized rights as neutrals. I assume your Government is equally solicitous to protect their nationals from the exceptional hazards which are presented by their passage on merchant vessels through these portions of the high seas in which undersea craft of the enemy are operating.

#### Upholds Submarines' Use.

"While I am fully alive to the appalling loss of life among noncombatants, regardless of age or sex, which has resulted from the present method of destroying merchant vessels without removing the persons on board to places of safety, and while I view that practice as contrary to those humane principles which should control belligerents in the conduct of their naval operations, I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the invasion of commerce, since those

instruments of war have proved their effectiveness in this practical branch of warfare on the high seas.

"In order to bring submarine warfare within the general rules of international law and the principles of humanity without destroying their efficiency in their destruction of commerce, I believe that a formula may be found which, though it may require slight modification of the precedent generally followed by nations prior to the employment of the submarines, will appeal to the sense of justice and fairness of all the belligerents in the present war.

"Your Government will understand that in seeking the formula or rule of this nature I approach it of necessity from the point of view of a neutral, but I believe that it will be equally efficacious in preserving the lives of non-combatants on merchant vessels of belligerent nationalities.

#### Basis of Proposals.

"My comments on this subject are predicated on the following propositions:

"First. A noncombatant has a right to traverse the high seas in a merchant vessel entitled to fly a belligerent flag,

to rely upon the observance of the rules of international law and principles of humanity, and if the vessel is approached by a naval vessel of another belligerent, the merchant vessel of enemy nationality should not be attacked without being ordered to stop.

"Second. An enemy merchant vessel, when ordered to do so by a belligerent submarine, should immediately stop.

"Third. Such vessel should not be attacked after being ordered to stop unless it attempts to flee or to resist. In case it ceases to flee or resist, the attack should be discontinued.

"Fourth. In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel or to convoy it into port, the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety.

#### Obstacles for Submarines.

"In complying with the foregoing principles, which, in my opinion, embody the principal rule, the strict observance of which will insure the life of a noncombatant on a merchant vessel which is intercepted by a submarine, I am not unmindful of the obstacles which would be met by undersea craft as commerce destroyers.

"Prior to the year 1915 belligerent operations against enemy commerce on the high seas had been conducted with cruisers carrying heavy armaments. In these conditions international law appeared to permit a merchant vessel to carry armament for defensive purposes without lessening its character as a private merchant vessel. This right seems to have been predicated on the superior defensive strength of ships of war, and the limitation of armament to have been dependent on the fact that it could not be used effectively in offense against enemy naval vessels, while it could defend the merchantmen against the generally inferior armament of piratical ships and privateers.

#### Powerless in Defense.

"The use of the submarine, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small-caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

"Moreover, pirates and sea rovers have been swept from the main trade channels of the sea and privateering has been abolished. Consequently the placing of guns on merchantmen at the present date of submarine warfare

can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them. Any armament, therefore, on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament.

"If a submarine is required to stop and search a merchant vessel on the high seas, and in case it is found that she is of an enemy character and that conditions necessitate her destruction and the removal to a place of safety of persons on board, it would not seem just nor reasonable that the submarine should be compelled, while complying with these requirements, to expose itself to almost certain destruction by the guns on board the merchant vessel.

#### Innocent Lives at Stake.

"It would, therefore, appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

"In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government, I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights which may be denied on account of new conditions.

#### Stand on Question Sought.

"I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration conditioned upon their enemies making a similar declaration.

"I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

"ROBERT LANSING,

"Secretary of State.

"Washington, D. C., January 18, 1916."

## SENATOR LODGE JUSTIFIES ARMING MERCHANT VESSELS.

**Refers to Circular of State Department of Sept. 19, 1914, in Which Permission is Given to Belligerent Merchant Vessels to Enter American Ports With 6 1-Inch Guns Mounted—Expresses Surprise at the New Note of Secretary Lansing, Dated Jan. 18, 1916, in Which Proposal is Made to Disarm Merchantmen.**

Sen. LODGE. I repeat, Mr. President, that it is difficult to believe that this note of January 18 by Secretary Lansing can be correctly given. It is a hesitating and faltering argument in behalf of clearing away all the laws which have been established by the general assent of civilized nations and by the dictates of humanity in favor of the protection of the lives of neutrals who may have taken passage on a belligerent merchantman. \* \* \*

[Here follows in great detail a historical exposition of the principle of arming merchantmen since 1625, which finishes with the circular issued by the then acting Secretary of State Lansing on September 19, 1914, allowing 6-inch guns on merchant vessels of belligerent nationality.]

Nothing could have been more explicit. This circular in all its terms follows exactly the practice of nations for many centuries, adopts the rules which had been evolved in regard to the treatment of armed merchantmen and their status and adheres to the policy pursued by our own Government not only as exhibited in the decisions of our courts but in the instructions to our officers in time of war. This circular shows that in the opinion of our Government a merchantman does not lose its character by carrying defensive armament, that the only question is one of fact as to the amount of that

armament, the usages to which it is put, and the general character of the ship; that if the armed merchantman conforms to the limitations embodied in law and expressed in the circular she does not lose her status as a merchantman, and the fact that she is armed for self-defense does not impair in the slightest degree the right of the neutral to ship goods or take passage on such a ship.

The abandonment of those rights by any neutral Government on the ground that the invention of submarines with the necessary limitations upon the powers of capture possessed by those boats is inconceivable. Such abandonment could only rest on the ground that the rights of neutrals, the rules which for centuries have been agreed upon by all nations for the protection of innocent lives upon vessels captured in war, must be thrown aside and discarded in order that a new instrument of maritime destruction shall not be impeded in its work of death and murder. Such a doctrine is revolting to every instinct of humanity, to every principle of law and justice.

There is, however, another side to this matter which is of even graver importance. There can be no question that any act by a neutral which alters conditions created by the war is an unneutral act and places the neutral upon the side of one belligerent or the other.

## SENATOR STONE TRIES TO FIND SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO ALL NATIONS AND ANNOUNCES THAT HE WILL MAKE A SPEECH IN THE SENATE.

Sen. STONE. The practice of arming merchant vessels for defensive purposes is an old one, long universally recognized. The practice grew up out of two things, one being the custom of nations commissioning privately owned vessels, known as privateers, to go forth in time of war to attack and capture the commercial ships of a belligerent, the captured



ships being appropriated in whole or in part by the captor. Of course this authority empowered the privateer to destroy as well as to capture. \* \* \*

It is now claimed that the merchant vessels of a belligerent during a war between maritime nations may lawfully bear arms for the purpose of resisting attacks made upon them by the vessels of an enemy. I cannot but believe that in the circumstances of the present time this is, to say the least, a very debatable question, and I feel that those of us who are interested in the attitude of this Republic should debate this subject, as we should debate all other subjects, in a broad way, not in a partisan way, with a view to determining what should be the wise and just policy of this Government, which policy should comport with both the letter and spirit of international law, and should be established with a view to the maintenance of a genuine and impartial neutrality between the nations at war. I desire some time next week to submit some observations to the Senate touching our relations to the European belligerent powers and also to make some criticism of the recent speech delivered by former Senator Root respecting the foreign policies of the present administration.

### SENATOR GORE'S FIRST RESOLUTION WARNING AMERICANS ON ARMED VESSELS AND PROHIBITING THE ISSUANCE OF PASSPORTS.

Senator GORE (Oklahoma). Mr. President, I offer the concurrent resolution which I send to the desk, and ask that it be read and go over one day under the rule.

Whereas a number of leading powers of the world are now engaged in a war of unexampled proportions; and  
Whereas the United States is happily at peace with all of the belligerent nations; and

Whereas it is equally the desire and the interest of the American people to remain at peace with all nations; and  
Whereas the President has recently afforded fresh and signal proofs of the superiority of diplomacy to butchery as a method of settling international disputes; and  
Whereas the right of American citizens to travel on unarmed belligerent vessels has recently received renewed guarantees of respect and violability; and  
Whereas the right of American citizens to travel on armed belligerent vessels rather than upon unarmed vessels is essential neither to the life, liberty, or safety, nor to the independence, dignity, or security of the United States; and  
Whereas Congress alone has been vested with the power to declare war which involves the obligations to prevent war by all proper means consistent with the honor and vital interest of the Nation: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring).* That it is the sense of the Congress, vested as it is with the sole power to declare war, that all persons owing allegiance to the United States should in behalf of their own safety and the vital interest of the United States, forbear to exercise the right to travel as passengers upon an armed vessel of any belligerent power, whether such vessel be armed for offensive or defensive purposes; and it is the further sense of the Congress that no passport should be issued or renewed by the Secretary of State or by anyone acting under him to be used by any person owing allegiance to the United States for purpose of travel upon any such armed vessel of a belligerent power.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Under the rule, the resolution goes over one day.

Senator STONE (Missouri). I ask the Senator from Oklahoma, in reference to his resolution, is his request that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations?

Sen. GORE. No; my request was that the resolution go over for the day under the rule.

Sen. STONE. The Senator's request is that the resolution lie on the table?

Sen. GORE. Yes, sir. I wanted the resolution to take its regular course, under the rule, that all resolutions other than joint resolutions go over for one day. My purpose is come within that rule under the regular order.

Sen. STONE. Let the resolution lie on the table then.

## Senator Stone to the President

Washington, February 24, 1916.  
Dear Mr. President: Since Senator Kern, Mr. Flood and I talked with you on Monday evening I am more troubled than I have been for many a day. I have not felt authorized to repeat our conversation, but I have attempted, in response to numerous inquiries from my colleagues, to state to them, within the confidence that they should observe, my general understanding of your attitude. I have stated my understanding of your attitude to be substantially as follows:

### Repeats President Wilson's Views.

That while you would deeply regret the rejection by Great Britain of Mr. Lansing's proposal for the disarmament of merchant vessels of the allies with the understanding that Germany and her allies would not fire upon a merchant ship if she hauled to when summoned, not attempting to escape, and that the German warships would only exercise the admitted right of visitation and capture, and would not destroy the captured ship except in circumstances that reasonably assured the safety of passengers and crew, you were of the opinion that if Great Britain and her allies rejected the proposal and insisted upon arming her merchant ships she would be within her right under international law. Also that you would feel disposed to allow armed vessels to be cleared from our ports; also that you are not favorably disposed to the idea of this Government taking any definite steps toward preventing American citizens from embarking upon armed merchant vessels.

Furthermore, that you would consider it your duty, if a German warship should fire upon an armed merchant vessel of the enemy upon which American citizens were passengers, to hold Germany to strict account.

Numerous Members of the Senate and the House have called to discuss this subject with me. I have felt that the Members of the two Houses who are to deal with this grave question were entitled to know the situation we are confronting as I understand it to be.

I think I should say to you that the Members of both Houses feel deeply concerned and disturbed by what they read and hear. I have heard of some talk to the effect

that some are saying that, after all, it may be possible that the program of preparedness, so called, has some relation to such a situation as we are now called upon to meet.

I have counseled all who have talked with me to keep cool; that this whole business is still the subject of diplomacy, and that you are striving to the utmost to bring about some peaceable adjustment; and that in the meantime Congress should be careful not to "ball up" a diplomatic situation by any kind of hasty and ill-considered action. However, the situation in Congress is such as to excite a sense of deep concern in the minds of careful and thoughtful men. I have felt that it is due to you to say this much.

### Amounts to Moral Treason.

I think you understand my personal attitude with respect to this subject. As much and as deeply as I would hate to radically disagree with you, I find it difficult for my sense of duty and responsibility to consent to plunge this Nation into the vortex of this world war because of the unreasonable obstinacy of any of the powers, upon the one hand, or, on the other hand, of foolhardiness, amounting to a sort of moral treason against the Republic, of our people recklessly risking their lives on armed belligerent ships. I can not escape the conviction that such would be so monstrous as to be indefensible.

### Wants to Uphold President Wilson.

I want to be with you and to stand by you, and I mean to do so up to the last limit; and I want to talk with you and Secretary Lansing with the utmost frankness—to confer with you and have your judgment and counsel—and I want to be kept advised as to the course of events, as it seems to me I am entitled to be. In the meantime I am striving to prevent anything being done by any Senator or Member calculated to embarrass your diplomatic negotiations. Up to the last you should be left free to act diplomatically as you think for the best to settle the questions involved. I need hardly say that my wish is to help, not to hinder you.

With the highest regard and most sympathetic consideration, I have the honor, Mr. President, to be,

Very sincerely, yours,

WM. J. STONE.

### PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY.

#### Considers Prohibition of Right to Travel a Humiliation—Refuses to Yield.

February 24, 1916.

My Dear Senator: I very warmly appreciate your kind and frank letter of to-day, and feel that it calls for an equally frank reply.

You are right in assuming that I shall do everything in my power to keep the United States out of war. I think the country will feel no uneasiness about my course in that respect.

Through many anxious months I have striven for that object, amidst difficulties more manifold than can have been apparent upon the surface, and so far I have succeeded. I do not doubt that I shall continue to succeed.

The course which the central European powers have announced their intention of following in the future with regard to undersea warfare seems for the moment to threaten insuperable obstacles, but its apparent meaning is so manifestly inconsistent with explicit assurances recently given us by these powers, with regard to their treatment of merchant vessels on the high seas, that I must believe that explanations will presently ensue which will put a different aspect upon it.

#### Can Not Question Faith.

We have had no reason to question their good faith or their fidelity to their promises in the past and I, for one, feel confident that we shall have none in the future.

But in any event our duty is clear. No nation, no group of nations, has the right while war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war; and if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

For my own part, I can not consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the Nation is involved. We covet peace and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor.

To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed. It would be an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere and of whatever nation or allegiance. It would be a deliberate abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesman, even amid the turmoil of war, for the law and the right.

It would make everything this Government has attempted and everything that it has achieved during this terrible struggle of nations meaningless and futile.

#### Fears More Concessions.

It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allow expediency to take the place of principle the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions.

Once accept a single abatement of right and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands, piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign Nation. She can not yield them without conceding her own impotency as a Nation and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.

I am speaking, my dear Senator, in deep solemnity, without heat, with a clear consciousness of the high responsibilities of my office, and as your sincere and devoted friend. If we should unhappily differ, we shall differ as friends; but where issues so momentous as these are involved we must, just because we are friends, speak our minds without reservation. Faithfully yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

### SENATOR JONES' RESOLUTION DEMANDING THE RIGHTS OF CONGRESS OVER ISSUES AFFECTING THE PEACE OF THE COUNTRY.

Sen. JONES. I submit a Senate resolution, which I ask may be read and lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution submitted by the Senator from Washington will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 108) was read, as follows:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate of the United States of America that any issue claimed to affect the national honor should be referred for its decision to the Congress of the United States, and no ultimatum should be sent to any belligerent power and no severance of diplomatic relations be brought about by Executive action until after the advice and consent of Congress.

Sen. STONE. Mr. President, I ask that the whereases and the resolution may lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That was the request of the Senator from Washington.

Senator Stone disagrees with President Wilson on

#### Armed Merchantmen Issue. Considers Administration's Standpoint Unreasonable, but Anxious to Help Pres. Wilson.

In the Senate on March 2, 1916.

Senator STONE (Missouri). Mr. President, I take the floor on the pending bill, but not to discuss it. I interrupt the progress of the unfinished business to make a suggestion with respect to what is known as the Gore resolution and other resolutions of like nature.

I desire to state the international situation, as I understand it, respecting the immediate questions before us. A sharp issue has been joined between Germany and Great Britain as to the status of armed merchant vessels. Germany contends that armed belligerent vessels are in all essential respects the equivalent of auxiliary or converted cruisers, and that they should be treated as war vessels. That Government has announced their policy to be that after the 1st day of the present month armed enemy vessels of all kinds would be regarded as warships and be subject to the rules of maritime warfare applicable to such ships. On the other hand, Great Britain contends that she has a

right under international law to arm merchant ships for defensive purposes, and that merchant vessels so armed are entitled to the same immunities in every respect appertaining to unarmed merchantmen, and this without regard to the kind of passengers aboard or the nature of the cargoes carried. Great Britain has announced this to be her policy. That is the issue between these two Governments on that question.

Now, where and how does the Government of the United States come into this controversy? I answer in this way: That if both Germany and Great Britain shall persist in the course they have respectively announced, neither yielding to the other, nor yet yielding to the importunities of any neutral Government, including our own, and if Germany should attack without warning an armed merchantman of her enemy and some American citizen or citizens should be injured, the question would present itself as to what our attitude and course should be in the circumstances. If no American should be aboard a ship so attacked, and therefore if none suffered, we would have no cause to break into and take up a cudgel in that quarrel, unless, indeed, we should proceed upon some altruistic theory of an obligation to humanity in general.

As I understand it, the President's attitude is this: That he has concluded to support the contention that belligerent merchant ships have a right under international law to bear arms for defensive purposes. What he may regard as a defensive armament I do not know; in fact, I doubt that any man would venture authoritatively to define that kind of armament. Furthermore, if a German war vessel should, without warning, fire upon and sink an armed merchantman of the enemy, he would hold the attack to be a lawless act, and if American citizens should suffer therefrom he would hold the German Government to the strictest account. If, notwithstanding, the German Government should persist in their policy he would sever diplomatic relations and submit the matter to Congress, which, under the Constitution, is the war-making power.

I must here state with equal frankness my own position, as I have stated it to the President. In this emergency there should be nothing of evasion of finesse, much less of partisanship. Distressing as it is to me to be obliged to disagree with the President, as well as with many of my colleagues, my opinions have been matured after great deliberation and my sense of duty is imperative. I can not but believe that a belligerent merchant ship, heavily armed—no matter whether it be called defensive or offensive

armament—engaged in transporting contraband war material to the army or navy of her sovereign, is in all essential respects the equivalent of a duly commissioned war vessel.

The President is firmly opposed to the idea embodied in the Gore resolution. He is not only opposed to Congress passing a law relating to this subject, but he is opposed to any form of official warning to American citizens to keep off so-called armed merchantmen. If I could have my way, which I know I cannot, I would take some definite step—a step as far as the Constitution would permit—to save this country from becoming embroiled in this European war through the recklessness of foolhardy men.

### SENATOR STONE'S ATTEMPT AT CONCILIATION.

The President has written Representative Pou, and he has stated to me and to others, that the pendency of these resolutions in Congress have been and still are a source of embarrassment to him in conducting diplomatic negotiations with the belligerent powers involved respecting this subject. I am sure that is so, and it is regrettable. As you well know, Senators, I have diligently sought to prevent the introduction of any resolutions on this subject and to allay any agitation with regard to it; but the efforts I have made with others in this behalf have been only partially successful. Now, we are informed by the President that he is solicitous that these resolutions should be disposed of in both Houses, and that the attitude of Congress should be more clearly defined. I am in full sympathy with him as to that, and I will co-operate to bring that matter to a head. The difficulty is in arranging a plan that would be effective and of value. I am more than willing to contribute anything within my power in arranging a plan of action with the sincere purpose of bringing the executive and legislative departments into accord. It may be, and I profoundly hope it is so, that the President, having behind him the support of Congress, may even yet be able to bring Great Britain and Germany to some agreement with this Government which would relieve the present acute situation. I am now puzzling my brain to frame a resolution as a supplement for all other pending resolutions on the subject; and as I get it into the best form of which I am capable, I desire to discuss the resolution with Senators on both sides, with the chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and also, if need be, with others. I desire to bring the Congress with practical unanimity to the support of the President in the conduct of the diplomatic questions involved. Of course, time is now of the essence of things, and prompt action is desirable. My suggestion is this: That the Senate shall strive with the utmost diligence to dispose of the unfinished business to-day; but whether it succeeds in disposing of that business or not, I shall at the close of to-day's business ask the Senate to adjourn until some early hour to-morrow morning, at which time the Gore resolution shall be laid before the Senate.

Mr. President, although it is my earnest desire to co-operate with Senators who coincide with the President's attitude concerning this whole subject, yet, because of the fact I am not in accord with the President on the main issues, it would be entirely agreeable to me if any of the Senators indicated should take another course if they so desire. If the Senate agrees to the suggestion I have made, I will proceed in my effort to discover a plan to which we may all agree; but if another course should be taken, I can only abide the result.

### SENATORS LODGE AND WILLIAMS WANT TO FORCE THE ISSUE.

Sen. LODGE (Mass.). If I understand the position of the President, as stated by the Senator from Missouri, on the question or armed merchantmen and the right of neutrals to travel and to ship their goods on merchantmen armed within the limitations generally imposed, with that position I am in full accord. I think that neutrals have a right, established for centuries, to ship their goods and take passage on belligerent merchantmen, whether armed or unarmed, if armed within the limitations I have described.

The precise question, as I understand, presented by the President and also by the Senator from Missouri, is whether Congress favors passing a resolution warning American citizens to desist from the exercise of an undoubted right. I do not believe that any resolution can be drawn that will evade or by generalities get rid of the issue which has been raised.

The last administration warned citizens of the United States to leave Mexico. It was a matter of deep regret to

many of that administration's supporters, and it was a subject of criticism by that administration's opponents. That warning has been renewed as to citizens in Mexico; but the criticism on the administration, the present administration, for the failure to protect American lives in Mexico, despite the warning given by the administration, has not ceased.

The attitude which the President took in his letter to the Senator from Missouri and the attitude which the Senator from Missouri, no doubt with absolute authority and in carefully chosen words, has described to-day on the question of the rights of neutrals on belligerent merchantmen is the attitude I have always upheld. But now, Mr. President, looking at this question as I do, I think the President, hampered, as he tells us he is in the letter to Representative Pou, the acting chairman of the House Committee on Rules, that the supposed attitude of Congress is interfering with his negotiations, I think he has a right to ask for a vote on the precise proposition which is before Congress and to know whether he can go on with his negotiations with the Congress behind him or whether the Congress takes the view of the belligerent power with which he is at this moment negotiating.

I sincerely hope that the Senate will not delay in taking a vote on the precise and specific question of whether we ought to warn our citizens from exercising a right that has not been questioned in law or in the usages of nations for centuries past.

Sen. WILLIAMS (Mississippi). Mr. President, the initiative, with regard to foreign relations, lies with the Executive. Congress ought not to attempt to assume the initiative; but from various quarters the assumption or the attempt has been made, and day after day, through one innuendo or another, through one resolution or another, the Chief Magistrate of the United States has been prodded and nagged and dared—aye, dared—to do what? To surrender the initiative which the Constitution places with him and to let Congress take the initiative with regard to our foreign relations.

Well, some of you have nagged, and you have prodded, and you have "dared," until the patience of a very patient man has been exhausted; and now he says: "Very well. You have furnished comfort to the foreign negotiators. You have made them think that the American people were disunited and that they were not behind their Government. You have given them a contempt of their Government as the opposite negotiator. You have weakened my hands, you have partially paralyzed me, and now I want a 'show-down'; and I hope that in the eyes of the American people it will be a 'show-up' when you and I are through with it."

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. Stone] is in one lone respect right. We want no evasion. We want no indirection. You have nagged and nagged and you have prodded, until now the President says, "All right." You have dared him, thrown down your several gloves or encouraged others to throw down theirs, until now he says: "I will pick up the gauntlet. I am tired. If the patriotism of Congress is behind me, let us find it out. If it is not, again let us find it out. If I am to be ham-strung and hampered, just go further and kill me as a negotiator and be done with it. If I am not the Executive of the United States Government and have not vested in me by the Constitution the initiative, if I can bring nothing to even an initiative conclusion without you, then say so, and let me and let the people of American and of foreign nations know that I am helpless. You have already done almost as much harm as you can by passing your resolutions. The only light I see is to table them. You have dared; I have submitted. I have looked as if I were afraid. I have plead with you, please not to go on hampering me and my Secretary of State with suggestions and arguments derived from foreign courts and embassies. In spite of it all, you keep it up. There must be an end of it, one way or the other."

As I am concerned as a Senator of the United States, I say: "Bring the matter to an issue. Bring on your Gore resolution and bring on your other resolutions, and let a motion be made to table them, and see whether or not Senators are going to assume the responsibility before the American people of standing against the President upon a proposition where he stands upon a principle of international law 500 years old."

Talk about war! The only danger of war to-day, the only cloud upon the horizon, has come about from the fact that the President and the Secretary of State were not let alone to carry on negotiations, but that some of you must, forsooth, create the impression that the American people and the representatives of the American people were not behind the American Government, but were heart and soul with the opposite negotiator. It is to your action, and your action alone, in my opinion, that is due the last position taken by Germany. You may possibly have misled a foreign country into war with your own.

## SENATOR GORE PROCLAIMS THAT A PATRIOTIC CITIZEN WILL FOREGO HIS ABSTRACT RIGHT AND MAINTAIN PEACE.

Sen. GORE. Mr. President, I desire to say that I agree in great measure with what has been said by the Senator from Mississippi and by the Senator from Massachusetts.

I have little doubt that the American owners of ships flying the flags of the allies would like to see the United States police their vessels across the high seas and protect them against assault from any belligerent power. I have little doubt that the purchasers and the owners of the \$500,000,000 worth of bonds recently issued by the allies would rejoice to see the United States underwrite their investment and guarantee the sovereignty and the ultimate success of their debtors. I have no more sympathy with them than I have with the hyphenated American who in the interests of Germany is disloyal to this country, whether it be his native or his adopted land.

Mr. President, whenever the honor, whenever the vital interests of this Republic are involved, whenever the essential rights of an American citizen have been invaded or violated, every American sword will leap from its scabbard. That sacred sentiment should not be trifled with. It should not be made a toy and a plaything in the hands of any madcap American citizen who may be disposed to venture his life upon the armed ship of a belligerent power.

I rather agree with the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Mississippi that in accordance with immemorial international law neutral citizens have a right to travel on armed belligerent ships. I do not now draw into question the technical right, but I do assert that it is a right which is a survival of the age of piracy, and ought to expire with the age that gave it birth.

It was once a legal and a constitutional right in America to own human beings as slaves. The defenders of the system relied upon their sacred right under the Constitution and laws of the Republic. It was such a right until canceled with blood.

Mr. President, the progress of civilization consists largely in the withdrawal or modification of individual rights when they become incompatible with the paramount interests of organized society.

Mr. President, I think it true, perhaps, that any one of the 100,000,000 American citizens has a right to travel on an armed merchant ship. He has a right to run the risk of losing his own life and engulfing this Republic in a sea of carnage and of blood. I think any wayfarer, any madcap American citizen, may boast that as an inalienable, or rather I should say as an ancient right, vouchsafed to him by international law. I believe that the 100,000,000 American citizens have a right to be protected against such recklessness; that they have a right to be protected against the danger, against the possibility of any one of the 100,000,000 citizens exercising the right and the power to plunge this Republic into the European carnival of slaughter. Of course, the right of 100,000,000 to be protected against becoming involved in this butchery is not to be weighed in the balance with the sacred, the inherited right of a single irresponsible adventurer to imperil his own life, to throw away his own life, and to cause the sacrifice of millions of his fellow citizens together with millions of their treasure.

I do not weigh money in the balance with sacred and essential rights. My only contention is that pending this struggle the right should be withdrawn; that we should withdraw this sacred right in the interest of organized society, in the interest of the American people; that we ought to say, as the Senator from Mississippi would probably say to his daughter, "Do not sail on an armed ship." I doubt if the Senator from Massachusetts would consent that a child of his loins should embark upon the armed vessel of a belligerent power. And should not we, as the guardians of this Republic and the guardians of its most sacred interest, say to those Americans who are willing for love of pleasure of profit or adventure to take such a hazard, "Stay off these ships, forbear to exercise a right which may be fraught with such terrific consequences?"

Mr. President, with me it is a fixed conviction that American citizens ought not to travel on these vessels and that they should be warned not to exercise the right. Let me put a case. Suppose that 1,000 American citizens embark upon one of these armed vessels. It is sunk to the bottom of the sea by a German submarine. An investigation shows that it was armed for offensive purposes. Germany had a right to sink the ship at the sacrifice of a thousand American lives. Mr. President, what consolation to the dead or to their families would it be that by chance they had embarked upon a vessel armed for offensive rather than for defensive purposes? Would it not be infinitely better for them, would it not be infinitely better for their surviving families, to have been warned not to take so desperate a chance?

## SENATORS CLAPP AND MORRIS WANT TO CORRECT WRONG IMPRESSIONS.

Senator CLAPP (Minnesota). The impression prevails, certainly in some quarters, that this resolution is an attempt to withdraw the right of an American citizen to go on an armed ship. I do not understand that the resolution is an attempt by law to withdraw that right. But it is the expression of Congress by the resolution that it is the sense of Congress that it is better not to exercise that technical or abstract right. The resolution does not seek to withdraw any legal right to go on armed ships if a person wants to do so.

Senator NORRIS (Nebraska). I should like to inquire of the Senator from Oklahoma why he has introduced a concurrent resolution instead of a joint resolution of a bill that would be a law?

Sen. GORE. There are two reasons. I had previously introduced a bill covering these points. The two reasons are the fact that this resolution would not be ipso facto referred to a committee of the Senate. The other was that it is a simple expression of the sense of Congress and does not require the presidential signature.

Sen. NORRIS. Of course I understood that perhaps the President would veto a joint resolution or a law on the subject.

Sen. GORE. Undoubtedly he would.

Sen. NORRIS. But the passage of such a measure through the Senate and the House would at least have as much effect in the way of warning as a concurrent resolution that does not go to the President at all.

Sen. NORRIS. I would not want the Senator to think that in what I said I was criticizing him. I agree with what the Senator said. It seems to me if we take any action at all it would be the part of wisdom to take, or attempt at least to take, action that would be effective and would make illegal the traveling on such ships from American ports that were thus armed.

Sen. BORAH. Suppose we should pass the resolution of the Senator from Oklahoma just as it is drawn, and suppose the other branch of Congress should also express its views in that respect, and that as time proceeded some submarine should have destroyed 100 American lives, would the Senator from Oklahoma or those who take his view be willing to forgo the right of the American Government to demand reparation for the loss of those people?

Sen. GORE. The second clause expresses it as the sense of Congress that passports should not be issued to American citizens designing to travel on armed belligerent ships. I feel confident, since the issuance of passports is discretionary with the Secretary of State, that he would observe such an injunction on the part of Congress. I think, therefore, it would be entirely effective to accomplish the result which I have in view. I shall on the proper occasion make further answer to the suggestion of the Senator touching a declaration of war.

Sen. CLAPP. If the right to go upon an armed vessel is a right, as it is, and no resolution here must contemplate the abridgement of that right, it is also the right of an American to go into a belligerent country if he desires. I should like to have some one point out in spirit and principle the difference between the two suggestions.

Sen. GORE. There is absolutely no distinction in principle, so far as I am able to discriminate between the two. The order of the State Department that it will not issue passports to persons contemplating pleasure trips to belligerent countries is no less a sacrifice of a sacred, fundamental, inalienable and immemorial right of the American citizen than would be a simple warning that in the interest of public peace he should not exercise the right to travel on a belligerent ship. In spirit and in purpose the two are identical. How they can be discriminated in principle other Senators may answer; I am unable to divine. I have no doubt the senior Senator from Mississippi, with his incomparable power of analysis, and the Senator from Massachusetts, with equal power, will be able to find a substantial reason why passports should not be issued to American citizens to travel in belligerent countries where they could do so without peril to themselves or to their country, which would not equally justify the withholding of passports from reckless adventurers who might involve our Nation in war. Why, Mr. President, if the Secretary of State has been invested with the discretion to deny a sacred and fundamental right to an American citizen, he has been given an authority that no single official should be permitted to exercise. In the second place, if it is any usurpation of power on the part of Congress, the war-making power of this Republic, out of its solicitude for peace and for an honorable peace, to seek to avoid needless war. There is no distinction in right. The State Department has no right to inquire, if this be a sacred and inalienable right, what the motive—what the object of the journey—may be. That, sir, would be a power fit only for despotism. Russia exercises the power to issue passports

or not from one village to another. Shall the Secretary of State of this great democracy undertake to analyze the hearts of men, and if they go for pleasure, deny them an immemorial right, and if they go for business, accord to them that inviolable right? Are there no neutral ships that ply the sea? Are there no American vessels which are immune from attack? I say, let them wait for an American—for a neutral ship. But suppose they are bound on the most imperious business, and that they embark, in the exercise of their sacred right, upon an armed ship and come to their death and the Republic to war, does the Senator think that the right ought to be denied to them or that it would have been an extreme act of tyranny to have denied them such a passport?

### SENATOR JAMES PREFERS THAT PRESIDENT BE GIVEN FREE-HAND.

Sen. JAMES. In answer to the question of the Senator, I will say that if the President of the United States had been permitted to handle this question—a right that has always existed since the foundation of the Government in the President of the United States in regard to diplomatic questions—without interference from Congress, without a back-fire having been built here and without the impression and belief having been created in Germany that he was not in fact speaking for the American people, he might have been able to have gotten Germany to have agreed that the lives of all neutrals—men, women and children, not only those of America, but the neutrals of the world—might have been saved from death by the attacks of submarines.

### SENATOR GORE FEARS WAR BY INTRIGUE.

#### Springs Bombshell That President is Seeking War.

Sen. GORE. I appreciate the availability of that subterfuge and I appreciate the implication which it carries. The worst of all cowards is the one who lacks the courage to do right. My recollection is that the order of January 12, 1915, was an Executive order, the one to which the Senator from Minnesota (Sen. Clapp) has referred. As I recall, in our note to Germany concerning the Lusitania, our protest was founded upon the fact that it was an unarmed merchant ship. I have conceded to the Senator from Massachusetts (Sen. Lodge) the proposition that possibly an American citizen in such a case is exercising an international right, notwithstanding the fact that the Secretary of State in his note to the powers on January 18 closed with this significant language:

"My Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly."

The Secretary of State admits that this sacred and immemorial right is a doubtful right. Sweden now warns her nationals not to embark upon these belligerent armed ships without any compromise of her dignity and with every prospect of continued independence and sovereignty.

I introduced this resolution because I was apprehensive that we were speeding headlong upon war. Perhaps I ought to go further and say what I have hitherto avoided saying, that my action was based on a report, which seemed to come from the highest and most responsible authority, that certain Senators and certain Members of the House in a conference with the President of the United States received from the President the intimation, if not the declaration, that if Germany insisted upon her position the United States would insist upon her position; that it would result probably in a breach of diplomatic relations; that a breach of diplomatic relations would probably be followed by a state of war; and that a state of war might not be of itself and of necessity an evil, but that the United States, by entering the war now might be able to bring it to a conclusion by midsummer and thus render a great service to civilization.

I can not tell how the truth may be;  
I say the tale as 'twas said to me.

This came to my ears in such a way, with such a concurrence of testimony, with such internal and external marks of truth, that I feared it might possibly be the truth; and if such a thing be even conceivable, I did not feel that, discharging my duty as a Senator, I could withhold whatever feeble service I might render to avert the catastrophe of war. Now, I do not know that this report is the truth. I simply suggest it as explaining my own conduct.

I think the Senator from Massachusetts and the Senator from Mississippi are right in saying that the President has

a right to know whether Congress will back him in the opinion, if he has such an opinion, that the sinking of an armed belligerent ship will be a sufficient cause for war; and I think, too, Mr. President, that members of the Senate and that members of the other House have a right to know whether the opinions and sentiments ascribed to the President were given in their interview with him.

Mr. President, of course, if the Senator from Missouri (Sen. Stone) will deny that suggestions of that sort, in substance, were made, his denial would be convincing upon that point.

### SENATOR STONE'S WEAK DENIAL.

#### Refuses to Repeat President's Statement. Great Excitement in Senate.

Sen. STONE: Mr. President, I do not know why the Senator from Oklahoma quotes me as saying—

Sen. GORE. Mr. President, I did not quote the Senator as saying it; not at all.

Sen. STONE. Then I say, in all fairness to the President and to the facts of the case, so far as they are within my knowledge, that the President never stated to me or in my hearing that he believed in any way, or in any way entertained the thought, that war between the United States and the central powers would be desirable or would result in good to the United States.

Sen. GORE. Mr. President, I will accept the sub rosa remark of the Senator from Indiana (Sen. Kern) that he has a passion for peace. We all have a passion for peace. Yet I want to say in this place that I am not for peace at any price. I do not believe that all peace is honorable, nor do I believe that all war is dishonorable. Our Revolution was surcharged with glory.

Mr. President, I heard in such a way, analyzing the evidence, that I apprehended there was foundation in fact that the President suggested to the Senator that the United States might bring the war to a close by the middle of the summer. Am I right in that, may I ask the Senator from Missouri?

Sen. STONE. The President of the United States made no such statement to me as quoted by the Senator from Oklahoma. Whatever the President said to me, Mr. President, is something that I do not care to repeat. When I go to the White House to hold a conversation with the President, or when I go anywhere to hold a conversation with a Senator or any other official, what he says to me is sacred. I have not repeated conversations I have had with the President. I have stated impressions that the conversations I had with him made upon my mind, and I stated them, in substance, in a letter I wrote to the President, which was given to the public, but I have not repeated the conversations themselves.

Sen. JAMES. The Senator tells us that the fear created by this rumor which came to his ears of probable war caused him to introduce this resolution. The Senator is on perfectly good terms with the President, is he not? The question I ask the Senator is why he himself did not go—the President would have been very glad to have seen him—and he could have ascertained from the President himself just what he said and just what he thought?

Sen. GORE. Mr. President, I profess to enjoy no such confidential relationship that might lead me to expect to be apprised of his views if they were of that description. No one could wish to become the custodian of such a secret, if true. I acted, as I say, upon what seemed to be a reliable report, and which I did not feel at liberty to disregard. Of course, I may have been in error about it. Mr. President, I acted in the lurid light of those impressions. Certainly I did not undertake to quote what the President said to Senators, nor did I intimate that the Senator had reported to me or repeated to me his conversation with the President, and I assume that other Senators received the same report. If it be untrue, of course everybody must be gratified.

Mr. President, with these observations, merely suggesting that when the time comes I will make an effort to present the real issue to the Senate, I may say that I have nothing further to offer at this time except that I possess only finite wisdom, and I was doing my duty as I saw it under the circumstances and under the lights available.

Let me say further, in conclusion, that I have no disposition to interfere with diplomatic relations or negotiations so long as they do not impinge upon the constitutional power of Congress to declare war—to control the issue of peace and war—but I am not willing to be involved in war with Germany or any other power on account of the particular question here involved. Whenever the honor, whenever the vital interests, of the United States, whenever the essential rights of any American citizens are violated or outraged, I shall go as far as who goes farthest to place at the disposal of the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy every available man and every available dollar,



whether that power be Germany or any other nation under the sun. As an American standing for Americans only I have no choice of enemies.

**The Strain Has Greatly Increased. The Country Has Been Thoroughly Aroused Over Night. Thousands of Telegrams Are Sent to Senators and Representatives. Atmosphere in Senate Very Tense. Important Developments Expected.**

### SENATE DEBATE ON MARCH 3, 1916. ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS.

Sen. McCUMBER (N. Dak.). Mr. President, I offer the amendment which I send to the desk as a substitute for Senate concurrent resolution No. 14, which I ask may be read and lie on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the proposed amendment submitted by the Senator from North Dakota.

The Secretary read the amendment proposed by Sen. McCumber, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That is the sense of the Congress of the United States that, under the rules of international law heretofore obtaining, merchant vessels, though armed, with a stern gun of comparatively small caliber and for defense only, has the status and rights in war of an unarmed merchant ship, but that the science of war has developed with such extraordinary rapidity during the present conflict and new weapons of warfare, including the submarine and aero fighting craft, have been employed with such far-reaching consequences and which may threaten the very life of any one of the nations involved and which may necessitate a revision of the codes of international law pertaining to the rights and duties of neutrals and belligerents in the light of such new instrumentalities; that while the strict legal right of an American citizen, under international law, to travel and ship his goods on an armed merchant vessel may be an established right, it is none the less the moral and patriotic duty of every American citizen, in view of the desperate character of the warfare now raging in Europe and the desperate situation of each and all of the warring powers, to refrain from needlessly exposing himself to danger, and, by his recklessness or audacity involving his country, or threatening to involve it, in a conflict that may seriously affect the welfare of a hundred million of his fellow citizens, and that therefore the citizens of the United States should, and they are hereby requested, to refrain from travel on such armed merchant ships until an agreement has been reached between this country and the warring nations, to the end that the endeavors of the President may not be jeopardized or halted or this Government forced into hostility with another country because of the unnecessary or reckless attitude of any citizen of the United States.*

Sen. STONE. I ask that concurrent resolution No. 14 be laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate concurrent resolution No. 14.

Sen. GORE. Under Rule XXI of the Senate I have a right to modify the pending resolution before any action is taken upon the resolution. I desire now to exercise that sacred and immemorial right.

Sen. JAMES. I rise to a point of order. I make the point of order that the motion to lay upon the table is not debatable.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The point of order is well taken. The Chair will request Senators to listen a moment. The Chair has some rights. The point of order is well taken that the motion to lay upon the table is not debatable. The Chair also rules that the Senator from Oklahoma has a right to amend his resolution, but not to discuss it.

Sen. GORE. Mr. President, I appreciate that the ruling of the Chair is correct, but permit me just one sentence. I desire to explain the purpose of the change.

### SENATOR GORE OUTMANEUVERS HIS OP- PONENTS AND TURNS THE TABLES ON THE SENATE.

**Knowing That the Senate Will Refuse to Open Discussion and That It Had Practically Decided to "Table" His Resolution, He Gives the Senate Something Which It Will Surely Table. He Himself Proposes Tabling His Amended Resolution. Senate Dumfounded. Greatest Parliamentary Strategy Ever Practiced.**

Sen. JAMES. I make the point of order that debate is not in order.

Sen. GORE. Very well, I shall not do so.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The secretary will state the resolution as amended.

Sen. JAMES. Mr. President, I move to lay all substitutes and amendments on the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The motion is to lay the resolution and all substitutes for it on the table. The yeas and nays have been demanded. Is the request seconded?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Sen. GORE. I am heartily in favor of the motion.

Sen. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I think we have a right to have the resolution read as it is proposed to be amended.

The VICE PRESIDENT. There is no doubt about that.

Sen. GALLINGER. I ask that that be done.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read.

Sen. GALLINGER. And, I trust, there will be order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair relies upon order. The Secretary read the resolution of Sen. Gore, as modified:

**Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the sinking by a German submarine without notice or warning of an armed merchant vessel of her public enemy, resulting in the death of a citizen of the United States, would constitute a just and sufficient cause of war between the United States and the German Empire.**

Sen. STONE. I desire to understand—and I think the Senate should understand—whether the resolution has been so amended as just read, and if that is the question now before the Senate?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is the question to which the motion to lay on the table goes, and the yeas and nays have been requested and seconded.

### AMID GREAT EXCITEMENT SENATOR GORE'S RESOLUTION IS QUICKLY TABLED. HE GETS WHAT HE WANTS. BY HIS CLEVER TACTICS HE AVOIDS AN IMMEDIATE DAN- GER OF WAR WITH GERMANY.

Sen. JONES. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. President. Is it too late to offer an amendment to the resolution?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is too late to offer anything.

Sen. GORE. I call for the regular order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll as Sen. La Follette and Sen. Borah addressed the Chair, and Sen. Ashurst responded in the affirmative.

Sen. CLARKE (Ark.). I rise to a point of order. I make the point of order that the resolution now pending is an entirely new proposition.

Sen. ASHURST. I made a response. I object to any debate. My name was called and I made a response.

Sen. CLARKE (Ark.). I do not care what response the Senator made; I am not asking his consent. Mr. President, I made the point of order that that resolution can not be considered in its present form, for it is an entirely new resolution and it is not an amendment to anything. It is certainly not the original resolution which has been offered, and can not be considered until tomorrow, unless by unanimous consent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair does not sustain the point of order.

Sen. BORAH. Mr. President, I addressed the Chair before the agile gentleman from Arizona got in.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair thinks the roll call should proceed. The Chair did not know that the Senator from Idaho had addressed the Chair. Let the roll call proceed.

Sen. STONE (when name was called). If I may be permitted to do so, I am requested to announce the unavoidable absence of the junior Senator from Delaware (Sen. Saulsbury) because of sickness. If the original resolution—

Sen. GALLINGER. I object, Mr. President, to any statement.

Sen. STONE. I am explaining my vote.

Sen. BORAH. I ask that the Senator announce his vote.

Sen. STONE. The Senator from Idaho is not authorized to say what I will or will not do.

Sen. BORAH. If the Senator from Idaho is going to be gagged, the entire Senate will be gagged. If we are to be intellectual slaves singly, we will be intellectual slaves in a body. I will take part in this debate just as long as the Senator from Missouri does.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Idaho will be seated.

Sen. STONE. I am not going to make any observations on this motion. I vote "yea."

After much haggling over fine points of the parliamentary rules of the Senate, the roll call resulted in yeas, 68; nays, 14, as follows:

YEAS—68.—Ashurst, Bankhead, Beckham, Brandegee, Broussard, Burleigh, Chilton, Clark, Wyo., Clarke, Ark., Colt, Culberson, Curtis, Dillingham, du Pont, Fletcher, Gore, Harding, Hardwick, Hitchcock, Hollis, Hughes, Huston, James, Johnson, Me., Johnson, S. Dak., Kern, Lane,

Lee, Md., Lewis, Lodge, McLean, Martin, Va., Martine, N. J., Myers, Nelson, Newlands, Oliver, Overman, Owen, Page, Phelan, Pittman, Poindexter, Pomerene, Ransdell, Reed, Shafroth, Sheppard, Shields, Simmons, Smith, Ariz., Smith, Ga., Smith, Md., Smith, Mich., Smith, S. C., Sterling, Stone, Swanson, Thomas, Thompson, Tillman, Underwood, Vardaman, Wadsworth, Walsh, Warren, Weeks, Williams.

NAYS—14.—Borah, Chamberlain, Clapp, Cummins, Fall, Gallinger, Gronna, Jones, La Follette, McCumber, Norris, O'Gorman, Sherman, Works.

NOT VOTING—14.—Brady, Bryan, Catron, Goff, Kenyon, Lea, Tenn., Lippitt, Penrose, Robinson, Saulsbury, Shively, Smoot, Sutherland, Townsend.

**THE VOTE IS NO INDICATION ON THE ORIGINAL WARNING RESOLUTION. SENATOR GORE WINS HIS OBJECT. SHOWS THE COUNTRY THAT INSISTENCE OF AMERICANS TO TRAVEL ON ARMED BELLIGERENT SHIPS WILL LEAD TO WAR. FEW SENATORS WANT WAR.**

Sen. STONE. I ask that Senate resolution 108, proposed by the Senator from Washington (Sen. Jones), be now laid before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution, which will be stated by the Secretary.

The Secretary. Senate resolution 108, by Sen. Jones—  
Sen. JONES. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry. I desire to withdraw the resolution.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator has the right to withdraw the resolution. It is withdrawn.

Sen. REED. A parliamentary inquiry. I have risen and addressed the Chair, morning business having been closed to the floor at this time. I voted against the resolution first and chiefly because we are informed that the pendency of the resolution has created an impression in foreign countries, and especially at the court of Germany, that there is a division in our councils, and that the State Department does not have back of its demands the support of the Government and the people, and that therefore the State Department finds itself embarrassed and weakened in the negotiations now pending. I think it highly important that this false impression should be immediately removed. There invariably always will be differences of opinion as to the wisest way in which to meet and solve any great and difficult question. They are not differences of opinion growing out of a desire to serve the interest of any foreign power.

Second, I believe this not to be the opportune time to pass such a resolution.

Third. I am not in favor of either expressly or by implication yielding the rights of American citizens upon the high seas.

Fourth. Important information may reach us within the next few days which may show that such orders have been issued as will in fact make certain vessels heretofore regarded as peaceful merchant ships auxiliary cruisers, in which event this Government may see fit to take the position that such vessels shall no longer be regarded or treated as merchantmen.

The United States has nothing to do with that controversy, except in so far as it affects her rights which, of course, embrace the rights of her citizens. It is necessary that the United States shall assume some position. If it shall take the ground that the armed vessels, acting under the supposed instructions I have referred to, are in fact war vessels, that decision will necessarily be somewhat favorable to Germany, because it will accord with Germany's contentions. Whereupon excitable and extreme individuals might exclaim, "You have decided the question in favor of Germany and against the United States!" Upon the other hand, if we should take the position that the vessels armed and instructed as aforesaid are not war vessels, even though they should be engaged in the war and acting under the authority of instructions from the British Government, actually sink war vessels of the German Navy, to wit, its submarines, then the same excitable and extreme individuals might by the same kind of logic declare we have "decided the question in favor of the allies and against the interests of the United States." Manifestly we must, when we decide the question, decide it in favor of the contentions of one or the other of the belligerents, because there are but two sides to the question, and when we take the side favored by one we must take the side against the other.

**AFTER TABLING OF RESOLUTION, LONG DEBATE STARTS.**

Sen. JONES. We have decided nothing today except that the Senate can be gagged absolutely. We have not passed upon the issue presented in any way. We have like ostriches stuck our heads in the sand, and we think that no one sees us. If the note means anything, it actually ties the hands of the President, and will bear no other construction.

I voted against tabling the Gore resolution because on general principles I am against tabling resolutions, for the motion is always made for the purpose of either cutting off debate or evading the issue. I am in favor of passing upon this question squarely. That is what we should have done to reflect honor upon the great body we are supposed to be and ought to be.

Have we complied with the request of the President of the United States? I suppose that what we have done was intended to be a compliance with his request. What did he say in his letter to Sen. Pou that he wanted? This is what he said:

"I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantment which have recently been so much talked about—"

Why?

"In order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them."

This is the full public discussion that we have had, motions to lay upon the table, under which no man can speak until after the motion is passed upon.

Sen. BORAH. The Senator is not in touch with the subterranean passage?

Sen. JONES. I think I know about it and the character of it, but I did not see fit to suggest it. A question that may involve war for this country is a question that ought to be discussed until everybody has reached a clear decision and until the people know thoroughly why we take whatever action we may take.

Everybody knows that we have not settled the proposition. We have not reached a decision upon it. We have evaded it. We have voted blindly, and instead of assisting the President we have, in fact, embarrassed him. When Senators really see what they have done they will certainly regret their hasty action. The President is not advised as to the sentiment of the Senate on this proposition, and the people abroad know that we have not passed upon it. If the President, the House, and the Senate desire that something shall be done that will speak to the countries abroad, we ought to have voted squarely on the proposition. It should have been amended and put into shape expressing the mature and patriotic judgment of the great American people.

Sen. MYERS. As long as something has been said about my vote, I want to say that if the motion had been made to lay on the table the resolution of the Senator from Washington I would have voted for it. If his resolution had come directly before the Senate, I would have voted against it. If the resolution of the Senator from Oklahoma (Sen. Gore), had in its original form come directly before the Senate, I would, with hearty good will, have voted against it.

Sen. JONES. It is enough for the country to see the methods that the Senate under some force of some kind, of some character from somewhere, will take upon such a momentous question as we have before us, and that is not settled by this vote. It is still pending. It will come up again. But I do hope, Mr. President, that this agitation and what has been done will serve the purpose of inducing American citizens to refrain from putting themselves on these armed belligerent ships. In the interest of the United States and in the interest of their country, I hope that no one hereafter, until this terrific contest is closed, will place himself in a position where he may not only lose his own life but bring our country into war and into trouble.

He may have the technical right to travel on these ships, although I doubt it. But, Mr. President, a man may be so reckless, in my judgment, of the rights of others as to forfeit rights which he may have. The peace of a nation should not abide upon the result of any individual's recklessness.

It is not asking much of the citizen to ask him to stay off these ships. Is it possible that there are men and women who are not patriotic enough to do this little thing in behalf of their country and humanity? We denounce as cowardly and unpatriotic the man who will not offer his life in time of war to defend his country. What denunciation is too severe for the man who is not willing to forego the exercise of a mere personal right of profit or pleasure in time of peace to save his country from the horrors of war?

Sen. STONE. Mr. President, I wish merely to say that on Tuesday next I shall ask leave to address the Senate and to express at length my views on the subject of armed merchantmen and related subjects.

(Continued on page 230.)

# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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### AN EDITORIAL ABOMINATION.

Alleged correspondence between the officers of the German-American National Alliance has recently been published in some papers. These papers endeavored to show that these leaders were mingling in politics for the purpose of opposing President Wilson's re-election and of preventing the nomination of such men as Roosevelt, Root, etc.

Commenting on this "exposure," the "Baltimore American" says:

"Should this \* \* \* lead to an overt act against the head of the nation, there would be some summary hanging of prominent German-Americans \* \* \*"

Scrutinizing the whole matter closely and in an unbiased manner, we find that the only charge these rabid papers can make is, that the German-American National Alliance aims to exert its influence in the coming elections. That is their right as citizens and the "Baltimore American" and the other papers cannot and dare not deny them that right.

If some organization of German-Americans sees further ahead than these benighted Anglophiles and thus oppose the re-election of the man in power or the nomination of such anti-Germans as Roosevelt and Root, who most likely would plunge this peaceful country into disastrous war, are they committing an overt act or are they upholding Washington's and Jefferson's doctrines fighting for the liberty and independence of the United States?

Who are the Benedict Arnolds in this case?

Who has a greater right to fight for an honest election, a naturalized citizen who has made his home here or those foreigners who are only after the American dollar and who sneer at our Constitution and consider us still a colony of England?

The statement by the editor of the "Baltimore American" is civic abomination. He has yet to learn the fundamental rules of good citizenship—and even those of common decency.

### LIES ABOUT MEXICO.

Our citizens and their property in Mexico must be protected. Every possible precaution should be taken to guard their rights and to effect a speedy capture of Villa, who outraged American citizens' rights and their lives.

In a statement issued by President Wilson he complains that secret influences seek to drive him into war with Mexico.

If this is so and if the President can show that he is able to punish these perpetrators of the Mexican outrages without embroiling this country any farther, he should draw the country into his confidence.

(Continued from page 229.)

### SENATOR CLARKE WANTS TO PLEASE ALL PARTIES. AGAINST WAR ON FLIMSY ISSUES.

Sen. CLARKE (Ark.). Mr. President, I must confess that I am not satisfied with the course that things have taken here today. There is no use overlooking the fact that we have come a second time to a place in the history of this country where it may be said, as it was said of Rome, that "there is a party for Caesar and a party for Pompey, but there is no party for Rome."

Unfortunately the world has not rid itself of the dangers of war, and still more unfortunately, the horrors of war have been increasing all the time. It has been the theoretic and academic boast of this country that our institutions have been laid and developed along lines that make such catastrophes in our affairs a virtual impossibility; that the principles of justice that characterize our administration, and the larger part which we concede to the individual citizen in developing the policies of his own Government make it a practical impossibility for such cataclysms as we now witness elsewhere to be a matter of actual and near concern to us. But it seems we are deluding ourselves.

I believe that, if we had preserved from the beginning a condition of absolute neutrality, the unfortunate struggle now raging in Europe would now be well on its way to an adjustment. There is no overlooking the fact that all our public acts and declarations have led in a certain direction, and have created a distinct impression that official America, at least, is anxiously interested in the success of one of the parties to this great conflict. It will require no inspired ingenuity to guess which one, because it has almost become a saying that anybody who at this day professes to be neutral must be in sympathy with the Germans, since everybody else occupying an official position seems to have taken his stand on the other side of the controversy.

I have thought all along and I believe now, that the Congress of the United States ought to supplement some existing international rules and regulations with further declarations, which it has ample and undisputed authority to make. No code of laws at this period of the world's history is complete; otherwise there would be no excuse for this Congress and like assemblies remaining in perpetual session.

Now, for example, we take the matter of exporting arms by neutrals to belligerents. The process involves the rights and interests of three parties—the two belligerents and the neutral exporter. It is not an unneutral act to furnish with arms one or both of the belligerents, provided it be done upon equal terms of opportunity, and yet it is also a feature of applicable law, as well defined and as perfectly recognized as the other that the Government of the neutral exporter has the right, by the enactment of municipal law, to prevent the export of arms and munitions to either belligerent, and its action in doing so can not be justly deemed under international law to be an unneutral or otherwise unfriendly act.

The allies insist that they have a right to adequately arm their merchantment for what they consider defensive purposes. Just what that shall be is a matter for them to determine. The allies are, therefore, the judge of how they shall arm their ships. We have absolute control over our own nationals on the sea and off of it. We have a right to amend our laws in such a way that our nationals shall not seek passage upon those armed ships, except upon the condition that they deliberately assume the responsibility for whatever consequences come from that rash act. We are entirely within our rights—and I know that we will fall short of our duty if we do not exercise it. We have a right to make that declaration without giving anybody the right to call us to account for it.

In adopting this course we do not interfere, nor pretend to interfere, with the warfare that is being conducted by the belligerents; but we simply say to them: "You have no vested right to have forever continued a course of action on the part of a few of our nationals who perish in putting themselves in places of unusual peril, and thereby, under the old conception of national duty, bring us into a position where we shall be called upon to take part in the struggle against your adversary."

I think we have the right to pass a resolution declaring that our people go upon armed merchantmen of either belligerent at their own risk, and I think it is our duty to pass it now. We have already failed to take advantage of our opportunities on so many splendid occasions that I do not think this one should be permitted to pass without availing ourselves of it.

Those who just at this juncture are particularly anxious to magnify the importance of the Presidency pretend to think that once the President has declared an opinion or defined a purpose to enforce an existing law thereupon all legislative powers are paralyzed. I shall not remain silent;

I shall not occupy an ambiguous attitude with reference to the matter.

Other Presidents have been advised by the Senate and the House of Representatives with reference to the Presidential duty in connection with international matters, and no intimation was then made that that was an improper exercise of authority or that it was a censorious and unwelcome supervision of the Presidential office to have it done. \* \* \*

### WAR WITH CHIPS ON SHOULDERS NOT WANTED BY SENATOR GALLINGER.

I think it is best to deal frankly with all these great questions, to deal honestly with them, to deal with them in such a way as to show that we definitely and distinctly know the responsibility that rests upon those of us who are to administer the affairs of 100,000,000 of the most enlightened people the sun ever shone upon. You will gain nothing by dodging. You will gain nothing by bartering off your prerogatives in fear or overdependence on somebody else, even if that somebody does control the pie counter. It is time for every American citizen and every American official to courageously assume his part of the responsibility and to fearlessly and patriotically exercise the power that is lodged with him and his station.

The present trend of this Government in the present world conflagration is wrong and it ought to be changed. It is time enough for us to go to war when a real and substantial cause is presented. Whoever engages in war with us will find at the end of it that he has been in a conflict of some magnitude; but we are not going about with chips on our shoulders, pretending to stand to the verge of war. So far as I am concerned, this country is not going into this war until somebody does something that should be deemed justifiable cause for it, and up to the present time nothing of that kind has happened.

Sen. GALLINGER (Sen. New Hamp.). As I was the only Senator from the New England States who voted against tabling the amended resolution, I want to say a word.

I voted against tabling the resolution because I felt the matter ought to have been fully debated and then voted upon intelligently. I confess I did not understand what the amendment was that the Senator from Oklahoma submitted to his original resolution, as it had never been before the Senate until it was read from the desk. My position is that I want in every honorable way to do what I can to avoid war. I have believed that it would be a wise thing for our Government to advise American citizens not to travel on armed belligerent ships, and I should have voted for that if the question had been presented to the Senate in that form.

Sen. BORAH. Mr. President, I have had but one rule to guide my conduct since this unfortunate conflict in Europe began and some difficulties closer home began, and that was, wherever I conceived American right to exist, and it was challenged upon the part of any country or nation, to meet that challenge without vacillation or compromise. It has been immaterial to me whether the parties, being American citizens, were slain upon the sea or in Mexico, whether the nation responsible for it was large or small. I measured my duty by the fact that an American citizen's life had been sacrificed and an American right had been invaded. I have known no other rule, and I do not at any time intend to observe any other rule.

### SENATOR BORAH INSISTS ON ALL RIGHTS.

Indeed, Mr. President, firmness and decision will more often prevent war than bring on war. I believe, furthermore, that if Sir Edward Grey had answered positively and definitely the question of the President of the French Republic, when he was asked in the last days of July, 1914, what he would do in case Germany invaded Belgium, in all probability this war would not have been begun. But when the President of the French Republic presented the question to Sir Edward Grey as to what would be the attitude of the British Empire, instead of answering positively and decisively as one who knew the right and was willing to support it, he stated to the President of the great French Republic that "We will have to wait and see where the interests of the British Government lie," and I quote almost his language. It is always unfortunate in a crisis to have a man wanting in decision and courage, wanting in the genius for responsibility.

I believe, Mr. President, furthermore, that if at the beginning of our difficulty with Mexico, even under the former administration, when our citizens were murdered, instead of compromising or hesitating or, as it were, almost apologizing, we had said that we want no trouble with Mexico, but one thing is beyond dispute, that the American Republic, true to its ancient traditions, will protect American life wherever it is in jeopardy, instead of having 300 Americans murdered in Mexico the difficulty would have been greatly lessened, if not wholly avoided, so far as American rights were

or are involved. That policy was continued under this administration, and humiliation for the Nation is the harvest of this betrayal of American rights at a critical moment.

I was not permitted to vote upon the question. We denounce Germany because we do not like her system of government, we say, and her militarism. We are told that in that marvelous nation all power and action proceeds from the royal nod. The great Senate of the United States, the pride of Hamilton, the creation of the best thought and the best conception of the fathers—a body which has given to the world time and time again a full justification of the work of its builders—was Germanized today. We took precisely the same attitude and followed the same instruction and reached the same results by the same method and process as the highest legislative body of Germany reaches it when the Kaiser directs action from the throne. There was no free, open discussion; there was fear; there was subserviency; there was shrinking from duty.

Suppose, instead of the President saying what he did say in his letter to Mr. Pou—that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion—he had advised the working out of some scheme to cut off all expression of view, that a plan should be devised to the effect that a man was to get the floor, and the next man was to get the man who got the floor and cut off all debate, and take a vote upon this important question, in order that he might have the view of the Senate of the United States. Suppose he had set out that proposition in his letter to Mr. Pou, what would have been the response coming from every part of the country? It would have been denounced, and the condemnation would have been so fierce, and beat so constantly upon the White House that there would have been another change of view. But what did he say? He said: "That there may be afforded an immediate opportunity—." For what? "For public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away."

Full public discussion, and yet he sends his men here directed to cut off discussion and prevent all honest, intelligent action.

What will be the worth of this advice to the Chief Magistrate when it reaches him over the telephone?

I think, Mr. President, that it was most unfortunate to dispose of it as we did. I am not afraid of war if it is necessary to protect American rights. I am not afraid of sacrifices if they are necessary to maintain this Republic. We cannot hope to play a part in the great affairs of the world if we are not brave enough to make a sacrifice for our rights. I am not afraid of that condition, but I am afraid of the subserviency, the degradation of the American Senate in the eyes of the American people. This body which has been characterized as the greatest legislative and deliberative body in the world has no further step of humiliation to take. When a great world crisis is on, and not only when the eyes of our hundred million of people were centered upon us but the eyes of hundreds of millions of people throughout the civilized world were centered upon us, we come here and timidly reach a conclusion under the direction of some power beyond the Senate Chamber. It will no longer be possible to boast that this is a conflict between autocracy and democracy, for a more conspicuous example of the absolute breakdown of the democratic spirit you will not be able to cite. It was, I repeat, a sad and sorry way to meet a great situation.

### SENATOR LEWIS FOR HARMONY.

Sen. LEWIS. Mr. President, \* \* \* I ask my able friend from Idaho, what more expeditious method could have been adopted to carry out the theory he so wisely advances than the one we secured this morning by promptly, effectively, and immediately acting, by a voice that went out to the country, that the subject matter of this resolution was so disapproved in the Senate as any sentiment of the American Republic that discussion itself was indicted as an affront to the intelligence of America. We took such course in order that we should establish before the world that there was not even doubt enough upon the rectitude of the course of the President on the one hand or the wisdom of the Senate on the other to justify disputation upon the principle announced by him to Germany and the world. \* \* \*

I ask that we reach the conclusion quickly; that we go to the spirit of the object; and, instead of holding out to our country that something has been done here today which hides the truth from American eyes, let us \* \* \* turn ourselves about to join with the President of the United States, as our President, to achieve his object; to carry out these negotiations which he has undertaken, without the interference of the Senate at the time when it was not called upon to interrupt him or to obstruct him; and that all, in unanimity with this object in view, to secure peace, maintain honor, and disclose before the world that a united country was behind a valorous and patriotic President.

## THE PRESIDENT WARNED AGAINST A DOUBTFUL RIGHT BY SENATOR SHERMAN.

Sen. SHERMAN (Ill.). Mr. President, in my judgment, we are approaching the issues of peace or war. I do not believe in an evasion. If an issue of this character be raised, involving the welfare of a hundred million people, it is at least worthy of an open discussion. This is called an "open forum."

I believe the President was right in saying that the opinion of Congress upon questions of great disturbing moment was vital to him in his negotiations with foreign powers.

If he were embarked upon the wrong course and if he had undertaken the negotiation of matters in a way that would not be sustained by Congress, it was his right to know it, and to know it at the earliest possible moment.

Ultimately the way our Chief Executive is traveling leads to but one goal—it will end in war or national humiliation. There is no escape from the end of the way he is traveling.

A merchantman was permitted to carry such defensive armament as was necessary to protect her and her cargo against thieves by land and pirates by sea. This originally was the ground upon which a merchantman was allowed to carry arms. It permitted a merchant ship to be and remain a vessel of peace and not of war.

The rules of no two civilized nations in the world are agreed on the extent of that armament. It varies with conditions and with the centuries; it varies with the character of the cargo and the ports of destination.

If it be mentioned that there are laws governing nations at war and the character of the armament in years past, let me reply that the discussion is academic. When the conditions cease, then the rule itself in most cases ceases.

These rules, which were framed hundreds of years ago and which are invoked here to justify some of the arguments for arming merchantmen, were based upon conditions which have ceased long ago to exist. They ceased to exist as early as the second day of August, 1914.

For the first time the question has arisen: How shall a submarine make its attack, be defended against, or how shall it be destroyed? A submarine is not a heavy, armored vessel; its sides are subject to attack; it is the most vulnerable of all seagoing craft.

Sen. HUSTING (Wis.). I should like to ask the Senator whether British merchantmen have been torpedoed by German submarines, and, if so, whether the vessels were unarmed at the time they were torpedoed?

Sen. SHERMAN (Ill.). Some of them have been. The *Lusitania* was practically unarmed.

Sen. HUSTING. Does not the Senator think that merchantmen should be permitted to arm themselves to repel unlawful attacks by submarines?

Sen. SHERMAN. I will answer that not by "yes" or "no," but I will answer it by saying between the belligerents they can settle that for themselves. The question here is not whether the merchantman may arm itself, but after it has armed itself, thereby converting itself into a fighting ship, shall we permit American citizens to take passage upon it to the scene of danger?

The submarine is an arm of a belligerent's naval force. If a merchantman arm itself to destroy a submarine, it loses its innocent character and becomes an auxiliary naval craft. It is then subject to the hazards of naval war.

If it arms itself now, it arms because it intends to make war upon the naval forces of the enemy. If that be the motive with which a merchantman is armed, then it must accept the fortunes of war. If it be attacked by any kind of craft belonging to the belligerent power, it must take whatever destructive effort is made against it.

I am not endeavoring to justify the use of a submarine against an unarmed, unresisting merchant ship. I am insisting no prudent American will hazard his life and entangle his Government in war on such a ship.

On the 13th day of January, 1916, the *White Star* liner *Adriatic* sailed from New York for Liverpool. She had on board 120 passengers, some of whom were Americans. She had on board 18,000 tons of war munitions. She was a floating arsenal. She was filled with implements of destruction. She was a potential explosion charged with sudden death to all on board. She was a constant invitation to the submarines or other fighting craft of the central powers to attack and destroy her. The very ammunition that is today defending Verdun, that is nerving those who are behind the fortifications to continue in their defense, went on the *Adriatic*. It has been carried from the coast, and today is helping decide the fate of France.

Some Americans were booked for passage on this boat. Are they not incurring an imminent danger?

My contention is that this Government has the right, and I believe it is its duty in the present crisis, to place some proper restriction upon its citizens, keeping them from go-

ing into the danger zone, so that they may avoid the constant cause of quarrel and the possible danger of war. I think the duty of this Government is equal to that of a police officer in a time of riot or great public disturbance, who takes me kindly by the shoulder and advises me to go to my home; that I am in a dangerous place and am adding to the burdens, as I have suggested, of the officers who are trying to preserve the peace or restore order. I put it upon this undoubted right of civil society so to act.

Are we neutral? We are not. We have not been neutral in a part of the United States. The reason for the rule I now announce remains as sound now as ever. In the purchase of war supplies from a neutral by nations at war we have been justified in the sale by the rules of several hundred years. Any belligerent can buy in our markets under the well-settled rules of international law. They have done so. The fact that one of the powers may not have been able to purchase and deliver does not change the rule. That is a mere question of power.

Add to this rule of the belligerents' right to purchase in a neutral market from the neutral country's citizens anything they need, contraband or noncontraband, or otherwise, the principle that when a neutral market is open to belligerents for the purchase of war supplies it must be opened alike to all the belligerents. There must be no favoritism shown.

## SENATOR VARDAMAN DECLINES GOVERNMENTAL PROTECTION TO MUNITION TRAFFIC.

Sen. VARDAMAN (Miss.). Does the Senator from Illinois think the fact that the use of ships owned by the belligerent nation by American citizens traveling to Europe in any way adds to the commerce or the business of the concern to which he has just referred? In other words, does not the Senator think that one of the reasons why the large business interests of the East to which he referred a moment ago are protesting against the proposition made in the original Gore resolution, is because it will interfere very largely with their commerce?

Sen. SHERMAN. I think so.

Sen. VARDAMAN. It is not only to save human life. I really think myself that that is of secondary importance, but the presence of Americans on the ships gives governmental protection to the ship, and in that way facilitates the commerce between the manufacturers and the Allies.

Sen. SHERMAN. I have no doubt whatever that that is the underlying motive of much of this sentiment in the localities I mentioned a while ago. I do not think their motives will bear vigilant scrutiny. I think if a resolution receives the discussion to which it is entitled in the Senate, instead of being made the subject of a motion to table or a previous question, those underlying motives will be thoroughly brought out into broad daylight. The Senator from Mississippi has undoubtedly uncovered most accurately a powerful reason why so much of the press and certain people oppose restraints on such travel.

For my part, I think business could as well stop for a season; we could forego our gain in the countinghouse and in the export trade, rather than that we should have a million of our men in the trenches if we undertook to pursue to its legitimate conclusion this mere right to travel.

I am in deadly earnest about this. Politics disappear; party lines are obliterated. I am responsible only to my own conscience. No party organization ought rule on this. It is beyond partisan limitations. No party caucus that has ever been called will be able to direct a vote on a subject of this kind. It is a question of our country, not of our party. It is a question of our President and not of our candidate.

It is a question of our preservation of lives and not the counting of blood-bought gold.

It is the protection of our own people by preventing them from being made a shield to protect the traffic in war munitions. If it be not done, one American passenger on a steamship loaded with many thousand tons of war supplies, like the *Adriatic*, may secure it from attack by a submarine. It is in effect insuring such a ship and cargo from the perils of war, if the views of the Allies are sound. As a neutral power we then cease to be neutral and cast our influence into the hazards of war for the Allies. The central powers may not attack such an armed vessel merely because an American on board is put in peril.

## SENATOR GALLINGER COMPLAINS ABOUT THE PRESS.

Sen. GALLINGER. Some of us have been very severely criticised in the press. I have here a couple of brief extracts from one of the leading papers of the neighboring city of Philadelphia, in which the editor says, with unctious: "What a mess a mixture of poltroons, of sympathizers with frightfulness, of men afraid of their own shadows, of those



who care nothing for national honor, would make of it, to be sure, if they could ride roughshod over the genuine American sentiment that, fortunately, still exists in Congress.

"Their first action would be to replace the cry of 'America first' with 'Germany over all.'"

"Their second should be to haul down the Stars and Stripes and hoist the flag of Germany over the Capitol."

Then, again, under the head of "The most important question of all," the editor says:

"The most important question affecting the United States today is this: Do the American people own the Congress of the Nation, or does Ambassador von Bernstorff?"

Mr. President, what arrant nonsense that is. I notice the Senator from Illinois made a plea for neutrality, and he suggested, what is true, that the American people are not neutral in their feeling on this great issue. I want to call the attention of the country to the fact that the agitation that is going on outside of Congress is much better calculated to get us into trouble than anything that has occurred in this Chamber. As an illustration, a great meeting was held in Tremont Temple, Boston, on the 29th day of February, and the heading in the Boston Herald is "Two thousand five hundred cheer plea that United States join Allies." It would be interesting if the Senator would read the report of that meeting, which concludes by a resolution, as to which the audience, the paper says, cast reserve aside and cheered it to the echo. That resolution reads:

"We are convinced that our political ideals and our national safety are bound up with the cause of the Allies, and that their defeat would mean moral and material disaster to our country."

Mr. President, what kind of neutrality is that?

### BOSTON MEETING AND THE AMERICAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE CONDEMNED.

Again, Mr. President, there is an organization in the City of New York, called the American Rights Committee. The executive committee is composed of ten distinguished men, one of whom is Mr. Frederic R. Coudert, a man well known to the country. They have issued a declaration of principles, in which they say:

"We condemn the aims of the Teutonic powers, and we denounce as barbarous their methods of warfare.

"We believe that the Entente Allies are engaged in a struggle to prevent the domination of the world by armed force, and are striving to guarantee to the smallest nation its rights to an independent and peaceful existence.

"We believe that the progress of civilization and the free development of the principles of democratic government depend upon the success of the Entente Allies.

"We believe that our duty to humanity and respect for our national honor demand that our Government take appropriate action to place the Nation on record as deeply in sympathy with the efforts of the Entente Allies to remove the menace of Prussian militarism."

Again I ask, Mr. President, what kind of neutrality is that?

Mr. President, I conclude, as I commenced, by saying that it seems to me that the agitation outside, where men gather 2,500 strong in Tremont Temple openly declaring that we ought to definitely join the Allies in their struggle to destroy Germany—because that is what it means—is doing more harm than anything that can possibly come from an open and free discussion of this question in the Senate of the United States.

### JINGO EDITORS TO THE FRONT.

Sen. SHERMAN. All the clippings I get which favor the instant burial of such a resolution as that of the Senator from Oklahoma are in what I would call "the infected area." It is the territory in which more millionaires have been created in the last 14 months than have been created in the last 14 years by peaceful industrialism. I think I shall offer a resolution, although it might be regarded as a bit of humor, that in the event of war we ought to conscript all of the belligerent editors east of Pittsburgh. [Laughter in the galleries.]

Sen. GALLINGER (New Hamp.). In that great mass meeting in Tremont Temple a gentleman from the city of Toronto, Canada, declared that those of us who took that position were traitors. He came across the border to say that.

Sen. SHERMAN. Well, we were traitors in 1812, when our Capitol was burned, when millions of men did not spring into being, armed, panoplied, and drilled for defensive war between sunset and sunrise. We were traitors then; we were traitors in the War of the Revolution; and I am perfectly willing to be a traitor again, not to get into war but to keep out of it. I will take my chances with the belligerent editors and with their belligerent allies, both of whom seem to desire our immediate entry into war against Germany.

### THE TRAITORS DESCRIBED.

Sen. VARDAMAN. If it will not interrupt the Senator, I am going to say that as to an editor of the character described by him, of course it would be gross flattery to say that he is a slanderer or a liar or anything of that kind; and I do not want to say that, because I do not want to flatter him; but it reminds me of something that I saw:

"I pity from my soul the unhappy man,  
Compelled by want to prostitute his pen,  
Who must, like politicians, either strive or plead  
And follow, right or wrong, where the guineas lead."

Sen. SHERMAN. Not many months ago we left the Senate Chamber and went over into the Hall of the House of Representatives and heard a message which concerned Mexico. It said, in substance, to the nearly 60,000 Americans to drop their possessions, take their families and flee for their lives.

Sen. GALLINGER. And Congress made an appropriation to help them to get out of Mexico.

Sen. SHERMAN. I do not know what the opinions of the Chief Executive may be, and that is not material, for they would not change the convictions of any of us; but I wish to inquire if some of the friends of the belligerent editors are to be held sacred in traveling in war zones, while the poor, abandoned soul whose family was outraged, whose home was burned, whose property was destroyed, and who himself was slaughtered in Mexico by a lawless banditti, without protest by our Government, is to be forgotten?

### WE MUST BE NEUTRAL IN FACT.—Sen. Sherman.

The people of the West, Northwest, and Southwest have some red blood, and they are not interested alone in the profits that may come from traffic with the Allies in munitions of war.

I might just as well mention here that I intend to vote against an embargo on war supplies. It is the right of all nations to buy in neutral markets; and, because I believe in that, I shall vote against any restrictions on belligerents buying munitions of war in our markets. I do that, not because I have sympathies one way or the other which I wish to carry out by such conduct, but because the defense of the right of the alien to buy in our markets becomes ultimately the defense of our right to buy in other markets if we are at war. \* \* \*

Let the first great lesson make us Americans. May we everlastingly forget our racial origins in the Old World in a new birth of a broader, stronger American freedom in this Republic! There is no Germany here; no Allies.

We must be neutral in fact. Only in that neutrality can we justify ourselves in the years to come. Peace can be had with honor, but not with the recklessness implied by those who insist on their right to rush headlong into unnecessary danger.

Sen. SUTHERLAND (Utah). Mr. President, I personally believe that merchantmen of belligerent nations have a right under the established rules of international law to carry armament for their own defense, and I believe that our own citizens have a right to carry their goods or to take passage upon such ships. I am opposed to the Congress of the United States either advising against or forbidding their doing so, and I regret that the vote was not taken on that precise question. \* \* \*

### DON'T DISTURB THE PRESIDENT—

Senator Broussard

Sen. BROUSSARD. Where the integrity and the honor of the American Republic is involved there can be no cause of disagreement between two patriotic men desiring to save the country from a conflict and to avoid our engaging in the brutal war that is demoralizing and destroying the civilization of Europe.

So, I have felt, and I feel deeply, the question of passing some law or affording some opportunity to prevent men of reckless character, men of a foolhardy nature, placing themselves in an attitude that might result in engaging this Nation in war, despite our efforts and our desires and our prayers not to engage in it. If the opportunity should present itself whereby by Congressional action men may be prevented from exercising that sort of privilege, the result of which may engage our people in a war out of which we are striving to keep, I would unhesitatingly vote for that proposition. But so long as the present critical condition continues, so long as the President exerts himself and the State Department uses its ability and energy in their efforts to have us escape that disaster, that long do I stand with the President, and that long do I want to cast my vote in this body to permit him to carry out the powers which the Constitution vests in him alone, unhampered by extraneous interference.

### SENATOR KERN FAVORS A WARNING RESOLUTION, BUT THINKS CONGRESS SHOULD STAND BY THE PRESIDENT.

Sen. KERN. Mr. President, if no important diplomatic negotiations had been pending, if no international complications had existed, under conditions normal, or nearly so, I would have voted without hesitation for a resolution requesting the President to warn American travelers against the dangers incident to travel upon armed merchantmen of belligerent nations. My views on this subject are well known, and have been fully expressed. I have said, and I repeat, that I favored such official warning, principally for the protection of the thoughtless and weakminded, who might not appreciate the danger, and to the end that a hundred millions of peaceful and peace-loving people might not be plunged into war as the price of the stupendous folly of a handful of travelers. I had no thought for the personal safety of intelligent men who, out of a spirit of bravado or foolhardiness, or to promote their own selfish interests, would risk their lives on such vessels; for in my judgment such a man, with such a treasonable bent of mind as to be indifferent to the danger of involving his country in war, and wrecking the happiness of hundreds of thousands of American homes, has a life so valueless to his country as to be scarcely worth the saving. \* \* \*

The dread spirit of war has well-nigh enveloped the earth. Its shadow already begins to darken this fair land and threaten the happiness and prosperity of this people. It is to stay its course that the President of the United States has for many anxious months given his energies and intellect—the best that is in him. It is to that end that he is now employing all the means at his command—those placed in his hands by the Constitution of his country. To him alone has the power been committed by that instrument to work out our salvation through the channels of diplomacy. \* \* \*

When such an appeal was made my mind was quickly made up that whatever my opinion might be as to the duty of American citizens to keep off armed ships of belligerent nations it should never be said of me that in the hour of my country's peril, whether that peril was imminent or threatened, I faltered for an instant in my allegiance to a President who in the exercise of his constitutional powers was thus seeking to preserve our peaceful relations with the distracted and maddened nations engaged in a world war and at the same time to maintain the honor and dignity of this Republic.

### RESPONSIBLE TO THE PEOPLE.—Senator Fall.

Sen. FALL (N. Mex.). Mr. President, the magnificent words and expressions of the Senator who so well leads the other side of the Chamber will, of course, go out to the country, and to the unthinking possibly will offer reasons for the votes cast here to table the resolution today. Evidently these expressions have been most carefully prepared, as they have been most eloquently uttered; but I wish to call the attention of the Senator and of the Senate to the fact that, as appropriate as his reasons would have been, possibly, as explaining his vote upon the resolution which the President of the United States asked us to discuss freely, they may not be so appropriate—unless the Senator can change his mind as a chameleon changes its colors—to the resolution which was laid on the table. The difficulty is that the resolution which was offered here on the 25th day of February was opposite, in its intention and in its every word, to the resolution upon which the Senate acted.

I had not intended, nor do I intend, to undertake a discussion of the merits of the resolution. I am frank to say, sir, that my mind had been made up, from the evidence before me, that my vote should have been cast against the original Gore resolution. But I have been one of those who, from the time I entered this Chamber and took my oath, have stood here and insisted that the greatest function of this body was its informing function rather than its legislative function. We were informed through our only source of information—the press of the United States—that for weeks, if not for months, the President of the United States has been insisting that he will hold Germany to a strict accountability in the event of the loss of the life of an American citizen sailing upon an armed belligerent ship, and that he considered the Gore resolution not in accordance with his contentions, and therefore that it was an interference with his power, and that he demanded the action and the sentiment of Congress upon it. \* \* \* At the last moment the resolution was amended by changing it entirely. It was not the resolution upon which the President demanded discussion and action, but was an entirely different resolution, announcing an entirely contrary doctrine:

"Resolved, That the sinking by a German submarine, without notice or warning, of an armed merchant vessel of a public enemy resulting in the death of a citizen of the United

States would constitute a just and sufficient cause of war between the United States and the German Empire."

You have sent to the Kaiser, if you have sent anything, notice to the effect that the upper branch of the Congress of the United States will look upon his sinking such vessels, and the death of American citizens, possibly with some degree of regret, but that no action shall be taken against him; that we recognize his right to continue his U-boat warfare, and to send to their watery graves other victims such as those who met their fate when the *Lusitania* went down!

We are legislating for a democracy, sir. This is not an autocracy nor an empire. The people of the United States commissioned us here to attend to their business, and they are entitled to know not only how we attend to it but the motives which actuate us in casting our votes. We are responsible to the people, or at least I am, and to no man who sits in the White House.

I do not believe in secret diplomacy. In a democracy it is unfitting. The people are entitled to know what is going on. I understand that Woodrow Wilson demanded open and free discussion and manly action on the part of this honorable body.

Sen. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, I was in hopes that the learned Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Gore] would permit his resolution to remain as he introduced it. It was my desire that we might stand by the flag until it went down, but he saw fit to change it, and the change rendered it impossible for me to vote for it; therefore I voted to table the resolution as amended. The question at hand not only involves the probability of war between the United States and a foreign country, but a vastly more important issue is presented—the dignity and integrity of the United States Congress.

### SENATOR THOMPSON CONFIDES IN PRESIDENT.

Sen. THOMPSON (Kan.). Mr. President, I believe that true, loyal American citizens, with due regard for their own safety as well as for the safety of their country, ought not to travel on armed merchant vessels during these perilous times. Indeed, they ought not to risk their own lives and endanger the country by traveling at all if it is possible to avoid it. But I do not believe that any warning from Congress, or from the President, or from any other source, would aid in the least in preventing it. Warnings of all kinds certainly failed to do any good in the case of the *Lusitania*. Under the Constitution of the United States the President is charged with this particular duty, and it is not for Congress to interfere in any way, or at least to in any way directly or indirectly tie his hands.

If the President had failed, there might have been some reason for such action; but the President has not failed in his duty in this regard. He has been completely and wonderfully successful in all his diplomatic contests with the great nations of the world. He has succeeded in gaining every point of contention and in preserving the rights of the citizens and the honor of the Nation, notwithstanding all the numerous and momentous questions that have been raised and considered up to this very time.

It is charged that the President is about to lead us into war, when it is within the knowledge of everybody that he has done everything in his power to keep us out of war, and has succeeded, and that this is the main desire of his life. I am glad the Senate has given him this magnificent vote of confidence. Under the rules of the Senate the only way to secure an early vote was by motion to table the resolution, and I therefore voted to table it.

Sen. SHERMAN. If Germany perseveres in her present submarine warfare methods, and the President adheres to his present position, what is the inevitable conclusion in the Senator's mind?

Sen. THOMPSON. I will simply say to the Senator from Illinois that it depends entirely upon whether the rights of American citizens have been invaded. If they have not, certainly this country will have no reason to complain, and it should remain neutral.

Sen. SHERMAN. The question of the right of an American citizen to travel on an armed merchantman is in issue. If we adhere to our insistence on that right and Germany adheres to her present method of warfare, resulting in the death of an American citizen, what will the President do?

Sen. THOMPSON. If Congress will let the President alone he will succeed in winning this last point of the controversy as he has every other contention with Germany, and the President will not have to do anything.

Sen. SHERMAN. Then, Mr. President, why did the President request Congress to take some action?

Sen. THOMPSON. I do not share the confidence of the President, but the action of Congress speaks for itself as to the necessity for some decided action such as that which

was taken today, so that the people of this country and of the world might know that there is at least one branch of Congress which stands behind the President.

### SENATOR NORRIS DELIGHTED THAT SO MANY SENATORS CONFESS OPENLY TO FAVOR A WARNING RESOLUTION.

#### Wonders How They Can Stand With President Wilson, Who Wants the Opposite.

Sen. NORRIS. Mr. President, if we have a few more confessions we shall find out really how Senators feel on this important question. [Laughter.] We cannot get the correct idea of it, evidently, from their votes. Senators, one after another, get up and say that they are in favor of warning American citizens to keep off the so-called defensively armed merchant vessels, but they vote with the President, who does not agree with them in that idea, but who wants to protect everyone who desires to go on such a ship; and he is opposed to giving any such warning to the people. Evidently some Senators are voting as they fear and not as they feel. Well, I will give them the benefit of the doubt. Mr. President, it will be a good defense among the constituents at home to circulate a speech, in which the Senator said he was in favor of giving notice to American citizens that they ought not at this time to travel on armed merchantmen, and they can still retain their standing with the man at the head of the "pie counter" by voting the other way. If Congress passes a resolution asking American citizens to keep off armed merchant vessels, that is just exactly contrary to what the President wants. He does not want any such resolution passed. Hence on this occasion it is Congress that is trying to preserve peace and keep us out of war, and the only danger of such war comes from the policy of the President, when he says he is opposed to giving any such warning, but is going to defend every man who wants to rush out ruthlessly and endanger his own life in such a ship, and thus bring the balance of the country into imminent danger of war.

What would the passage of this resolution mean? Can any man say that is any disrespect to the President? If the President has a different idea—and I concede he has a right to it; I would not question his right to hold it—can the President say to Congress, the only branch of the Government that under the Constitution has the right to declare war, "You shall not express your opinion if it conflicts with mine"? The President is leading toward war and Congress is holding back, trying to keep the country at peace. The object of warning our people to keep off of armed vessels is to maintain peace. I fear the course of the President will lead our country into war, and for that reason I want Congress to warn our people to keep off of armed vessels and thus avoid friction. I voted against tabling the resolution, because only in that way could it be kept before the Senate and thus permit us to vote for the substitute, which was a resolution warning our citizens to keep off of armed vessels.

In conclusion, my position is: That the prohibition against the selling of munitions of war by our citizens to a belligerent Government and the prohibition of a passenger vessel armed for defensive purposes from leaving our ports would each be an attempt on our part to change international law during the existence of actual war and would therefore be in effect an unneutral act. We do have the right to prohibit ships flying any flag leaving our ports if they carry munitions of war and explosives, or if they are so armed, from carrying passengers. I think we ought to pass that kind of a law and we ought to pass it without any delay. We have already provided by law that all ships leaving our ports and carrying passengers must take certain precautions in the way of lifeboats and various other requirements. These laws were passed in the interest of humanity and to save human life, and in the interest of the same humanity we ought to prohibit by law such ships from taking any passengers from American ports.

In the Senate on March 4, 1916.

### STATEMENT OF THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR READ BY SENATOR LODGE.

Sen. LODGE (Mass.). There has been a widely circulated statement that Great Britain, during the Russo-Japanese war, issued a warning to her citizens not to take passage on belligerent merchantmen. The Legislative Reference Division of the Library of Congress examined this very thoroughly. They found that the only origin of the report was in a letter signed by one C. L. Schlens, in the New York Sun, in which he stated that such a warning had been issued by the British Government. They endeavored to find Mr. Schlens, but his name did not appear in the New York directory and nothing could be learned.

I will ask to have the letter with accompanying documents printed with my remarks.

On receiving that I thought I would see if I could find it directly, and I applied to the British Embassy here, and received from them this memorandum:

British Embassy, Washington.

"Some time last August a statement appeared in the papers to the effect that His Majesty's Government issued a notification at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese war that no protection would be extended to British subjects who took passage on board vessels of either belligerent.

The embassy inquired of the foreign office whether any such notification had been issued, and received the reply that the above statement was not true."

Sen. HITCHCOCK (Neb.). The Senator is aware that Sweden recently, in the present emergency, issued such an order.

Sen. LODGE. I saw that Sweden had done so.

Sen. HITCHCOCK. There is no question about there being ample precedent for it.

Sen. LODGE. I do not know whether there is ample precedent or not. I saw that Sweden had done it.

### SENATOR McCOMBER DISCUSSES THE ADVANTAGES OF HIS RESOLUTION.

Sen. McCUMBER (N. Dak.). Mr. President, when I introduced yesterday morning Senate concurrent resolution No. 15 I had hopes that we could take up morning business that I might pertinently direct my remarks to that particular concurrent resolution.

In a letter from the President of the United States to Mr. Pou he suggested that the two branches of Congress should immediately give expression to its views on a most important subject that the President might be guided in his controversy with belligerent powers by the sentiment of the Congress. This is one paragraph from the letter of the President. He said:

I therefore feel justified in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them, and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away—

Mr. President, we all concede that the action taken by the Senate yesterday in no possible way met the views of the President of the United States. If I could give any credence whatever to the expressions made by the Senators who spoke one way after they had voted another, in the tabling of a resolution, I think I can assume that the majority at least of the Senate are in favor of notifying Americans to refrain from exercising the right to travel upon armed merchantmen.

The President desires a speedy determination of this question. The resolution which I have offered directly meets the proposition made by the President. Sooner or later we will have a vote on that resolution, and whether it is voted upon on its merits, it nevertheless will carry to the President an expression of the views of the Senate of the United States. I feel it would have been not only proper but far better had no resolution directly affecting the point in controversy been introduced, while the President was attempting to secure an agreement. There could be no danger in following this ancient rule of procedure, because, after all, Congress is supreme. A resolution has been offered which, if it had passed, clearly would have overridden one of the contentions of the President. The President now asks us to record our verdict on the point raised. The tabling of the Gore resolution did not meet the President's proposal. If this vote means anything, it means that the Senate disagrees absolutely with the President's views and that therefore the President is not sustained. But I will be charitable and assume that it was intended to mean a desire of the Senate to push the whole subject aside. If that be true, then the request of the President "that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away" has not been met.

The President wanted to know whether the Congress did or did not back him. Can anyone say what the sentiment of the Senate on that subject is?

I do not agree with the President of the United States that it would be improper to suggest to the American traveling public that they refrain from doing that which by every principle of patriotic duty they ought to refrain from doing without any suggestion from any source. I am not in accord with his views as to the full extent of our right to control the methods which may be adopted by belligerents to prosecute their warfare to a successful issue; and I further believe that Congress, representing the sentiment of the country, can very properly give expression to its views, although, as I have suggested, I feel that just at this crucial and critical period of our diplomatic controversy we might well have deferred our action until the Executive Department had announced either an agreement or a disagreement.

No one questions what the rule of international law heretofore has been. That rule is that a merchant vessel, armed with a stern gun for defense only, has the same rights and the same status as an unarmed merchant vessel. One of these rights is that it is not to be sunk or its passengers or crew destroyed or their lives endangered by an enemy war vessel unless it attempts to escape after warning. That rule would forbid such vessel being torpedoed or sunk without notice by a submarine. That rule, founded on justice and humanity, met the conditions of warfare at the time it became an international rule. Against a powerful war vessel, with its heavy armor and immense guns, this mere defensive rear gun would be as harmless as a toy. It could not sink a war vessel. Such war vessel could well afford to give notice of its presence and demand a surrender without endangering itself.

But the science of war may develop so rapidly during a great world struggle like that now prevailing and such exigencies involving the very life of a belligerent nation may arise as would not only justify but necessitate that nation to decline to follow a rule adopted under conditions which no longer prevail or which are so materially modified by new instrumentalities of warfare as to require a change.

Sen. COLT (R. I.). If the Senator admits that a belligerent may change the rules of international law by reason of changed conditions in modern warfare, or by reason of national necessity or by reason of geographical position, does he not, in fact, then undermine the whole system of international law, with the result that we have no guide to go by?

Sen. McCUMBER. No, international law is based upon those conditions and the reasons growing out of conditions which justify its existence.

Sen. COLT. Does the Senator believe that a neutral nation is obliged to obey the rules of international law which are in force at the outbreak of a war, and that a belligerent is not obliged to obey such rules, but that a belligerent may plead national necessity or changed conditions or some overriding cause as an excuse for modifying such rules of international law?

Sen. McCUMBER. How is international law made or modified? It is made and modified by the action of a nation acquiesced in by other nations. Suppose there are two propositions of international law which, by reason of changed conditions, become antagonistic, which one must be followed? Now, there is one fundamental, unchanging principle of international law, and that is the right of every nation to defend itself and to protect itself against annihilation. Every other principle of international law must yield to that superior right of every nation.

Sen. COLT. Mr. President, I find no warrant for a nation changing the rules of international law during the progress of a war, but after the war is over the rules may then be changed by agreement.

Sen. McCUMBER. Does not the Senator believe that if the salvation of this country depended upon our refusing to follow an old international code, the duty of the country would be to throw the old international code to the winds. Is not self-preservation the first rule?

### ADMISSION BY SENATOR COLT THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD ACT LIKE GERMANY.

Sen. COLT. I believe that we would act just as the belligerents are acting, because we would be in an atmosphere of force; we would be in an atmosphere where we believe the life of the nation was at stake; we would be breathing the air of sacrifice and death; and therefore we would violate the rules of international law if we believed that it was necessary for our self-preservation.

Sen. McCUMBER. The logic of the Senator is that while this country would ignore, and would be justified in ignoring, international law if the life of the Nation were at stake, we should, as a great neutral power, insist that others should not exercise such a right. I confess I can not agree either to the logic or to the justice of that situation. We have at all times proclaimed the right of nations to exist, to protect themselves, to do those things that are necessary for their life protection.

Sen. COLT. Germany says that in invaded Belgium on the ground of self preservation; that that was the reason that justified it in violating the neutrality of Belgium. Does the Senator think that the invasion of Belgium by Germany was justified upon the ground that it was necessary for the self-preservation of the German Empire, attacked by most powerful nations in Europe?

Sen. McCUMBER. Mr. President, as an American citizen I am neutral. Therefore I shall express no opinion as to the rightfulness or the wrongfulness of the action of

Germany. I hardly think that it is proper for a member of the American Senate to express any view pro or con, though he may have them, upon that particular subject. I believe in being so everlastingly neutral in this war that not one of the nations engaged in the conflict can make any complaint against us; and recognizing the ferocity of the war, recognizing how desperate is the situation of each and every country involved in the war, I shall exercise the sentiment of charitableness, even though one or the other belligerent may in its struggle crowd a little beyond the rule of international law heretofore obtaining. We have done so when we were engaged in war, and other nations undoubtedly will do the same. But in the discussion of this particular resolution it is not necessary to go into that question. It is simply aimed at the duty of the American people, the duty which they owe to the United States to refrain from embarrassing this country in its negotiations or from plunging this country into a conflict by insisting upon the exercise of every legal right.

I confess I can not see anything fair in the proposition that while a submarine—which may easily be sunk by a single shot from one of these defense guns—must give notice before it fires at the armed merchant vessel, the armed merchant vessel need not give notice that it purposes to fire at the submarine.

Our people ought to refrain from traveling on armed merchantmen. Congress ought to so inform them of their moral duty; and when we have informed them, it is my conviction that there is sufficient patriotism in the country that not a single passenger will attempt to go abroad upon one of those armed merchantmen.

### AMERICANS WHO LOOK FOR THRILLS CONDEMNED BY SENATOR JONES.

Sen. JONES (Wash.). Mr. President, there is an article in the Washington Post this morning:

"Capt. James said that in the event of his encountering an enemy submarine he would make every effort to elude it. The use of the guns would depend on circumstances.

"Two of the Americans were Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bellows, of 30 Pierrepont street, Brooklyn. Mr. Bellows is an importer, and with his wife has made the trip through the danger zone three times. When asked if he did not fear to sail in view of the captain's announcement, he said:

"By no means. I have run blockades before this and so has my wife, and I really enjoy the thrills that come with it."

Is it possible that if this boat should be sunk and this man lose his life it would be held that we are justified in maintaining the national honor in the assertion of his right to enjoy a "thrill," to embroil the whole American people in this conflict?

Mr. President, we may find that under international law this man had a right to do what he is doing, but the American people will never stand behind such a proposition as that and try to enforce it at the expense of their peace and their welfare. They will never fight for a thrill.

### IN THE SENATE ON MARCH 6. AN UN-AMERICAN EDITORIAL IN THE NEW YORK TIMES BITTERLY CON- DEMNED BY SENATOR McCUMBER.

Sen. McCUMBER (N. Dak.). I desire to have read an editorial from the NEW YORK TIMES of Sunday, March 5, bearing upon the subject which was under consideration last Friday, which, it seems to me, it would be very appropriate to answer in a very few words.

The Secretary read as follows:

#### The Flag on the Capitol.

"For some days, thanks to the multitudinous lies radiated over the country from the central source at Washington, Americans have been boiling with anger at the thought that not an American but a German Congress was sitting there. They knew that foreign intrigue and domestic malice were doing their worst to set the legislative branch against the Executive, to filch from the latter one of his constitutional powers, to weaken the President in a grave moment of international difficulty, to create the impression abroad that the United States Government was divided in opinion, that the people were on one side and the President on another.

"They saw Senators and Representatives eager for a cowardly surrender of the right of Americans to travel on the high seas. They read the concocted tabulations showing a majority in Congress—in the House a majority of two to one—in favor of that surrender. They saw, with shame and anger, a Senator in the Senate Chamber rolling out unctuously a falsehood, which he took good pains not to inquire into, about the President's wish for war. They heard from



the American ambassador to Germany of the erroneous or sophisticated opinion prevailing in Germany, of the injury done to the United States by replication in Berlin of the studiously propagated report that Congress was hostile to Mr. Wilson's submarine policy. \* \* \* It seemed as if the Congress was ready to haul down the American flag from the Capitol, spit on it, run the black, white and red up in its place. But Tuesday the President called on the Germans in Congress to stand up and be counted. They stood up in the Senate Friday, 14 in all, a sorry lot. The Senate stamped on the counsel of division and dishonor. The Senate was American. The German flag was not going up on the Capitol. There was still an America, instinct with national patriotism, hot to resent and prevent the sacrifice of the least tittle of American rights, calm and majestically strong in upholding the President, who was striving in stormy times to maintain peace, but with no diminution of national right, no stain upon national honor.

"The Senate is American. It is for the House to prove amply and unmistakably by its vote on the McLemore resolution that it is also American. The cloud of lies is not yet wholly scattered. The German flag will still seem to be dangling from the Capitol staff until the House has acted."

Sen. McCUMBER. The editorial does not fairly represent the sentiment and the basis of the vote of those 14 Senators in the Chamber who believe that it is a high patriotic duty of the American people to do no act that would needlessly force this country into armed conflict. If the writer of this article thinks for a single moment that the American people are hunting for an excuse to get into this European war, that they want Americans to expose themselves and to be killed so that we may be compelled to assert ourselves by armed conflict, he is sadly misinformed. If this country is ever forced into war its victories will be achieved not by the bully or braggart, not by the jingo declaimers, but by the great army of true American patriots who are more concerned that their cause shall be a just right, approved by their hearts and their consciences, than a mere naked legal right.. The highest patriotism of the American people today is to prevent precipitating the country into an armed conflict during the negotiations concerning this most delicate question.

### SENATOR JONES ARRAIGNS AN ANGLO-MANIC HARVARD PROFESSOR.

Sen. JONES. An address delivered at Tremont Temple, Sunday, January 30, 1916, by Josiah Royce, LL. D., professor in Harvard University, closes with these words—and I simply ask the people to judge whether or not he is working in the interest of the United States and of the people of the United States and of the neutrality which our President so wisely and patriotically urged us all to maintain some time ago:

"Let us do what we can to bring about at least a rupture of all diplomatic relations between our own Republic and those foes of mankind, and let us fearlessly await whatever dangers this our duty as Americans may entail upon us, upon our land, and upon our posterity. We shall not thus escape suffering, but we shall begin to endure as Belgium today endures, for honor, for duty, for mankind.

"Mr. President, the 14 Senators referred to in this editorial have no other desire and no other purpose than to promote the welfare, the happiness, the peace, and the prosperity of the American people. They are not interested as citizens of this country in either side of this great controversy, but are trying to keep their country out of just what this league is trying to get us into."

### SENATORS OLIVER, GALLAGHER, GALLINGER AND POMERENE ARGUE.

Sen. OLIVER (Pa.): I deprecate such utterances as are contained in that editorial, and I decline to acknowledge that the men who give utterance to such expressions represent me in any way whatever.

Sen. GALLAGHER (N. H.): Does the Senator feel that in voting an opinion that the Executive might well warn American citizens not to travel on armed merchantment is interfering with the President's constitutional prerogative in any way?

Sen. OLIVER. Not at all; if a Senator feels that it is his duty to give expression to that opinion. For my part, I do not feel that it is my duty to give expression to any opinion upon the subject at this time.

Sen. GALLINGER. The Senator from Pennsylvania seemed to intimate that in some way we were trying to encroach upon the prerogatives of the Executive. I have been utterly unable to see how we were doing that in any way, if we simply felt and expressed the view that a warning of this kind might well be given to our people. That is all. That is the only thing I want to vote on. I believe such

warning ought to be given, just as Sweden has given it, just as the President practically gave it in reference to Mexico; and I certainly would be one of the last Senators to take from the Executive any right that belongs to him or to hamper him in the discharge of his duty in trying to keep the country out of war. I do not want war, Mr. President. I want peace, and any vote I cast will be cast in that direction.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, about 10 days ago I received a letter from a constituent urging me to support the resolution of the Senator from Oklahoma (Mr. Gore) and giving as a reason for making that request a precedent which had been set by the British Government during the war between Russia and Japan. I at that time made some investigation in the State Department and satisfied myself that no such order had ever been issued by the British Government.

### IN THE SENATE ON MARCH 7.

#### Armed Merchant Ships.

Sen. SUTHERLAND (Utah). Neutrality, as determined by international law, is not an individual obligation. It is a duty which one nation owes to other nations which are at war. A citizen may not only freely indulge his sympathies for one of the belligerents as against the other, but he may within certain limits extend direct aid, as, for example, the sale of munitions of war, the loan of money, and so on. The Government, however, is bound to rigidly maintain an attitude of strict impartiality between the belligerents. For the Government to commit a breach of neutrality is to put itself in a very serious position—one which may justify a declaration of war upon the part of that belligerent who may be injured by the breach. The rule of international law was that a belligerent merchant ship might arm for defense and might forcibly defend herself against the attack of an enemy—not an enemy armed in a particular way, but an enemy armed in any way. It is true that a merchant vessel so armed seldom, if ever, resisted the attack of a warship, but that was not because it had no right to resist, but because resistance was futile. The rule was, further, that the merchant ship could not lawfully be sunk until after warning and an opportunity given to crew and passengers to escape in safety. The claim that the submarine is a war vessel of such weak defensive ability that a merchant vessel may not defend against its attack, and that it is absolved from giving warning because to do so might invite its own destruction, does not, in my judgment, present a case that calls for the application of the maxim. The rule allowing defensive armament upon and requiring previous warning to a merchant vessel was not based upon the reason that a ship of war was in no danger from the slight defensive armament that was carried, but it was based upon the supreme right of self-defense, and upon the consideration that it was not in accordance with the principles of civilized warfare that the lives of civilian crews and passengers should be destroyed without previous warning and full opportunity to save themselves. That reason, founded upon the dictates of humanity, is not affected in the least because a vulnerable submarine may be used in place of an invincible man-of-war. This humane rule has heretofore existed without qualification. If it could not be complied with for any reason, it was not admissible to destroy the ship and jeopardize the lives of her crew and passengers.

The proposition now insisted upon, baldly stated, is simply this, that when a new engine of destruction is invented that can not be made entirely effective without violating the law, the law is ipso facto automatically modified. Under these circumstances my own view of the matter is that the new weapon must yield to the law and not that the law must yield to the new weapon. It is said that the ship cannot be halted in order to make an inspection, for that would be to risk the destruction of the submarine if it turned out that the merchant ship was in fact armed. Indeed, that is the basis of the claim that an armed vessel may be sunk without warning. It is a general rule that if one is authorized to do a thing upon the existence of a particular condition he is justified in acting upon the reasonable belief that such condition does in fact exist.

Shall our citizens be officially advised to forbear from traveling upon belligerent merchant vessels armed for defense only? If I am correct in what I have already said, namely, that these merchant ships have the right to carry defensive armament, it follows that such a ship has the same status as though unarmed and that the right of a neutral citizen to transport his goods or travel upon either is the same, and not a different right. If the life of an American citizen be again taken by the illegal and deliberate sinking without warning of a merchant ship, unarmed or armed only for defense, that this Government should hold the offending nation to a stern reckoning. I would rather have war with all its sacrifices and suffering than that this nation, with its long



history of heroism and glory, should play the poltroon when confronted by a supreme national duty, because it places a greater value upon its ease than upon its honor.

(Senator Sutherland finished his speech by a declaration that he was equally opposed to an embargo on arms and he gave lengthy reasons on which he staked his opinion.)

### **SENATOR STONE DECLARES THAT AFTER A FRANK TALK WITH THE PRESIDENT HE WILL NOT READ HIS PREPARED SPEECH.**

**IN THE SENATE ON MARCH 8, 1916.  
ARMED MERCHANT SHIPS.**

Sen. STONE (Mo.). Mr. President, I have a notice standing on the calendar to the effect that I would on tomorrow address the Senate on the subject of armed merchant ships and on other related subjects. With much care I have prepared a speech which I purposed to deliver, and in which I joined issue with some Senators who have spoken on these questions, particularly as to the law, if indeed there be a law established and recognized, touching the subject of armed merchantmen.

Last night I had another very frank talk with the President—I say frank talk, for that is the way we talk with each other when we talk, as we should. I am sure I will not offend if I say that so far from the President desiring to involve this country in this disastrous European war, his supreme wish is to avoid that calamity. I may not be in accord with some of his views; I have already stated on the Senate floor that I am not; but it should be impossible for any Senator to believe that the President has so changed the attitude he has so long maintained as an advocate of peace as to wish now to make this country a party to this conflict.

As Senators well know, I have from the first been earnestly opposed to having any of these questions presented in any formal way to the Senate, and I have been equally opposed to any public discussion of these questions while they were the subject of diplomatic consideration. In view of this situation, I have determined that I could better serve the cause I have at heart—that is, the maintenance of peace in this country, by withholding any expression of my opinions so long as the questions at issue are the legitimate subject of diplomatic negotiations. I profoundly hope that no occasion will arise when I shall feel obliged to take these subjects up in a public way, but if perchance such an occasion should arise I will speak and act as I think. In the meantime I shall give the President whatever support I can in the discharge of those duties devolved upon him by the Constitution. All through his service as President I have co-operated with him, and with all my heart I wish to continue that co-operation; and so I have concluded not to say anything at this juncture that might be misunderstood, especially in foreign capitals, and which might by any chance contribute to the difficulties with which the President is beset. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

**IN THE SENATE ON MARCH 9, 1916.**

Sen. McCUMBER. Mr. President, in view of a rather sharp turn of events during the last 24 hours in our international tangle; in view of what seems to be an authorized statement from the Secretary of State "that seagoing Americans will presently find themselves as effectually warned against passage on armed merchantmen as though this Government had in fact put into force either the Gore or the McLemore resolution"; and in view of the fact that new proposals and counterproposals are being presented by the contending nations, all of which indicate a tendency toward settlement of the U-boat controversy, I feel that any resolution dealing with this question would be improper and possibly embarrassing at this time. The resolution introduced by me, pertinent at a time when the President himself was asking for an expression from Congress and in response to that request, under these changed conditions ought, in my opinion, now to be withdrawn. As the resolution is a concise expression of my own views as to the duty of American citizens during this controversy, if occasion demands it in the future I shall reintroduce it.

I ask, therefore, permission to withdraw the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from North Dakota has a right to withdraw the resolution without permission. At his request the resolution is withdrawn.

### **SENATOR VARDAMAN UNWILLING TO SUBMIT TO PRESIDENT.**

**IN THE SENATE MARCH 9, 1916.**

Sen. VARDAMAN (Miss.). Mr. President—The vanity of opinion, the pride of place, the exigencies of

politics, or the prestige of power should not influence a Member of Congress in the performance of a great and patriotic duty. I belong to a school of Democrats who believe profoundly in the philosophy of party organization and the patriotism of party discipline. It is my deliberate judgment that, through the instrumentality of the Democratic Party, guided by the ancient landmarks of that organization, that free government in America is to be preserved. A vital tenet in the Democratic faith is the upholding and maintenance of the Government in the form and purpose of its original construction. The votes that have been taken by the Congress in the last few days on the question of permitting American citizens to travel on belligerent merchant ships, I respectfully submit, were not votes of confidence, but, rather, votes of obedience; they were not votes of counsel, expressing the convictions of the individual Congressman upon this grave question, but rather, I fear, in many instances, but the sullen, silent submission to what was thought to be the demands of the presidential will and to meet the exigencies of party politics. There is beauty in the symmetry of our system of government, and we all recognize that there is strength in the perfect order of its construction. Mr. President, I wish it were possible for the legislative and executive departments of this Government, especially in times of stress like the present, to deal with each other with perfect candor and in a spirit of co-operation rather than of antagonism. Let it be understood and proclaimed to the world that the President of the United States is not the master of Congress or the ruler of this Republic, nor is there a divinity that hedges him about that renders him immune from error. And it is equally important that we should not lose sight of the truth that the Congress is in no way superior or paramount to the executive department. But they are co-ordinate branches, each created and designed to serve the American people, the masters of us all.

Men in high official stations are often unnecessarily sensitive or jealous of the honor and dignity of their particular functions. Too often vanity beclouds the vision and personal ambition dulls the sense of duty. When the resolution was introduced in the Senate a few days ago by the learned Senator from Oklahoma (Sen. Gore), and a resolution of similar import was introduced in the House of Representatives by the Hon. Mr. McLemore of Texas, the cry went up in solemn and foreboding tones from those who seem to feel it their God-imposed duty to protect the Executive function from any possible encroachment by the Members of the co-ordinate branch, contending that the passage of such a resolution would be taken by the President—in truth, I think the President said something like that himself—and construed by the nations of the earth as an abridgement of the President's power, and some seemed to think it might possibly be taken as a reflection upon his imputed infallibility. I am perfectly willing to concede, for the sake of this discussion, that the President thinks he is vested solely with the power which he arrogates to himself in his letter to the honorable senior Senator from Missouri (Mr. Stone).

I am not willing to leave to the discretion of the President or any other officer to say whether American citizens shall be permitted upon merchantmen belonging to belligerent countries, when we have been told by the President that if a person thus traveling should lose his life by the sinking of the merchantman by a German submarine that he would consider it a gross violation of international law and I think I am within the facts of recent history when I say he intimated that the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany would follow. I am not willing to submit even to the President a matter of such vital moment to the people of Mississippi and America when I have assurance that he would decide the question against what I believe to be their best interests.

### **DECLARES THAT PRESIDENT WILSON IS UN-NEUTRAL.**

I have an impression, created by what has happened in the last few months, that the President distinctly leans toward the allies in the European conflict. I do not think he possesses a corner on all political wisdom, nor do I believe that he is any more patriotic than the majority of the Members of Congress, who share with him the responsibility of this Government. The President is a mere man whose heart is filled with the hopes and hates, loves and limitations, fears and forebodings, favorites and fancies incident to mortality. His brain is the storehouse of ambitions, vanities, virtues, faults and frailties that belong to the human race. Upon his conduct very largely the immediate future success or failure of the Democratic Party depends. It is therefore my desire to help, not hinder; to build up, not tear down. But, Mr. President, God forbid that partisan politics should have any place in the consideration of this great question. But the disaster is spread

ing. The flames that are consuming Europe are throwing their sparks across the dividing ocean, and the sense of security which a few months ago we enjoyed has given way to soul-disturbing apprehensions. The opportunities for investment, the greed for gain, the cupidity which is eating out the hearts of a certain class of citizens in some sections of this Republic, the bad advice of such individuals who are enjoying enormous profits from the manufacture of munitions of war, together with the public press, which has become the active agent of the harpies of predatory interests and is now engaged in the diabolical work of inculcating false sentiments, to the end that their masters may, from the wreck and carnage of war, grow richer still and fill their capacious coffers with gold coined in the blood and tears, the suffering and sacrifices of the victims of war. I am perfectly willing for the sake of this discussion to admit that an American citizen has the technical right, vouchsafed to him by international law, to travel upon merchant ships, armed or unarmed, belonging to a belligerent nation.

Is this vaunted privilege, vouchsafed by an ancient international custom, superior and paramount to an act by the Congress and the Executive charged with the control of the Government? Is the interest of an irresponsible, imprudent, vagrant, fool-hardy creature, knowing the perils of the sea, to outweigh with the Congress the peace and happiness of 100,000,000 of prosperous and law-abiding people? Oh, but it is maintained by the President and those who are defending his views in this Chamber that America must preserve international law. That the seas must be kept open, trade untrammelled, and commerce unhindered between the nations must be maintained. That sentiment sounds fine to the fellow who enjoys the profits. It is the manufactured article intended more to promote the interests, enlarge the profits of the Wall Street patriot, the commercial bandit, the financial buccaneer, than it is for the conservation of the vital principles of international law and the protection of human lives.

If the question were submitted to the American people today as to whether or not the United States should go to war with Germany for the sinking of a merchantman belonging to Great Britain with an American citizen upon it, is there a Senator in this Chamber, is there a reasonable, patriotic man on this continent who believes that the American people would vote to permit this vagrant citizen to travel on belligerent merchant ships if they knew it meant war for the United States? I yield to no man in my devotion to America, my reverence for its past, and my hope for its future. I want the flag of our Nation to float as an emblem of courage, of honor, of justice, and of humanity. I would not, knowingly, do anything, or permit anything to be done, or left undone that should be done, to preserve the independence, the integrity and the honor of this Government. And for that reason, Mr. President, I shall not dishonor that flag and I shall not betray my Government by a failure on my part to take every necessary precaution against unnecessary, unprovoked and unjustifiable war. I shall not be intimidated by the mendacious newspaper editors who are the servile tools of that greedy gang of Government wreckers, who would coin the blood and tears of the men, women and children of this Republic into dollars that they may grow richer still. I despise the slander, the detraction, the villification of that class of people who are patriots for pelf, who are partisans for plunder, and who would make the flag of the United States

the flag of the pirate or the ensign of the privateer. I received an anonymous letter from some craven creature who signed himself "A Mississippian," in which he criticizes me for being an "advocate of peace at any price." The soul-sodden, dollar-hearted, brain-owned emissary of adversity charged me with having betrayed the Democratic Party; that I had proven false to "the President of my party." I hurl back into the teeth of such a creature the statement and denounce it as absolutely false.

I am not for peace at any price. I am not afraid to fight for the right, and I am not afraid to refuse to fight for the wrong or have my country go to war without just cause even though the Chief Magistrate of this Republic should order me to do so. I should not hesitate to vote in this body to commit my country to a policy which I knew would lead the Nation to war if the question of honor, the question of principle, and the rights of the American people were involved.

### NOT FOR VANITY—BUT FOR CLEAN CONSCIENCE.

If the belligerent countries of Europe desire to purchase American goods, let them come and get them. But I shall never consent to go to war because some venturesome, foolhardy creature, hired, possibly, to sail upon the British ship as a mascot to protect it against the assault of an enemy engaged in a death grapple. If the resolution proposed by the Senator from Oklahoma had been adopted by the Congress as it was originally introduced, in my judgment, the probabilities of war with Germany would have vanished as a nightmare from the troubled brain of innocence. It might result in the severance of diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States, but even then, I am not sure that war would follow. Germany has shown a disposition to do well nigh any and every thing demanded by the United States in order to avoid war, and it is my deliberate judgment that if we should have war with Germany, and God forbid that we may, it will be after Germany has made every possible concession to avoid it. Germany has been quite as respectful and observed the rules of international law in her dealings with the United States as the allies. It is also my deliberate judgment that some of the gentlemen who hold the bonds of the allies and are probably carrying large accounts against the allies for munitions of war would be very glad to see the United States drawn into this vortex of slaughter and death. If this country should become involved in war with Germany an account of the failure of this Congress to take such action as may be necessary to prohibit Americans from traveling on ships belonging to belligerent nations, the blood of every soldier that shall be sacrificed in that conflict will be on the hands of the Members of this Congress.

No, Mr. President, I am not antagonistic to the President of the United States, who happens to be also the head of the political party to which I acknowledge allegiance, except in the matter and on the questions in which and about which I think he is wrong. I do not hesitate to say that to follow the lead of the President in the matter of prohibiting by law Americans to travel on belligerent merchant ships involves a violation of my every idea of duty to my constituents. I will not be guilty of such a perfidious crime against my own conscience. Public office has no charm for me, if to hold it I must sacrifice the preceless jewels of my soul.

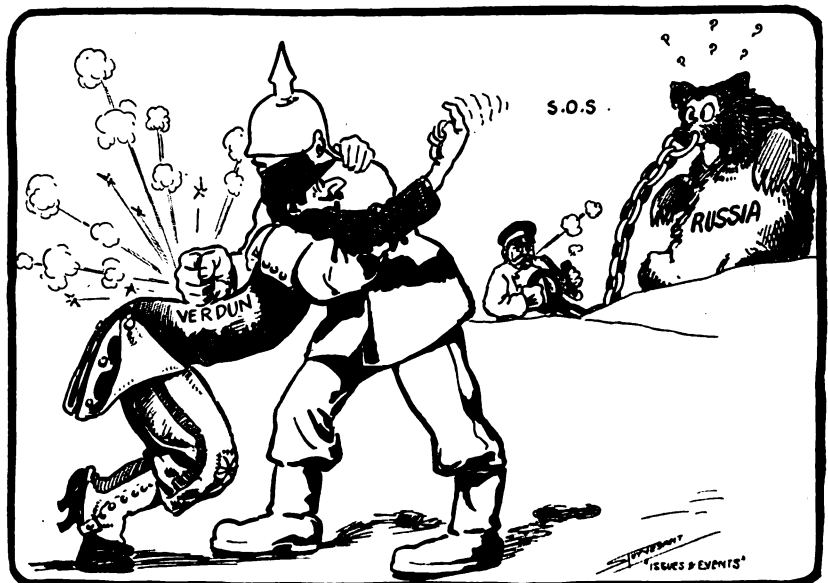
### KING GEORGE SIGNS EMBARGO ON LUXURIES.

London.—Further restrictions on the importation of luxuries were imposed today. At a meeting of the Privy Council King George signed a proclamation prohibiting the bringing in of automobiles, motorcycles, various musical instruments, such as player pianos and phonographs, and spirits and other strong drink, with the exception of brandy and rum.

### CRISIS LOOMS IN BRITAIN. Conscription of Married Men Causes Talk of Cabinet's Overthrow.

London.—Rumor in the lobby of the House of Commons recently was busy with the discussion of a possible Cabinet crisis over the question of the enlistment of married men.

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## A Weekly Magazine

Vol. IV.

NEW YORK, APRIL 8, 1916

No. 15

## THE BATTLE IN CONGRESS

Debates--Pro and Con--in the  
House of Representatives  
on the

ARMED MERCHANT VESSEL ISSUE

### Financial Primaries

Germany is "Paternalistic" in Politics, but Democratic in Finance and Business. Which Counts Most for Real Freedom? How Is It With Us? And How About England and France? Can There Be Any Real Liberty Under the Rule of a Despotic Finance and a Business System Controlled by a Few for the Benefit of a Class?

¶ It is Sunday in a little town in Hesse. Church is over, and there is a meeting of the bank.

¶ There are farmers, artisans and shopkeepers—380 in all. These constitute both the management and membership of the bank. It is distinctively a democratic institution. There are seventeen thousand like it in Germany.

¶ Some of those who vote at this Sunday meeting are poor. Everybody alike has just one vote. Full paid-up membership costs only twelve dollars and a half. "We do not observe at the meeting any bureaucrat from Berlin or Darmstadt. This financial and economic "primary" is not bossed. It is quite free. It governs itself.

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¶ They go (these paralytics of paternalism!) TO THEIR OWN BANK.

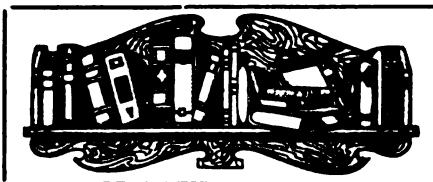
¶ They are not dependent upon plutocracy or upon philanthropy.

¶ And they are not dependent upon the government.

¶ Indeed, are they not themselves the government—in the most important sense?

¶ DOES IT NOT COUNT RATHER MORE TO VOTE IN AN ECONOMIC PRIMARY, THAN IN A PRIMARY THAT IS MERELY POLITICAL?

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## Issues and Events

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## The Internationalism of Big Business

By Charles Ferguson.

(Abstract of an address delivered before the Society for the study of Comparative Jurisprudence, in the Prussian House of Lords in Berlin, shortly before the outbreak of the war.)

**I** MAKE no apology, in such a company as this, for speaking in terms of philosophy—for undertaking to frame what Aristotle calls "whole thoughts." Moreover the modern world of thinking men is irresistibly driven to take new and large views of social and political matters, because our old views and our narrow views have led us into confusion, have brought us into a wilderness.

This society undertakes to study comparative jurisprudence. That means, as I understand it, the attempt to find, underneath the diversities of national codes, the elements of a world-wide human law. It is at bottom a quest after that law of nature and of nations for which Grotius sought in his monumental work on "peace and war."

I say our old frames and formulas of thinking have been discredited by events. The most thought-compelling event of modern times is the rise of the gigantic fabric of "big business." Big business has thrown itself across the frontiers of all nations. In many, if not in most places, it has become more powerful than the political state. Its representatives enter, by the back-stairs, if not by the portico, into all courts and chancelleries; and its internal structure is of such natural strength that it tends to control all the forces of civilization.

It must be remembered that this fabric of big business is altogether a new thing. In the times gone by, the working organization of society had always a narrower scope than the political sovereignty, while now the territorial jurisdiction of business men is sometimes wider than that of kings. So intimately also does the power of the economic system enter into every man's private life that it is in general much more important to the individual that he have a place and a name, whether high or low, in the vast hierarchy of business, than that he have the suffrages of citizenship under a particular state.

Observe now, that this new order of big business, with the tools of the Titans in its hands, served as it is by the resources—the unparalleled resources—of modern chemistry and physics, has up to this time fallen very far short of proving its moral right to social power and authority.

The broadest indictment against it is, that for the last 15 years or so, the cost of living has steadily risen everywhere throughout the circle of commerce. The purchasing power of a day's work has declined. In a word, it is becoming harder every day for a plain man

to live. It may be that in one great country, Germany, the humbler classes of work-people have made some gains during this period; but if so, their case is exceptional and their gains slight.

Thus, it is not open to us to say that we will let "well enough alone." We are compelled to take thought. We must search for some principle of regeneration, some "divine banalité" so axiomatic that sensible men everywhere can agree upon it.

I venture to suggest that this new principle is expressing itself everywhere in an ethical ideal of unprecedented simplicity. It is dawning upon all thinking men that the question of Right and Wrong should submit itself to a practical test. To such men Right is what helps people to live human lives, and Wrong is what hinders them. In all countries the more virile elements of society are disposed to test the ethical character of institutions, laws and customs by asking whether they tend to raise the common standard of living, or to lower it.

More and more we are coming to look upon civilization as simply a tremendous enterprise in engineering. We are beginning to see that this business of subduing the earth and building the cities is at bottom both moral and religious, that it involves not only the advancement of the arts and sciences, but also the refinement and exaltation of the spirits of men. This in short is the modern interpretation of Christianity. It is the philosophy of the Incarnation.

We are told by geographers that the great deserts in Africa, Asia and elsewhere have more or less steadily encroached upon the arable land for the last 10,000 years. It is in the face of such facts as this that modern men are girding themselves to master the elemental forces and to conquer the natural difficulties of human existence—upon this somewhat inclement planet. Out of this new and modern mood of men is being born everywhere a new spirit of civil and social law. The time is perhaps at hand when the validity of every statute will be judged from a technological point of view. Does it tend to put tools in the hands that can use them? That is the crucial question, in a really modern jurisprudence.

No prescriptive title, however long, can have a right to stand in the way of civilization. And no majority, however large, shall impose upon us a law of inefficiency and futility. On the other hand, there can be no law against riches and power so long as these are lodged in the hands of the masters of nature and of art.

If there are aristocracies that are genuine and socially serviceable, they are to be fortified and re-established.

Everywhere in the world we can discern the organic filaments of what may be called a new international political party. It is the party of the arts and sciences. Its standard is that of the university,—the university grown practical and militant.

The peace between nations will never be established by sentimental diplomacies. It will be established only through the evolution of a Common Law accepted, revered, and executed by the most productive and therefore the most powerful element in each nationality.

It seems to me that this Society for Comparative Jurisprudence is engaged in such a work of universal peace. You intend, I am sure, that the efforts you are

making towards the creation of a common law governing bills of exchange and other commercial instruments shall be regarded as an overture towards a much wider enterprise. You realize, of course, that a law establishing a common understanding in documents of credit, must at last be based upon ethical grounds, upon the new and modern Faith.

You are working at the root of that new social authority, which is destined to supersede all arbitrary laws, by laws that are intrinsic and self-vindicating.

It would be possible to show, in short, that a profound and world-transforming idealism lies in the heart of modern international business—waiting to be made conscious and explicit through the efforts of such societies as this.

## Introduction to the Debates in the House of Representatives

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The very careful reading of the following explanation of the rather technical and complicated rules is strongly recommended, because it will facilitate an understanding of a rather involved situation.)

The Parliamentary situation on the "Warning Resolution," as far as the Senate is concerned, was fully described in the last number of "Issues and Events."

The incidents occurring in the House of Representatives are somewhat different in character from those in the Senate, mainly due to the fact that the "Rules of Procedure" in the House vary considerably from those of the Senate.

The rules of the Senate permit any Senator on any "Legislative Day" (which may, however, occupy more than the calendar day) to speak at any time to any extent, on almost any subject. For this reason the discussions in the Senate on the "Armed Merchantman Issue" have been spread over a number of days and weeks.

The rules of the House, however, are rather restrictive and do not permit Representatives to speak at length or at will. Practically all the important business of the House is transacted in committees covering any number of subjects: pensions, forestry, military, foreign affairs, rules, etc. Only after a bill has been under the consideration of a committee and after it has been "reported upon favorably," may it be discussed on the open floor of the House.

On February 18th, Representative McLemore from Texas had introduced the now-famous House Resolution No. 147, which provided for a warning to keep Americans off armed belligerent merchant vessels. Accordingly it became the duty of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to consider this proposal, which has now become famous as the McLemore Resolution. It would never have been seriously noticed but for the apprehensions and great alarm that it gave to President Wilson. The President had been quietly assured by members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs that they would never allow it out of the committee. This is one way whereby a committee can strangle legislation in the House, but the President was not content with this disposition or the natural death of a resolution; instead he insisted that it should be dragged out and killed in the open. To do this required unusual legislative tactics within the technique of the rules of the House.

### President Wilson's Negative Request.

Seldom had a President asked for and insisted upon a negative thing or upon the "killing" of a resolution. This constitutes in effect a remarkable interference with the constitutional powers of a member of Congress. Usually the recommendations of an American President have been for affirmative action rather than the silencing of the privilege of a Representative. This action on the part of President Wilson created a good deal of resentment at the Capitol and is variously explained by the unfamiliarity of the President with the parliamentary proceedings or with a desire on the part of the President to control Congress. As a natural consequence, the feeling became very intense.

At this time, on February 29th, the President wrote his famous letter to Representative Pou, the ranking Chairman of the Committee on Rules, in which he demanded that the Committee on Rules upset the quasi-decision of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In other words, what the Committee on Foreign Affairs decided to keep within the committee, Representative Pou was asked through the Committee on Rules to pull out.

However, the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs disregarded the President's lack of knowledge of Congressional amenities and proceeded under duress to consider perfunctorily the McLemore Resolution and to provide some means of its technical strangulation.

They finally concluded to report it to the House with the recommendation that it "be laid on the table." Laying it on the table is the equivalent of putting a quietus upon a measure. And it so happens that the Rules of the House, which evidently were unfamiliar to Chairman Flood, provided in clause 2, Rule 13, for laying on the table a measure reported with that very recommendation.

This in itself was enough to kill the resolution, but it was not what the President wanted. He wanted the House to go on record, and in this peculiar parliamentary labyrinth the House was confronted with the anomalous and paradoxical situation of finding a method to put to death publicly by a record vote what had already been killed by a simpler and more direct method, which the Rules provided.

However, there was a legislative revolt within the three days of the time of reporting. Any member could ask that the deceased be revived and the resolution given life long enough to be "placed on the Calendar," so that it might again be killed. This method was employed, and then the committee on Rules with its highly privileged machinery brought into the House a rule for the final ceremonies and execution. This rule which its advocates professed to believe was the most liberal rule ever devised, contained beneath its plausible and apparently liberal verbiage the very opposite meaning. And so the situation became more technical and more involved.

### The King of Jokers.

The public is familiar by this time with what is known as the legislative joker. Well, this rule for the consideration of the McLemore Resolution contained the King of Jokers. After providing for four hours' debate the rule (or House Resolution No. 158) (see page 248) blandly permitted the McLemore resolution to be considered, "under the general Rules of the House."

Now, the novice might think this very liberal treatment, that the resolution would be open to amendment, to the amendment, for instance, which Mr. Mann, the minority leader, wanted to offer, and perhaps to other amendments; also open to a motion to recommit, which is one of the motions which the general Rules of the House is supposed to safeguard.

But the author of the special Rule knew this: He knew that under the general Rules when a question is under debate no motion is in order, "except to adjourn, to lay on the table, and some four or five other motions, preference being given in this order. He knew also that the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Flood, would be entitled to close the debate and that before he concluded and still had the floor he could make a motion, not the motion to adjourn, which was first in order, but the next preferential motion, the motion to lay on the table. And that is what happened. Mr. Flood made the motion to lay on the table the McLemore Resolution and the House, just as the Senate had done a few days before, was brought to a direct vote. The result is well known. The McLemore Resolution once more and forever was laid away in the legislative tombs.

And the other result was this: The President may have obtained technically or theoretically what he wanted, namely, the technical burial of Resolution 147. But in practice his wish to silence any criticism of the administration in the House was not fulfilled—the administration was much criticised instead, and a dangerous situation laid bare to the country.

F. D.

# THE BATTLE IN CONGRESS

## Complete Compendium of Verbatim Quotations--Pro and Con--as Spoken in the House of Representatives on the

### "ARMED MERCHANT VESSEL ISSUE"

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The press of the country has for some reason or other not brought a full report on these important discussions, nor has any magazine covered the subject fully and extensively. Inasmuch as these debates have been interpreted in all sorts of ways, we thought it best to bring the original material in "Issues and Events" and let the reader judge for himself. We recommend the careful reading of the introduction on a preceding page and the previous number of this journal.

#### REPRESENTATIVE McLEMORE EXPLAINS THE REASONS FOR INTRODUCING HIS BILL IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA- TIVES FEBRUARY 18, 1916.

Repr. McLEMORE (Texas). Mr. Speaker, the resolution which I have offered for the consideration of this House was conceived in an earnest desire to contribute toward the clearing of the dark atmosphere which overhangs the foreign relations of this Nation.

This House pursues from day to day the healthy, normal course of attending to the proper and pressing business of this Nation, which, in the happy nature of events, is now at peace; and yet the most optimistic of us feel a dread certainty that some day we may be called on to make a decision on some points that can not be ignored.

When the "Lusitania" was destroyed by the torpedo fired by a German submarine, Americans reacted in two distinct ways. Some held that the German act which had caused the loss, not only of the great ship and her cargo of war munitions, but also of more than a thousand human lives, including more than a hundred Americans, was a crime and an outrage. Others felt at once that those who had lost their lives were themselves primarily to blame for having traveled on a ship which they knew to be in danger; and many felt, furthermore, that a nation struggling for its life against a ring of enemies could not in justice to its own soldiers and to the women and children whom those soldiers were protecting refrain from sinking any and every possible enemy ship which carried in its hold the weapons of death. This opinion was voiced by some of America's leading men and held by more of the plain, straight-thinking people than the newspapers will admit.

However, the President and other executive officials of the Nation took the former view, and as the result of long and careful negotiations the German Government, obviously at the sacrifice of advantages very precious to a nation at war and as an evidence of most welcome friendship for this Republic, has agreed to accept the American view as to the impropriety of such use of the submarine. Long since Germany promised to modify her submarine warfare in accordance with the views set forth by this Government, and how well she has kept that promise may be appreciated if one reflects on the perfect ease with which she accomplished the destruction of the "Lusitania" and reflects that she could unquestionably have sunk many another liner in similar facile fashion.

One of the German pleas in justification of the sinking of the "Lusitania" was that that vessel was armed; it was proved that she was built largely with English Government funds under a contract which specifically provided for her armament. Nevertheless the contention of the American Government that the "Lusitania" was not armed on her last trip seemed to be sustained, and upon this point the American Government insisted most strongly of all, in bringing the German Government to acknowledge that the fatal attack was not justified. In all the exchanges between the two Governments, it has been understood that the American Government stood for the immunity of unarmed ships from unwarned attacks, and the immunity of such ships, carrying non-belligerent passengers and crews, from attack where it would be impossible for the passengers and crews to reach safety.

I see no deep and treacherous plot against innocent lives when the German Government solemnly states to the American Government that they have accumulated proof, through many months of warfare, that the English Government has

played false in arming its merchant marine with guns under the name of "defensive armament," at the same time giving secret instructions that those presumably peaceful ships, with their "defensive armament," should take the offensive against German submarines.

The German Government has submitted to the American Government a memorandum, which has not yet been officially given out by the State Department, but which is reported by the newspapers as cabled through London.

On the basis of the allegations set forth in that memorandum as to the conduct recommended to English so-called non-belligerent vessels by the English Admiralty, the German Government announces that after February 29 German submarines will sink on sight any enemy ship which displays guns.

If such things as private feuds existed under the same ultimate sanctions as make war a last resort of nations, and if I were a party to such a feud, and if I met a member of the other faction, and he had a perfectly capable automatic gun in his hand, cocked and pointed at me, I would not place much faith in his assurance that he was armed "for defense only." Rather, I would reach for my own gun and endeavor to get the first shot. If I met a member of the other faction unarmed, and he said, "I am not one of the belligerent members of my clan, but only a fetcher and carrier of their food and raiment," I would spare that man; but if he said those words to me and at the same time uncovered his shooting iron, I would shoot him for his treachery; for I would know very well that a shot from his "defensive gun" would kill me just as quick as a shot from an "offensive gun," and that I should be just as dead in the one case as in the other.

And I think that a shot from a "defensive gun" on the deck of an English, French, or Italian vessel will sink a German submarine and send its crew on their awful last journey as quickly as a shot from an "offensive gun."

It seems to me that it is not the concern of the American Government or the American people whether an English merchant vessel, armed with a "defensive gun," manages to sink a German submarine or not. It seems to me equally none of our business whether or not a German submarine manages to sink the English vessel so armed. I would greatly admire the pluck of the English people in their insistence on fighting the submarine peril at every turn, by every means, if they would frankly avow that purpose as one of their ways of conducting this war and would frankly consider an encounter between a German submarine and an armed English vessel as a naval combat, with victory belonging to the bravest or the most skillful or the favorite of the awful and inscrutable god of battle. But the present English plea that an English ship is to be allowed to tote a gun and yet not be considered a fighting ship, is to be allowed all the advantages of armament but be exempt from all the penalties, does not impress my American mind. And if I suspect that England seeks to hide behind the coat tails of Uncle Sam, seeks to lure Americans on her armed ships as they sail out, hoping and praying that they may "pot" a submarine, and then expects America to step in and do her fighting for her if an American citizen loses his life, then I am quick to resent that conduct, and to resent it to the best of my ability.

The law of maritime warfare as it affects the rights of unarmed merchant ships is now undisputed by any nation. Such ships may not be sunk offhand nor without provision for their passengers and crews. But such ships must not refuse to halt if hailed by an enemy warship, and must not resist the exercise of the right of visit and search. Every nation is agreed perfectly that if a merchant ship so flees or so resists it may be sunk without pity. And now, Mr.

Speaker, we come to a simple question, which, it seems to me, the English casuists are trying mightily to obscure. If England agrees to that law, as she does, and if England maintains that in arming her merchant ships she does not intend them to violate that law, and she does so maintain, then can any man tell me why England insists on arming such ships? England wishes us to say to Germany, "You must let the English have the first shot. Under penalty of our displeasure you must let the English ship always have the first shot. If you see a gun on an English ship pointing at you, you must not fire on that ship until after that ship has fired on you; then you may fire, if you are able." Mr. Speaker, if we take that attitude, will it not justify the words spoken in this Chamber a few days ago that "we are one of the allies"?

Is there a member here who would consent that the brave commanders and crews of our submarines should be sent into action, sent out to sea, under such orders, under such suicidal restrictions as that? Certainly not!

Mr. Speaker, for several days the reports in the newspapers indicated that this Government saw the justice, the inevitable logic, the plain common sense of the arguments underlying the announced intention of the German Government and the Austro-Hungarian Government to sink armed enemy vessels at sight. Then, suddenly, there was a total

and almost entire reversal of position. Are we to believe that the threats which the English representatives here have dared to make, that if we act according to truth and fact they will punish us by refusing us ships for our merchandise? Shall we, when we merely propose to warn our citizens to stay off belligerent ships which are actually armed, which actually invite destruction, shall we be bullied out of that purpose by any nation or by any threats? Rather, I should say, answer such nation by a prohibition against all their ships and by an embargo on the munitions which alone enable them to continue this bloody and cruel war.

Mr. Speaker, I make an earnest plea to the Committee on Foreign Affairs to give this resolution serious and speedy consideration. Time and critical events will not wait on us. This is in every sense an emergency measure. Our duty to the very vital interests of the whole nation demands attention to this problem and action on it before the end of this month. I ask the committee to report this resolution and let this House tell the American people whether I am right or wrong in believing that both House and people approve it.

I give here what I believe is undisputedly an accurate summary of Mr. Lansing's note of January 28th, to the various powers. (See ISSUES AND EVENTS, pages 221-222.)

## THE FAMOUS McLEMORE RESOLUTION.

### HOUSE RESOLUTION 147.

Whereas the Governments of two of the powers at present in war in Europe and on the high seas have informed all neutral powers of their intention to instruct the commanders of their submarine naval vessels to attack upon sight after February 29 all armed vessels of their enemies, whether such armed vessels are admittedly naval vessels or carry their armaments under the name and guise of "defensive armament for merchant ships"; and

Whereas the Government of Germany, one of the powers which have so informed the neutral powers, has submitted to the Government of the United States photographic facsimiles of alleged secret orders of the British Government, which secret orders direct that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be used offensively and shall be manned and directed by naval officers and men of the navy of Great Britain, and that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" and such naval officers and men shall be, as far as possible, concealed and disguised when in neutral waters and ports, with the evident intention to deceive; and

Whereas the only possible use for a "defensive gun" is the same as the use for an "offensive gun," namely, to shoot and, if possible, destroy or damage the enemy ship, whether submarine or other naval craft; and

Whereas the Government of the United States has no desire and no right to dictate to any of the powers whether they shall arm their merchant ships with guns or other armament or not, and has no interest in the success or failure of such ships so armed in using their armaments in the only way in which they could be effectively used, namely, in destroying or injuring enemy submarines or other naval vessels; and

Whereas the Government of the United States has no interest in the success or failure of the submarines or other naval vessels of any power in escaping or destroying such merchant ships so armed and has no desire or right to dictate to any of the powers what steps they shall take to protect their vital interests and pursue their legitimate belligerent operations; and

Whereas the Government of the United States can not look upon any naval engagement between any armed ships of opposing belligerent powers, no matter how such ships, or any one of such ships, may be designated or disguised, as other than a naval engagement undertaken by each belligerent with the purpose of destroying the other belligerent ships and the lives of the people thereon; and

Whereas, while it is indifferent as to quibbles about such terms as "offensive" and "defensive" as applied to guns on ships of powers at war, the Government of the United States is vitally concerned to offer its own citizens the best possible advice, counsel, and assistance in avoiding the hazards of war; and

Whereas the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary have given the Government of the United States positive assurances that unarmed ships carrying chiefly non-belligerent passengers will not be sunk—unless while resisting the right of visit and search—unless it is certain that the non-belligerent passengers can be removed to a place of safety; and

Whereas the Government of the United States is vitally interested to preserve to its own warships, submarine and other war vessels, full necessary freedom of action against an enemy, whether avowed or disguised, in any possible future war:

Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States do, and it hereby solemnly does, request the President to warn all American citizens, within the borders of the United States or its possessions or elsewhere, to refrain from traveling on any and all ships of any and all of the powers now or in future at war, which ship or ships shall mount guns, whether such ship be frankly avowed a part of the naval forces of the power whose flag it flies or shall be called a merchant ship, or otherwise, and whether such gun or guns or other armament be called "offensive" or "defensive"; and in case American citizens do travel on such armed belligerent ships that they do so at their own risk.

That when the President of the United States or the Secretary of State shall come into possession of the actual memorandum of the German Government, containing photographic facsimiles of alleged secret instructions issued by the British Government, which alleged secret instructions direct that so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be used offensively, and that so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" shall be manned and directed by naval officers and men of the Navy of Great Britain, and that such so-called "defensive armament for merchant ships" and such naval officers and men shall be, as far as possible, concealed and disguised when in neutral waters or ports, with the evident intention to deceive, the President of the United States or the Secretary of State shall, at the earliest possible moment, transmit such actual memorandum of the German Government, with such facsimiles of alleged secret instructions of the British Government, and with all appendices whatsoever, to the Speaker of the House, that it and they may be laid before the House for its full information and for its assistance in performing its duty and function of guarding the welfare of the country and its citizens and for its assistance in performing its constitutional duty of advising the President of the United States with regard to foreign relations.

That the House expresses the determination of the people and Government of the United States both to uphold all American rights and to exercise care, consideration, and wisdom in avoiding actions which tend to bring American citizens and American interests into the zone of conflict where the passions of war are raging.

### Armed Merchantmen.

Repr. PLATT (N. Y.). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER (Champ Clark). Upon what subject?

Repr. PLATT. By inserting a statement by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Rogers] on international law.

Repr. GARRETT (Tenn.). Reserving the right to object, does it have reference to the particular matters now agitating the House?

Repr. PLATT. I will say that it is a statement by a Republican member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in support of the position taken by the President of the United States.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. PLATT. The statement, which was published in newspapers of Massachusetts on February 25:

#### Statement of Rep. Rogers of Mass.

The issue seems to be this: Germany claims the right to sink, without warning, any armed merchantman of another

belligerent, entirely regardless of whether the vessel's armament is for offensive or defensive purposes, or whether she carries among her passengers or crew the citizens of a neutral nation. President Wilson denies this claim of Germany in so far as it includes any merchantman armed solely for defensive purposes and in so far as it involves the lives of American citizens. The consensus of opinion of Congress—certainly in the House of Representatives—seems overwhelmingly in accord with the German program and in favor of warning all Americans not to travel on any armed merchantmen of a belligerent.

In my judgment the President is absolutely right. Ever since scattered precedents began to coagulate into international law the right to arm merchantmen for purely defensive purposes has been unalteringly asserted and unswervingly maintained. It has been asserted again and again by the United States since the present war began, notably in our note of September 19, 1914, and recognized by both Germany and Great Britain.

If we should modify this axiomatic doctrine or assent to

its modification, we should be changing international law in the midst of the war and in a most vital respect, in a respect which would materially aid one belligerent at the expense of the other. Yet no principle of law or fair play is better settled than that the rules of the game shall not be changed during the progress of the game unless by unanimous consent.

Suppose we should acquiesce in the German program, and by officially warning our citizens not to travel on armed merchantmen, tacitly agree in advance that if the warning is disregarded and our citizens lose their lives we will make no protest. We thereby necessarily recognize that merchantmen, even though only defensively armed, are vessels of war. Either the merchantman is a vessel of war or a vessel of peace. There is no third classification. But if such a merchantman is a vessel of war for some purposes it is a vessel of war for all purposes. It has no chameleon qualities. If it is a vessel of war it must be treated as such when it appears off our coast and seeks to enter our ports. The principles of the neutrality act apply; for example, if it stays in port longer than 24 hours it must be interned. It would have precisely the status of the "Kronprinz Wilhelm," now interned at Newport News, when she entered Hampton Roads. Would the allied powers tolerate such a result? The question carries its own answer. We should be instantly plunged into a far more bitter quarrel with the allies. In other words, acquiescence in the German program does not avoid a quarrel; it picks a worse one.

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON MARCH 6, 1916, REP. MADDEN (ILL.) IN SIMPLE LANGUAGE EXPLAINS THE BIG ISSUE TO THE COUNTRY.

Repr. MADDEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker. I am opposed to having the United States involved in the war with Europe and I want everything possible done to prevent it.

There can be no question of the right of Congress to say that Americans shall not travel on armed belligerent ships, except at their own peril, and we will not have performed our full duty if we fail to do so.

I am willing to concede the right of an American citizen to travel on an armed belligerent ship. But simply because he has that right I do not think he should so exercise it as to jeopardize the peace of his country. The honor of the United States is not now involved in the European controversy. When it is it will be soon enough for us to consider the question of our participation in it.

Americans should be warned against travel on armed belligerent ships, and I hope a resolution so advising them may come before the House in such form that I can vote for it. I can state my views in no more appropriate language than that found in the editorials of the Chicago Tribune of March 2 and 3, which I herewith append as part of my remarks.

"The object of any armament on a ship of the belligerents is one and one only, to use against enemy warships—to be explicit, the submarine. It is therefore an armed ship and the distinction as to defensive and offensive armament, founded on the practice of privateering and piracy, and having no application to use against enemy war craft, is not involved.

"This is the issue as between Great Britain and Germany.

"What is the issue between the United States and Germany? It is whether the right of citizens to travel on unarmed merchant ships of belligerent nationality is a right to travel on merchant ships of Great Britain armed in fact against German submarines.

"Or, put in another way, the issue is: Does the presence of Americans on a British ship compel a German submarine to allow the British ship to pass or by challenging it accept the hazard of destruction?

"If this were conceded Great Britain by mounting guns on its merchantmen and Americans by traveling on them can insure such part of the British merchant marine from otherwise lawful operations by Germany against what are in fact armed and therefore combatant enemy craft. The interruption of this service is of great, if not vital, importance to the central powers. If it is to the interest of the United States to insure this supply, the Government should do so as an ally and not under the pretense of defending neutrality.

"The President asserted the right of neutrals to travel on 'unarmed' merchantmen by the belligerents. He asserted the duty of war craft to challenge 'unarmed and unresisting' merchant ships. Both these contentions have been accepted by the German Government.

"Yet we now assert that by virtue of a rule framed to meet facts not now involved merchant ships armed in fact

are not armed, and must be accepted as unarmed by Germany because Americans are traveling on them. The principle that rules of international law must not be altered during the course of the war begs the whole question of whether the rule as to defensive armament applies to merchantmen armed in fact offensively against submarines.

"If American honor is involved in this controversy, it calls upon us to look the facts in the face, to apply to them principles, not a mere formula, and to adopt fearlessly the course which justice dictates.

"If it is American sympathies or interests that are involved, let us not talk about honor and let us consider sensibly and candidly what those interests are."

#### For An American Policy.

"The agency for the expression of public opinion is Congress. We believe the national interests demand that Congress refuse to allow Mr. Wilson to commit the country as he wishes to do. If he does commit the Nation, his policy becomes ours. That distinction must be made and emphasized. If he commits the Nation, we haul down our opinions and must stand by his. But there is yet time for protest.

"Congress can check this dangerous procedure. Unchecked it may not lead to war, but it contains the dangerous possibility of war. It is a possibility that can not be ignored. We must look at the most serious possible outcome. We are not justified in taking chances. What is the worst thing that is within rational consideration? That is the question.

"There is only one thing that can justify President Wilson's policy. It must be stated frankly if it is to be a justification. That is the belief, the assumption, or the fact that Germany's success and Great Britain's defeat will imperil the United States.

"If that be so, or if there be good reason to think that it would be so, the Nation is justified in aiding Great Britain and injuring Germany. It would be more courageous and more honorable to do so as an ally of Great Britain, but is it permissible to do it in the form of benevolent neutrality?

"A good many Americans may think that the President is insisting upon a matter of national right, supported by international law, and that the national honor is involved. The President tells them this. It is not so. It can be regarded so only by an unusual and inexcusable insistence upon words.

"The trouble is that the submarine is damned in American opinion. It is an illegal craft, a pirate, commanded by murderers. It is to be destroyed. It is not to be permitted to operate.

"The truth is that if we were in war it would be still more desirable for us than it is for Germany to permit submarines wide latitude of operation. We have a smaller Navy. We have almost no merchant marine. We have an enormous coast line. Germany has a powerful navy. Germany has a wonderful merchant marine. Germany has a small coast line, and that coast line is impregnable. The largest navy in the world can not reach it.

"We do not believe that a policy so inimical to the present security of the United States, and so embarrassing to its future; ever was insisted upon before by an American administration.

"It is true that the President has committed himself to a procedure which will help Great Britain more than anything else that could be done short of becoming her ally. It has as its possible consequences the chance that it will end in our fighting by her side and the chance that it will protect her shipping.

"Germany's only chance of success may lie in destroying British shipping. If she can not do that she may not be able to break out of her encircled position or to wear out any one of her strong enemies. If we, by insisting upon words that are as inimical to us as they are to Germany, stand between Germany and the British shipping we are Britain's ally in deed.

"It may be it is the President's plan that we shall be. He may believe that a victorious Germany would threaten our national security. We are far from convinced that it would not. But let's have an understanding of what we are doing.

"If we must help Great Britain to defeat Germany, Congress ought to proceed with knowledge of that fact. At least Congress ought to know the seriousness of what we are doing. If we are not helping Great Britain, but are merely inviting difficulty, possibly war, with Germany to insist upon the letter of international law, modifications of which already have been accepted by the American Government, Congress ought to intervene.

"This nation does not want war to protect the guns which a peaceable ship of another nationality insists upon carrying."



# The Great Debate in the House

March 7, 1916

## Armed Merchant Vessels of Belligerents

Rep. POULSON (N. C.). Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution from the Committee on Rules, which I send to the Clerk's desk.\*

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 158.

*Resolved*, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution the House shall proceed to consideration of H. Res. 147: that there shall be four hours of general debate, one-half to be controlled by the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Flood, and one-half by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Cooper; that at the conclusion of said general debate the said resolution shall be considered under the general rules of the House.

Rep. POULSON. Mr. Speaker, on the 22d day of February a resolution was introduced in the House by the gentleman from Texas (Rep. McLemore), requesting the President to "warn all American citizens within the borders of the United States or its possessions or elsewhere to refrain from traveling on any and all ships of any and all powers now or in future at war, which ship or ships shall mount guns, whether such ships be frankly avowed a part of the naval forces of the power whose flag it flies or shall be called a merchant ship or otherwise, and whether such gun or guns or other armament be called offensive or defensive; and in case American citizens do travel on such armed belligerent ships they do so at their own risk. \* \* \*

It is well known that this Government had insisted and was insisting that Americans had the right to travel upon ships armed for defensive purposes, inasmuch as such right had been exercised for centuries under international law recognized by the civilized nations of the world.

At the time of the introduction of this resolution two of the great powers now at war had informed neutral powers of their determination to attack without warning after February 29 all armed vessels of their enemies, even though such vessels might be merchant ships armed for defensive purposes.

It is well known that the President and Secretary of State insist that no nation has the right to attack merchant ships armed for defensive purposes; that if such attack is made advance warning shall be given and opportunity afforded for escape without loss of life of noncombatants traveling on said ships.

Very industriously the statement was published in foreign capitals that Congress was not with the President in his contention. It was announced that this McLemore resolution would pass this House by a large majority. The result was an immediate paralysis of all efforts of the President and State Department to secure recognition of American rights under international law by some of the nations at war. \* \* \*

The McLemore resolution has been and is the cause of these misunderstandings. \* \* \*

And, Mr. Speaker, what is the contention of the President? It is that ships not intended to participate in war, ships engaged in peaceful commerce, merchant ships, liners, upon which Americans are traveling shall not be attacked without warning. The President demands of all the warring nations that they shall not endanger the lives of Americans traveling upon ships upon which they have the right to travel. He demands of these warring nations that they shall not murder Americans without warning. \* \* \*

No President save Abraham Lincoln ever occupied such a trying position as Woodrow Wilson. He has been so earnest in his efforts to keep us out of this war that not a few have said he was surrendering too much. \* \* \*

The charge that the President wants war is mean and contemptible, and all the imps of hell never devised a bigger lie. (Loud applause.)

### No Question of National Right Involved.

Rep. CAMPBELL (Kans.). \* \* \* There is no great question of national right involved at this time. We are not confronted with a great crisis in which the honor of the Nation is involved at this moment. The only question is on the doubtful legal rights of the citizens of a neutral country to ride on armed ships.

Mr. Speaker, the President warned American citizens to flee from war-stricken Mexico, and we appropriated money to aid them in their escape. Our Government limits the right of travelers in the war zones by restrictions on the issuance of passports. Citizens are not permitted to visit belligerent countries or pass from one belligerent country to another merely for "pleasure," "recreation," "touring," or "sightseeing."

It is the undoubted right of an American citizen to remain in belligerent Mexico. It is the undoubted right of an American citizen to visit either or all the belligerent countries of Europe. That is not the question. The question of American rights was not the question involved when the Government issued its warning to those in Mexico and issues passports with restrictions to those purposing to travel in Europe. It is the question of how far American citizens shall exercise their rights to their own danger and the possible danger of their country.

It is not less dangerous to take passage on an armed belligerent ship than to remain in Mexico or to travel as a sightseer in the war zones of Europe.

I have here what purports to be the so-called secret orders of the British Admiralty with regard to the orders and instructions to armed merchantmen. They were published a few days ago for the first time in the United States. Merchantmen are directed in these instructions that it is important that submarines are not to be allowed to approach to short range, to which a torpedo or bomb launched without notice would almost certainly be effective. These merchantmen are instructed further that it may be presumed that any submarine that deliberately approaches or pursues a merchant vessel does so with hostile intention, and that in such cases fire may be opened in self-defense in order to prevent the hostile craft from closing to a range at which resistance to a submarine attack by a bomb or torpedo would be impossible.

That gives the order to a merchantman, armed, to open fire as soon as a submarine is seen approaching.

The difference between an armed merchantman, so acting, and an armed cruiser is not apparent to the average layman. The danger of taking passage on this sort of vessel was apparent to the administration as late as the 18th of January, 1916, when the Secretary of State, in a note to the foreign powers, said:

The use of submarines, however, has changed these relations. Comparison of the defensive strength of a cruiser and a submarine shows that the latter, relying for protection on its power to submerge, is almost defenseless in point of construction. Even a merchant ship carrying a small caliber gun would be able to use it effectively for offense against the submarine.

It would therefore appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever.

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declarations by the belligerent Government, I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal right, which may be denied on account of new conditions.

I would be pleased to be informed whether your Government would be willing to make such a declaration, conditioned upon their enemies making a similar declaration.

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Will the President say now, will Congress to-day advise American citizens that they may ride upon an armed cruiser of a belligerent nation?

### What Would Happen?

Suppose Germany should arm a merchant vessel with exactly the kind of equipment with which a British merchant vessel is armed, and sail from the port of New Orleans with a cargo of cotton, and include in her passenger list 100 American citizens. A British merchant vessel, armed just as the German vessel is armed, sails from Liverpool at the same time, carrying 100 American citizens among her passengers. These ships meet in mid-ocean and immediately upon sighting one another are so impressed with the danger of their situation that they open fire instantly for self-defense. The firing continues until both vessels are sunk, with the loss of all on board. Has the United States on this account cause for breaking diplomatic relations with both Germany and England, or has the United States cause for war against both Germany and England? \* \* \*

Mr. Speaker, I fear the President is not entirely frank with Congress. The letter of the Secretary of State to the warring powers dated January 18, 1916, takes the position that an armed merchantman is to all intents and purposes an armed cruiser, and the Secretary of State on that day advised foreign powers that our Government was contempt-

Footnote—See explanation Page 244.

## The Letter That Surprised All

### PRESIDENT WILSON TO REPRESENTATIVE POU.

The White House,  
Washington, February 29, 1916.

My Dear Mr. Pou: Inasmuch as I learn that Mr. Henry, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, is absent in Texas, I take the liberty of calling your attention, as ranking member of the committee, to a matter of grave concern to the country which can, I believe, be handled, under the rules of the House, only by that committee.

The report that there are divided counsels in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government is being made industrious use of in foreign capitals. I believe that report to be false, but so long as it is anywhere credited it can not fail to go the greatest harm and expose the country to the most serious risks. I therefore feel justified

in asking that your committee will permit me to urge an early vote upon the resolutions with regard to travel on armed merchantmen which have recently been so much talked about in order that there may be afforded an immediate opportunity for full public discussion and action upon them and that all doubts and conjectures may be swept away and our foreign relations once more cleared of damaging misunderstandings.

The matter is of so grave importance and lies so clearly within the field of Executive initiative that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking unwarranted liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House, and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate attention. Cordially and sincerely, yours,  
WOODROW WILSON.

lating issuing notice to American officials to treat these armed merchantmen accordingly. \* \* \*

Both England and Germany have armed, and are arming, their merchant vessels ostensibly for defense. The Admiralty of England instructs her merchantmen to fire on approaching submarines before they get within the range of bombs or torpedoes. Those who contend for the niceties of international law must admit that that action on the part of the British Admiralty denies the right of search of merchant vessels and also makes futile international agreements that time shall be given for passengers and crew of merchant vessels to find safety before the ship is sunk.

Mr. Speaker, my fear is that the President is now undertaking to secure from Congress a reversal of the policy of the Administration laid down in the letter of January 18, 1916, with regard to the character of armed merchant vessels in which they are held to be auxiliary cruisers. The President is responsible for the conduct of international negotiations. \* \* \*

The three citizens who sailed on Saturday on a merchant ship that is to be armed at Gibraltar said they enjoyed the thrill growing out of the danger. Are members of Congress ready to declare war that such as these may have the thrills growing out of the danger they assume in taking passage on ships that are to all intents and purposes battle cruisers of nations at war?

For one, Mr. Speaker, I am not ready to war on any such grounds, and if the Executive refuses to warn American citizens of the danger they assume in taking passage on these ships, I shall vote if I can make the opportunity today, to give all our citizens such a warning. \* \* \*

England claims the right to arm her merchantmen. Germany claims the right of submarine warfare. It is not for us to decide for either in these particulars what its mode of warfare shall be. \* \* \*

Hecatomb has followed hecatomb in this awful slaughter until millions are numbered with the dead. This is the frightful situation of the belligerents, while we parley with them over the right of our citizens to travel for business or pleasure on their armed ships.

Under these conditions, do we not honor ourselves in the face of the world by placing some restraint on our passion for both business and pleasure? While millions die in awful war, we should at least warn our people from traveling on ships that are armed for either offensive or defensive war pending the war.

Let this Congress go on record today as issuing a solemn warning to the citizens of this country of the great danger they are in when they take passage on an armed belligerent ship. They owe this precaution to themselves, their families, and to their country. (Applause).

#### A Citizen Traveling on an Armed Merchantman is Either a Knave or a Fool.

Rep. CHIPERFIELD (Ill.). \* \* \* Shall American citizens be permitted, except at their own risk, to embark upon armed belligerent merchantmen and travel within the zone of war?

If considered from the standpoint of expediency, there can only be one answer, and that answer must be in the negative.

To so journey exposes the traveler by either the attack of a hostile vessel, or by the accident of a mine, to possible destruction.

For the purpose of the argument and only for such purpose it may be admitted that it would be the technical legal right of an American citizen to so travel on such armed vessel in the zone of war.

There is no more dangerous man or one more detestable than the man who at all times, at all hazards, under all cir-

cumstances, insists upon the full technical measure of his rights without regard to the disastrous effects that it may have upon others.

Such a man is either a fool or a knave, and usually both. He is not desirable as either an individual or a citizen.

If the American people are to go to war it must be because of some impending danger that threatens the life or the welfare of the Nation, or to redress some grave injury to its national honor, or to draw the sword in behalf of suffering humanity.

While the cry of the alarmist or jingoist is abroad in the land public clamor is easily aroused and the public mind easily inflamed, but never will the American people in their calmer moments consent to an effusion of blood except for the gravest cause, and in defense of the highest and most sacred rights and principles.

In the hour of excitement when the passions are aroused, when the blood is hot, a slight cause may be magnified, but when the heat of the moment is past and the blood of our citizens is flowing upon fields of battle and lives are going out, and the wail of the mother, the sob of the wife, and the cries of the children are heard throughout the land, and the burden of carnage falls heavily upon us all, then those who hasten this country into war by reckless action will be branded by the American people with the deep and lasting brand of Cain, and they will be scourged by the scorpions of public opinion as the faithless trustees of the peace and the safety of the Nation. \* \* \*

Shall one man, reckless and indifferent, plunge this country into carnage? \* \* \*

From Mexico we have as a Nation advised our people to withdraw, and Congress has appropriated money for the purpose of assisting them to do so.

It is said that in the Russo-Japanese war the British government warned its subjects not to embark upon belligerent armed merchantmen.

This statement is denied by the British Government. I do not know if it be true.

The Swedish Government of late has taken the same course. In so doing it has not sacrificed national honor, nor will we.

#### Rep. Mann Will Extend No Invitation to Travelers.

Rep. MANN (Ill.). \* \* \* I am not willing to extend an invitation to American citizens to travel on armed vessels when to do so may bring us into serious complications, and I would not voluntarily offer to inject my own opinion upon this subject while the President is carrying on his negotiations; but when the President seeks to know what the American people may think on the subject as expressed by their Representatives, I think it is our duty, if we are to act at all, to meet the question fairly and squarely and express the opinion such as we have; and if we believe that American citizens, under at least ordinary circumstances, ought not to render this country liable to war, we ought to say so, and leave the President in his discretion and power to take care of the future. \* \* \*

#### No Rights Abridged.

Rep. ELLSWORTH (Minn.). \* \* \* I do not think that the written law existing among nations, as obsolete as the hieroglyphics upon the pyramids of Egypt, can be recognized by any nation as international law. I thoroughly believe there is no such a thing in existence today as an "armed merchantman." I say that if you arm a merchantman you have converted that merchantman into an armed cruiser, into a war cruiser, for it can then destroy a submarine; and upon that theory and belief and that being my judgment, I say that even though this resolution may become mixed question to some extent, even though it may

or may not be a warning, if we would settle the real question a warning would not then be at all necessary.

Following it to its logical sequence, not having an opportunity, as I would like to have, to vote upon the real question, now that it has been injected into this body, of whether or not the particular status is that of a war cruiser and not a merchantman, then I say I will stand for the resolution in this question of warning citizens, because I believe it a step in the right direction and that it takes away no right of any citizen of this country to so warn him.

I have heard the objection that you would change the rules during the playing of the game; that this changes the rules during the game. But I answer that is what Lincoln did when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. \* \* \*

I am not afraid to change the rules and I say to you gentlemen of this House that it takes more courage for America to say to the nations of the world that in these days an armed merchantman does not exist except as a figment of the imagination, but that such a craft is in fact a war cruiser, and one on which no citizen of any nation, in these times when there is no piracy to fight against, should assume for one moment to take passage than to quibble over technicalities. (Applause).

#### **"IF WAR COMES WE WILL ALL STAND BY THE PRESIDENT," REP. DECKER OF MO.**

Rep. DECKER (Mo.) \* \* \* I have stood by the President of the United States. I have stood by him in his efforts to carry out the mandate of the American people. He has said that if an American citizen on board an armed merchant ship is drowned by a German submarine without warning, he will hold Germany to strict account. Stripped of its diplomatic language it means that if an American life is lost as the result of the sinking of an armed merchant ship without warning—it means war. I am willing to go to war for an American right, but not for a "doubtful legal right," as Mr. Lansing says this is. \* \* \* I believe the President did right when he said, in behalf of the lives and the welfare of the mass of American citizens, "We will not sacrifice the lives of our American boys for the sake of a few Americans in Mexico," and warned those Americans in Mexico to come home. Now, if it is right to warn Americans in Mexico to come home, who have certain definite and established rights there, in the name of God, why am I a traitor and a coward when I stand in the halls where Henry Clay stood and say, "You shall not hurl the miners and the farmers of my district into this hell of war; you shall not take the sons from the mothers of my district and sacrifice them at Verdun or in the trenches of Europe in order to maintain a doubtful right." (Applause.)

#### **"THE PRESIDENT MUST DO THE PEOPLE'S WILL"—REP. CHANDLER OF NEW YORK.**

Rep. CHANDLER (N. Y.) \* \* \* If the people desire that Americans be warned to keep off armed merchantmen, it is not for the President to desire something else. If the people desire a certain thing, it is not for you to betray your trust by saying that you will ignore their wishes in order to please the President. \* \* \*

If the flood of messages contained in letters and telegrams tell you that the people are in favor of the passage of the McLemore resolution, it is your duty to pass it regardless of what the President of the United States desires or thinks. And if you yield to the power of presidential blandishments, when you know that his views and wishes are not in harmony with the predominant sentiment of the people of the Republic, you have violated a sacred trust and have shown yourselves to be unworthy Representatives of a great Nation. \* \* \*

I hold no brief for the German people. I am not pro-German, nor am I pro-ally. I am pro-American, but I do insist that a square deal for all is the only fair test and sure indication of sincere neutrality. Let us make Germany toe the mark if she violates our rights, but let us likewise serve notice upon England that in dealing with her an even-handed justice shall hold the scales. But in no case let us plunge the country into a bloody war upon a mere technicality, upon a plain academic question. (Applause.)

#### **Should Americans Be Warned?**

Rep. RICKETTS (O.) \* \* \* I can not agree with the President that Americans should not be warned to stay off of armed belligerent ships. In my judgment this warning should be given to each and every American citizen, for in this way we may prevent this country from being dragged into the war. This warning to Americans can in no way embarrass, hinder or disturb the President in his diplomatic negotiations. He is the head of the Diplomatic Service, and if American citizens should be warned to keep

off of armed belligerent merchantmen or armed belligerent ships, the President might be saved a most glaring embarrassment in the future. \* \* \* Therefore it seems to me the part of wisdom and of precaution that Americans should be warned not to take passage upon any armed belligerent merchant ship. I feel that it is the sincere and absolute duty of Congress to give this warning, and I have not been able to see wherein or whereby such warning would in any manner embarrass, hinder or disturb the President of the United States in his diplomatic negotiations. It would not prevent the President from standing firmly for his principles. It does not take from him the right to stand for the principles which he maintains. Wherein could it do harm? It would not be, yielding a point or making a concession. It is not even a tentative concession. It is a precautionary measure intended to protect and preserve American citizens and relieve this Nation of embarrassment that would eventually result in war to this country. \* \*

#### **The Duty of Americans.**

Now, as to the duty of Americans. With the knowledge that war exists between certain nations in Europe, it is their duty to keep off of ships flying flags of any of these nations at war. Why? Because they know that the flag represents nationalism, and when one nation is at war with another that flag invites attack, and the ship's destruction or seizure, especially when carrying contraband of war; and especially do they know, when any ship carries a cannon, manned by naval representatives of any warring nation, that that cannon is there for warfare, for offense or defense, as occasion calls. Under such a state of affairs, as good Americans, they should avoid danger, they should keep out of the line of fight. They are false to themselves and to their country when they jeopardize the peace of their fellowmen.

#### **ALL THINGS ARE LAWFUL, BUT NOT EXPEDIENT.**

Rep. ROBERTS (Mass.) \* \* \* Why, we are told that we will give up the inalienable right of American citizens to travel wherever they will, upon any means of conveyance they choose, if we say to them in this time of peril and great crisis, "You must not go into the danger zone expecting the protection of your Government behind you."

Last summer I had an experience that in a measure, it seems to me, is on all fours with the present international complication. I had occasion to travel from the State of Massachusetts, through New Hampshire, into the State of Maine. Now, the Constitution of the United States gives me an inalienable right to travel at will upon the highways of all the States in this country. And yet on a highway in New Hampshire I saw a sign on a fence across that highway saying to me, "Detour. This road is passable, but dangerous. If you go on it it is at your peril."

I wonder if any Member of this House would think his inalienable right of citizenship had been abridged in the slightest by the action of the authorities in New Hampshire? I wonder if any sensible American would for a moment have thought of calling upon the Federal Government to compel New Hampshire to guarantee his safety if he exercised his inalienable right and traveled over that road, which he was told was dangerous? I did not feel that my rights of citizenship has been abridged or taken from me. Rather, I was thankful that the State had warned me that danger lay ahead and had pointed out to me how I could avoid it. \* \* \* It seems to me, my friends, the situation today is well set forth in I Corinthians vi, 12, wherein St. Paul, the evangelist, says:

All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient. (Applause.)

We can say today that without any loss of national honor or diminution of American rights it is not expedient for our people to go into the danger zone, and I can not bring myself, for one, to believe that such a warning issued to the American people surrenders in the slightest degree any American rights. (Applause.)

Rep. HUDDLESTON (Ala.) Mr. Speaker, a resolution adopted by this body warning American citizens not to travel upon armed merchant vessels of belligerents would have no legal effect whatever. It would be merely advisory. It would not in the slightest degree cut off the right of any American citizen to travel on such ships. The right of American citizens to travel the high seas was not granted to them by our country, but was granted to them under the principles of international law. They do not owe it to the American Government, but they owe it to the practices of the civilized nations of the whole world.

Any resolution which this body might adopt could neither abridge nor could it to the slightest extent extend that right. The only effect that the adoption of such a resolution would have would be as the expression of an opinion, merely, unless we intend to indicate thereby that we will not protect our citizens, that we will not defend

them in the exercise of their legal rights. To adopt such a resolution in the setting in which it is presented to us would be to go into bankruptcy upon our international liabilities and say to American citizens by implication, "You have the right. It is yours. We can not take it away, but we serve you with notice in advance that we are too cowardly, too contemptible, too craven to defend you in its exercise." (Applause.)

Rep. HUDDLESTON (Ala.). Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs I am impelled to discuss some of the difficulties with which we are confronted in the consideration of the McLemore resolution. \* \* \*

Had the question been presented as a naked abstract question, so that action upon it might have been free from implications, I should myself have voted for the resolution. No American citizen should take passage upon an armed merchant vessel of a belligerent. Even if he has no regard for his own life, he should not take a chance of embroiling his country in a controversy with another nation. He should value the peace and security of America to the extent that he would not do anything to jeopardize it. However, we must bear in mind that the right to sail on armed merchant ships is a right which a citizen has under the principles of international law. Mere warning to stay off can not lessen that right and would be in the nature of monition merely. \* \*

### NO DIVISION OF OPINIONS ON ARMED MERCHANTMEN.

Rep. MEEKER (Mo.). Gentlemen, on the question which we are discussing today \* \* \* in regard to armed merchantmen, we are not divided. The English look upon those as a part of the Admiralty. I do not imagine if instead of that being a warship or a merchant vessel it was a wagon loaded with ammunition, with two armed soldiers on it, traveling between the lines, that we would vote to save the fellow citizen of ours who got his head shot off. These munition boats are trying all the time to use the cheapest insurance they can get and that is an American citizen aboard. (Applause.)

### REP. TREADWAY SAYS: "AMERICANS RECEIVED ALL WARNING NEEDED."

Rep. TREADWAY (Mass.). \* \* \* If a straight vote on warning or no warning has been wanted why did not the President and his Congressional errand boys bring that question before us? For my part I should consider American citizens had received all the warning needed without action here. The press of the country has been filled for days and weeks with notices of attendant danger in travel. There should be no need of an official warning to any American citizen to keep off of belligerent vessels. Personal safety coupled with common sense ought to warn every American to keep off such vessels at the present time irrespective of the duty every American owes his country by not exposing himself in such a way as to involve the country in war. I am opposed to any official curtailment of the rights of American citizens and therefore am opposed to the warning.

### "DOUBTFUL LEGAL RIGHTS."

Rep. LENROOT (Wis.). Now, Mr. Speaker, gentlemen have said repeatedly throughout this debate that this proposition of Americans traveling upon armed merchant ships is an unquestioned right under international law. With reference to that I want to call the attention of the House to the fact that upon January 18, a little over six weeks ago, the present Secretary of State, in a note written to the allied powers, used this language with reference to what is now said to be an unquestioned right. He said:

In proposing this formula as a basis of conditional declaration by the belligerent Governments, I do so in the full conviction that each Government will consider primarily the humane purposes of saving the lives of innocent people rather than the insistence upon doubtful legal rights, which may be denied on account of new conditions.

"Doubtful legal rights" is what the State Department termed this on the 18th day of January. When since then did it become an unquestioned legal right, concerning which there can be no difference of opinion upon the part of patriotic Americans?

The note concludes with this language:

I should add that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the question that presents itself to us is, Shall we by voting to table this McLemore resolution say that this right which six weeks ago was a doubtful right, that this right which six weeks ago the Government said was so doubtful that it was considering instructing its officials to treat armed merchant vessels as war vessels—

shall we say by voting to table the McLemore resolution that that right is now so clear and unquestioned that this House, if called upon, will be ready to vote for a declaration of war against Germany in case an American citizen loses his life upon one of these armed merchant vessels?

Rep. IGOE (Mo.). \* \* \* The State Department of this Government is curtailing the rights of American citizens to passports in foreign countries. Here is the rule they have laid down:

The department does not deem it appropriate or advisable to issue passports to persons who contemplate visiting belligerent countries merely for pleasure, recreation, touring, or sight-seeing.

The gentleman may say that that relates only to pleasure, but if an American citizen has a right to a passport he has a right to it to travel for any purpose that he sees fit.

Rep. FLOOD. If the gentleman will permit the gentleman does not contend that an American, because he has a passport, has the right to go to a foreign country without the consent of that country.

Rep. IGOE. No, but if we deny an American citizen a passport we are curtailing a right he has from this Government (applause), a right that he gets from this Government, to which he pays taxes and to whose protection he is entitled. The Government of Sweden tried to protect its citizens, according to all reports, and has called upon them to stay off of these armed merchant vessels, and no one in this House has accused that country of doing a dishonorable thing. (Applause.)

Rep. IGOE (Mo.). Mr. Speaker, when the question of warning our citizens against traveling on armed belligerent merchant vessels was under discussion in the House, I could not explain my position fully in the time given to me. I had prepared a statement of the reasons that moved me to vote in favor of such a warning, and under the permission just given I wish now to present that statement.

\* \* \* We warned our citizens to get out of Mexico, not once but many times. They had to abandon their property and suffered many indignities. Some did not heed the warning and lost their lives. I believe the country sustains the administration in its action in warning citizens in Mexico and does not consider it either dishonorable or a base surrender of our rights.

\* \* \* Just a few days ago the Government of Sweden, in the interest of the peace of that nation, warned its citizens not to take passage on armed merchant vessels. Sweden is trying desperately to preserve her neutrality. Has she done a dishonorable thing in warning her citizens?

Our own State Department has adopted rules and regulations relating to passports. As a general proposition American citizens have the right to go where they please throughout the world, and it is our duty to protect them wherever they go. But while the present conflict is going on we have restricted this right of our citizens somewhat by refusing passports to those who would visit belligerent countries for pleasure. The rule adopted by our State Department is:

The department does not deem it appropriate or advisable to issue passports to persons who contemplate visiting belligerent countries merely for pleasure, recreation, touring, or sight-seeing.

It must be admitted that this rule is reasonable. Has anyone charged us with doing a dishonorable thing in thus restricting the rights of our citizens?

The statement has been made repeatedly that for Congress to pass a resolution warning our citizens not to take passage on armed belligerent merchant vessels would at this time be an invasion of the right of the President to exclusively handle and control all questions relating to our relations with foreign nations. \* \* \* We are told that it would be dishonorable to warn our citizens against exercising their rights on the high seas. If that is so, then, if we do not warn them, they are justified in assuming that this Nation will fight to the bitter end and at all cost to defend them in their exercise of that right. As for the President, if we say we will not warn our citizens, we, in effect, say to him and to the world that he may insist in his negotiations upon the right of our citizens to travel upon these ships; that we refuse to warn them; that he may go to any extent within his constitutional powers to vindicate that right; and that we will, if necessary, back up his position by a resort to arms. \* \* \*

If you vote against a warning, you tell him to proceed; and the next time the question comes before you it will be after an American citizen has come to harm, and you will not be able to weigh the question as coolly, calmly, and sensibly as now. Then your passions will be aroused, the press, which now denounces everyone who favors this proposition as an alien sympathizer or worse, will then demand war and call you a craven, a coward, and a weakling if you do not so vote. Your vote against a warning now will then return to plague you. You will realize too late that the blood of your countrymen must be shed and the wealth of your country dissipated, because you were too weak to

(Continued on page 254.)

# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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### TURN THE SUBMARINE QUESTION OVER TO CONGRESS

**F**ROM time to time the President has been said to be on the point of consulting the National Legislature as to the nation's views on international law.

That is precisely what the President ought to do. **Why should the law-making power of the nation be excluded from all participation in the making of the law of nations?**

It is commonly said that the great war has abolished international law. But that is not true. It is impossible to destroy the foundations of the law of nations; for they rest in the moral nature of mankind and in the self-vindicating power of moral principles.

What is true is that international law is at this moment in process of flux. It is undergoing universal revision—a change that goes to the bottom of human thought and feeling.

Well then, is this renovation of international constitutions and ordinances to be effected merely by executive action on the part of kings, prime ministers and presidents? Shall the common conscience and intelligence of mankind have nothing to say? Do not legislatures exist for the purpose of giving definition to the public sense of right? And shall the National Legislature confine itself to pork bills, and keep silence concerning the moral issues upon which the fate of modern civilization now turns?

The theory that the American people should inhibit all natural impulses of thought and feeling and should blindly back the executive branch of the government, in all foreign affairs—is a theory that cuts the roots of democracy.

The wide prevalence of that theory at the present moment is a sign of our deep mental lethargy and political somnolence. If we were not afflicted with a kind of social stupor—a sort of general mental coma—it would pass as a matter of course that this complex and baffling problem of European submarine warfare—involving as it does experiences that are absolutely new to the human race—should be threshed out and settled by the common sense of the American people in the Capitol at Washington that was built and dedicated for that kind of thing.

Congress may be badly manned. It may misrepresent us. Nevertheless it is the nearest approach to a

public brain that the country has as yet developed. And this is eminently the time to make use of such brains as we have.

The periodic diplomatic crises with Germany have all been due to uncertainty as to what kind of action the American people would back up.

Why not ask them, Mr. President?

Their agents and representatives—with ample powers of attorney—are sitting in rows, a little way up the street.

### IS THERE A CONSPIRACY TO FORCE INTERVENTION?

The President tells us in solemn and indignant tones, that news about our Mexican adventure is being falsified by interested persons, with a view to forcing us into open war. Now, it should go without saying that people with large money investments and other personal interests in Mexico are engaged more or less hopefully or recklessly in varied and diverse kinds of plans, schemes, plots and conspiracies to save their fortunes.

Some of these layings-of-heads-together are no doubt shockingly sinister and unscrupulous, though it is hardly to be believed that the atrocious murders at Columbus were deliberately planned by American financiers—as has been too lightly alleged in some high quarters.

The point to be noted is that people always, and everywhere else—as well as on the Mexican border—are apt to conspire to get the things they want—and are disposed to state the day's news in terms that seem likely to further their ends.

This is a mere matter of social psychology—and statesmen should be aware of it.

The Mexican problem is to be solved not by discrediting Americans that have material interests in Mexico, but by finding means to conciliate and harmonize all material interests that consist with the welfare of the country.

### HARMONIZING MEXICAN INTERESTS.

The rise of the modern business system with its large-scale industry and all-inclusive finance, has complicated the political problem in all Latin-America. The disaster that has fallen on Mexico had two stages: First, the powerful organization of finance and business took possession of the Diaz regime and became in effect itself the government of the country. This government of foreign finance and business, gradually through a long generation, penetrated the soul and mind of Mexico, with a sort of chemical action that corroded or dissolved the very tissue of the old social order.

Thus, in the second place, when the Diaz regime exploded in the Madero revolt it was found that, in ridding itself of the government of selfish and ruthless finance, the country was left without any considerable remnant of the political fabric that preceded the Diaz regime. The nation was atomized and disintegrated to a degree unparalleled since the French Revolution.

It is exceedingly difficult for Mexico to escape from the anarchy into which it has fallen—for reasons that go to the heart of modern history, and that would apply to any other country as well.

Not only in Latin-America but also in Europe and in the United States the rise of the modern high-tensioned organization of finance and industry has acted as a drastic dissolvent, a mordant acid, upon all the props and stays of old-fashioned government. It is therefore probable that if we were to have a proletarian revolution in this country on the Madero model, we too would



be reduced to state of anarchy from which it would be exceedingly difficult to recover.

The moral is that we should beware of that kind of a revolution—a violent revolt from abuses of the modern financial and business organization—and should prevent it, by reforming the abuses.

Again, the moral is that Mexico cannot be restored to the kind of social state that preceded the rise of modern business. The attempts to put Mexico in order on eighteenth century theories of liberty and democracy will prove to be illusory and will have to be given up.

It is impossible to re-establish order in Mexico otherwise than by setting up there the institutions of a sound and socially serviceable finance. All modern countries are bound to be governed by the organization of their working systems.

Mexico has been thrown into confusion by revolt from a bad finance and a socially degrading system of business. We have undertaken to show, in previous issues of this journal that Mexico can be cured of its fever, by thrusting into it, with such medicinal force as may be necessary, the beginnings of a sound system of work.

### TRADE REVENGE.

It is pleasant to note that the idea that belligerent business is bad business, is beginning to penetrate the most obdurate minds. The process is slow. The newspapers that speak for Wall Street still have a great deal to say about the trade wars that threaten us. They refuse to consider any serious proposal for working out a solid and abiding community of interest across the frontiers of the great commercial countries. They regard such proposals as visionary. But somehow they cannot quite expel from their minds the idea that good business is business that is good for all concerned.

So here we have the New York Times—the chosen organ of plutocratic orthodoxy—rebuking an English statesman for planning the economic destruction of Germany!

The Times quotes Walter Runciman, President of the British Board of Trade, as saying that Englishmen must see to it, when peace is made, that the economic strength of Germany be brought low and that “she does not raise her head” again.

Upon this saying the Times remarks:

“This is bad economics, bad morals and bad politics. It is emotional and tends to validate the argument of those who say that what the Allies are bent upon is the utter destruction of Germany—for selfish reasons.”

### BLACKGUARDISM.

Mr. Roosevelt's swaggering questionnaire addressed to the President on the Mexican question is a perfect specimen of political blackguardism.

It is written to recommend and defend the point of view of the rather sordid and selfish crew of American-Diaz concessionaires. Its publication serves to punctuate the fact that Mr. Roosevelt has set out to be Wall Street's spokesman and general agent in this Mexican matter, as in all other matters that are now in political issue.

The form of the statement is a refrain or sing-song constructed on the model of the famous forensic skit: “Answer me, yes or no; have you left off beating your wife?”

It treats a great human problem with a shallowness and flippancy that borders on Billingsgate. Whatever may be said or thought of Mr. Wilson's attitude toward Mexico, it has at least had moral dignity and has evinced a perception of the fact that the Mexican problem involves elements that are novel in human his-

tory and that deserve to be treated with political seriousness.

On the other hand Mr. Roosevelt's attitude is that which might be expected of a lower Second Avenue gun-man.

### LESSONS OF VERDUN.

By Prof. JOHN E. RUSSELL of Williams College.

The movement of the German Army against Verdun, in my opinion, has demonstrated certain facts which do not indicate a near-at-hand ending of this war, if that is to be effected by armies in the field. The first of these facts is that this movement is anything but a last desperate and blind attempt to strike the Allies a costly blow before giving up the fight. There is nothing in the operation of the German Army which indicates such a state of mind; on the contrary, this last drive bears all the marks of being most deliberately, most carefully, and most intelligently planned; and it is being made with consummate military skill and strategy, and shows that the Germans are masters in military science.

The second fact this movement has demonstrated is that superiority in artillery is clearly on the side of the Germans, both in numbers of guns, in range, and in destructiveness of fire. If the French have guns of equal efficiency they are not yet in evidence.

A third fact is that the Germans cannot have lost anything like the number of soldiers the French reports represent, nor is there any evidence that the German soldiers have lost vigor, courage, or any fighting qualities which they have shown earlier in the war. They are able to take by storm strong positions, and with unimportant exceptions they have been able to hold whatever positions they have once taken.

It seems to me the indication of these facts is the following: It is not likely that the Allies will attempt a great drive, at least for many weeks. The French will not be likely to do this, for superior artillery of the Germans will make their defense invulnerable. A successful drive is not to be looked for from the British. Did the success of such an undertaking depend upon the fighting qualities of the soldiers alone the British might be expected to make such a move, but intelligent direction of these soldiers is unfortunately the sine qua non of success in war, and it may be fairly doubted if the British Army can supply that requisite. In years competent leadership might enable the British to meet the Germans on fairly equal terms, but at present the disparity in generalship is enormous.

If any decisive action in the field is to be looked for it must occur either on the eastern front or in the Balkans. I must confess the prospect of anything of any decisive or even important moment in favor of the Allies in either of those regions is very dim. The war seems likely to end for one or more of the following reasons:

1. Exhaustion of the sinews of war.
2. Popular uprising demanding a cessation of the intolerable suffering and cost of the indecisive struggle.
3. Strong influence of the neutral nations, persuading the fighting nations to make peace.

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(Signed) FRANCIS J. L. DORI.  
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1916.  
(Signed) ALEX GILCHRIST, JR.  
My commission expires March 30, 1918.  
Notary Public, Rockland County.

(Continued from page 51.)

record what your heart and your conscience told you was right.

Rep. MADDEN (Ill.). Mr. Speaker, I am curious to find out what has become of all those men on the Democratic side of the House who for the last three or four weeks have been talking in the cloakrooms about the international situation. (Laughter.) The vote here to-day has not disclosed any of them. They have all faded away.

What is the question before us when it is stripped of the fog? The question is, Shall we speak for the American people? I consider this a domestic question. The question of notifying American citizens not to ride on belligerent armed ships is not an international question, according to my view. We have a perfect right to so advise them; and in fact we have a right to enact a law to prevent them. Then, what is the question before us. Does the President want our advice as to what he shall do in the negotiations with the belligerent nations abroad or does he simply want us to lay this resolution on the table? Judging from the vote taken today and the attitude of the Democrats upon that question I think that they construe his meaning to be that he wants no advice. \* \* \*

### THE PRESIDENT HAS SOUGHT TO SETTLE ALL QUESTIONS.

Rep. GOODWIN (Ark.). \* \* \* It is merely, sir, a request directed to the President of the United States to warn American people not to ride upon armed merchantmen of any one of the belligerent nations. Are they not already warned? Has not Germany already made her threat? Could the President's warning be more emphatic or Germany's action any less violative of the rights of neutral or international law? Armed merchantmen are not warships but carriers of passengers and freight with guns to protect them when attacked. This has been the law of nations for centuries. \* \* \*

In common with the great majority of the people of this country I hope that no American will endanger the peace of his Republic by venturing upon an armed merchantman; but it is the unquestioned right of all the people to travel the seas in times of war as well as in times of peace. If we accede to the demands of Germany, may we not likewise be driven to accede to the demands of England and her allies? The latter have rifled our mails, have restricted our commerce, have seized millions and multiplied millions of dollars worth of the products of our fields and factories but we have not said they have a right to do these things, and these are questions yet to be settled and none of them so far have been settled. The President has sought to settle them all by diplomacy and not by the sword.

#### "Stand by the President."

Mr. COOPER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the situation of the country is grave, if we are to believe the President. The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Small) says that there is no crisis. But the President asserts that one is imminent, and, pointing to the sparks flying everywhere in Europe, declares that he can not tell when some of these may fall here and the conflagration break out in the United States. \* \* \*

We have repeatedly heard it urged here that "we must follow the President"; "we must stand by the President."

Then let us see just what is the President's attitude. Let us have an exact understanding of the facts about it. There have been charges and denials as to his position, but we can get the President's attitude in mind very clearly by examining the letter of Chairman Stone, Senator from Missouri, to the President. \* \* \*

In January we see that the President was seriously considering instructing our officials to hold armed belligerent merchantmen to be auxiliary cruisers, because he said it would be only just and reasonable so to consider them.

My Democratic friends, do you pretend to believe that when the President, through Secretary Lansing, informed those foreign Governments that he, as the President, was seriously thinking of notifying our officials that under the changed conditions merchant ships ought not to be armed that he was trying to change the rules wrongfully? No; for he said that it would be right under the circumstances to require that no merchantman go armed.

Let me recapitulate the argument. The ordinary warship, other than the submarine, has greater offensive and defensive strength than has the armed merchantman. Therefore such merchantman when hailed by such a warship must submit to visit and search or to be captured or sunk.

On the other hand, the submarine is a warship which is weaker in offensive and defensive strength than is the armed merchantman. Therefore the President and Secretary said on January 18 that an armed merchantman ought to be considered as an auxiliary cruiser and be so treated by neutral

and by belligerent Governments. Now, if such merchantman ought to be considered as an auxiliary cruiser—a ship of war—then American citizens ought to be warned that if they travel on such auxiliary cruisers into the zone of war they do so at their own risk.

\* \* \* Stand by the President? It is said that some of the ignorant of the Cossacks shout, "Stand by the Czar no matter what he may do." Stand by the President! I have great respect for the office of the Presidency and for the present incumbent of that exalted place, but in order for me to stand by a man it is first necessary that the man shall stand still (laughter) or, at least, be reasonably stationary. Are you going to stand by him as he stood on the 18th of January, when, without consulting anybody, he was seriously thinking of notifying our officials abroad of what, under the changed conditions, he considered the reason and justice of the law to be, in order to safeguard human life, or will you stand by him in April? \* \* \*

The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Chipfield) and the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. Reavis) have this afternoon eloquently depicted war's awful meaning to the soldiers who go to the front to suffer and die and to those they leave to suffer at home—the helpless women and children. War is not all pomp and pageantry. It is well that we be reminded of these things to-day, for the question now before us may at last prove to be one of peace or war. I never think of war but there comes back to me a scene that strongly impressed my youthful imagination.

A company of volunteers was drawn up in line at a village railroad station. Surrounded by a large crowd of relatives, friends, and neighbors, they awaited the arrival of the soon-expected train. There were handshakings, cheering words of encouragement and hope, and weeping good-bys. Amid all this my attention was called to one in the ranks of soldierly bearing and with a face expressive of great resolution, who shook the many outstretched hands and returned the good-bys with a pleasant smile and a cheery voice till the whistle of the train was heard, when a woman, leading a little child by the hand, made her way through the throng and reached out her hand to him. She was trying to look brave, but as he drew her to him and her lips met his farewell kiss, the gushing tears that told her heart's sorrow would not be restrained. But though the smile left his face and his eyes had a strange, faraway look, they were dimmed by no tears until she lifted up the little boy, saying, amid choking sobs, "Kiss Johnny." Then, as he clasped the little fellow in his arms and pressed his lips to the tender cheek, I saw the strong breast heave, the firm lips tremble, and the tear drops roll down the bronzed cheek and over the rugged beard till they rested like glistening pearls on the fair face of the child. My own eyes refused to see more, and I turned away; but I had seen the last kiss that father's lips ever pressed to the cheek of little Johnny.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not vote to bring again those scenes in the land I love so well because some person insists on traveling on an armed belligerent merchantman into the zone of war. There are other ships on which he can go—American ships under the American flag. He is not obliged to travel on an armed belligerent vessel, nor should the Government be obliged to defend one who deliberately endangers the welfare of his fellow citizens and the peace of the Republic of the United States of America by recklessly insisting upon the exercise of a "doubtful legal right." (Loud applause.)

Rep. CANNON (Ill.). Mr. Speaker, two minutes is rather a short time in which to discuss a question of this importance. I think we all understand what this resolution provides. On this side we did not bring it in, and now that it is brought in on that side you propose to kill it. Much has been said along these lines upon each side. So far as I am concerned, I voted against the previous question on the rule and against the rule. This matter is of that importance, and if it be of that importance that Members claim, with gentlemen differing on both sides, it seems to me that further time might be taken for discussion.

Can we further discuss it if it is not laid upon the table? Yes. Are we confined to the amendment to be offered, as notice was given, by the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. Campbell)? No. If we refuse to kill it by laying it on the table, it is open to the widest amendment or amendments that are germane; and so, under all the conditions and all the circumstances, the President not having appeared and addressed Congress, nor given us full information, nor sent a message to Congress—everything considered—I have made up my mind to register my vote against laying this resolution on the table; not that I am for it without amendment, but the House might well take one day, two days, three days, with freedom of amendment that is germane, to further consider this question. (Applause.)

**AMERICA FIRST**

Rep. HAMILL. Mr. Speaker, I deeply deplore the necessity which compels me to differ with the President and to vote against the motion to table the McLemore resolution, but I will not become a partner in any proceeding to plunge this country of 100,000,000 of human beings into the European inferno of slaughter and then seek to justify my treachery to America upon the flimsy pretext of party loyalty. (Applause.)

**MOTION TO TABLE THE RESOLUTION.  
THE VOTE.**

Rep. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I move that House Resolution 147 be laid on the table.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Virginia moves to lay House resolution No. 147 on the table.

Rep. COOPER (Wis.) Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 276, nays 142, answered "present" 1, not voting 15, as follows:

**Roll No. 28.**

Yeas—276.—Abercrombie, Adamson, Aiken, Alexander, Allen, Almon, Ashbrook, Aswell, Ayres, Barkley, Barnhart, Beakes, Beales, Bell, Blackmon, Booher, Borland, Britt, Browning, Brumbaugh, Burnett, Byrnes, S. C., Byrnes, Tenn., Caldwell, Candler, Miss., Cantrill, Caraway, Carew, Carlin, Carter, Mass., Carter, Okla., Casey, Cline, Coady, Collier, Connelly, Conry, Cooper, Ohio, Cooper, W. V., Cox, Crago, Crisp, Crosser, Curry, Dale, Vt., Dalling, Danforth, Darrow, Davenport, Dempsey, Dent, Dewalt, Dickinson, Dill, Dixon, Doolittle, Doremus, Doughton, Dunn, Dupre, Eagan, Edmonds, Edwards, Emerson, Estopinal, Evans, Fairchild, Farley, Farr, Ferris, Fess, Fields, Finley, Flood, Fordney, Foss, Freeman, Gallagher, Gallivan, Gandy, Gard, Gardner, Garner, Garrett, Gillett, Glass, Glynn, Godwin, N. C., Goodwin, Ark., Gordon, Gould, Graham, Gray, Ala., Gray, Ind., Gray, N. J., Greene, Mass., Greene, Vt., Griest, Griffin, Guernsey, Hadley, Hamilton, N. Y., Hamlin, Hardy, Harrison, Hart, Haskell, Hastings, Hay, Hayden, Heflin, Helm, Helvering, Hicks, Hinds, Holland, Hood, Houston, Howard, Howell, Huddleston, Hughes, Hulbert, Hull, Tenn., Humphrey, Wash., Humphreys, Miss., Husted, Jacoway, James, Johnson, Ky., Johnson, Wash., Jones, Keister, Kelley, Kennedy, R. I., Kettner, Key, Ohio, Kiess, Pa., Kincheloe, Kitchin, Kreider, Lafean, Lazaro, Lee, Lehlbach, Lesh, Lever, Lewis, Lieb, Liebel, Linthicum, Littlepage, Lloyd, Loud, McAdams, McArthur, McClintic, McCracken, McFadden, McGillicuddy, McKellar, McLaughlin, Magee, Maher, Mapes, Martin, Mays, Miller, Pa., Montague, Moon, Moores, Ind., Morgan, La., Morin, Morrison, Moss, Ind., Mott, Murray, Neely, Nicholls, S. C., Nichols, Mich.,

North, Oakey, Oglesby, Oldfield, Oliver, Olney, O'Shaunessy, Overmyer, Padgett, Page, N. C., Paige, Mass., Park, Parker, N. J., Parker, N. Y., Patten, Peters, Phelan, Platt, Porter, Pou, Pratt, Price, Quinn, Ragsdale, Rainey, Raker, Randall, Rauch, Rayburn, Riordan, Rogers, Rouse, Rowe, Rubey, Rucker, Russell, Mo., Sabath, Sanford, Saunders, Scott, Mich., Scott, Pa., Scully, Sears, Sells, Shackelford, Sherley, Sherwood, Sims, Sinnott, Small, Smith, Idaho, Smith, Mich., Smith, Tex., Snell, Snyder, Sparkman, Steagall, Stedman, Steele, Pa., Stephens, Miss., Stiness, Stone, Stout, Sumners, Swift, Taggart, Tague, Talbott, Taylor, Ark., Temple, Thomas, Thompson, Tillman, Tilson, Tinkham, Treadway, Tribble, Vare, Venable, Vinson, Walker, Walsh, Ward, Wason, Watkins, Watson, Va., Webb, Whaley, Williams, W. E., Williams, Ohio, Wilson, Fla., Wilson, La., Wingo, Winslow, Wise, Young, Tex.

NAYS—142.—Anderson, Anthony, Austin, Bucharach, Bailey, Barchfeld, Bennet, Black, Britten, Browne, Wis., Bruckner, Buchanan, Ill., Buchanan, Tex., Burgess, Burke, Butler, Callaway, Campbell, Cannon, Capstick, Cary, Chandler, N. Y., Charles, Church, Coleman, Cooper, Wis., Copley, Costello, Cramton, Dale, N. Y., Davis, Minn., Davis, Tex., Decker, Denison, Dillon, Dowell, Drukker, Dyer, Eagle, Ellsworth, Elston, Esch, Fitzgerald, Flynn, Focht, Foster, Frear, Fuller, Garland, Good, Green, Iowa, Hamil, Haugen, Hawley, Hayes, Heaton, Helgesen, Hensley, Hernandez, Hill, Hollingsworth, Hopwood, Hull, Iowa, Hutchinson, Igoe, Johnson, S. Dak., Kahn, Kearns, Keating, Kennedy, Iowa, Kent, King, Kinkaid, Konop, La Follette, Langley, Lenroot, Lindbergh, Lobeck, London, Longworth, McCulloch, McKenzie, McKinley, McLemore, Madden, Mann, Matthews, Meeker, Miller, Del., Miller, Minn., Mondell, Mooney, Moore, Pa., Morgan, Okla., Moss, W. Va., Mudd, Nelson, Nolan, Norton, Powers, Ramseyer, Reavis, Reilly, Ricketts, Roberts, Mass., Roberts, Nev., Rodenberg, Rowland, Russell, Ohio, Schall, Schallenberger, Shouse, Siegel, Sisson, Slayden, Slemp, Sloan, Smith, Minn., Smith, N. Y., Stafford, Steele, Iowa, Steenerson, Stephens, Cal., Stephens, Nebr., Sterling, Sulloway, Sutherland, Sweet, Switzer, Tavenner, Timberlake, Towner, Van Dyke, Volstead, Watson, Pa., Wheeler, Williams, T. E., Wilson, Ill., Wood, Ind., Woods, Iowa, Young, N. Dak.

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1.—Taylor, Colo.

NOT VOTING—15.—Adair, Brown, W. Va., Chipfield, Clark, Fla., Cullop, Dies, Dooling, Driscoll, Gregg, Hamilton, Mich., Henry, Hilliard, Loft, McDermitt, Stephens, Texas.

So the motion was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following additional pairs:

On the vote:

Mr. Brown of West Virginia with Mr. Hamilton of Michigan.

Mr. Clark of Florida (for) with Mr. Chipfield (against).

Mr. Taylor of Colorado (for) with Mr. Hilliard (against).

**Rep. McLemore's Speech**

MARCH 8, 1916.

**PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INTERESTS.**

Rep. McLEMORE (Tex.). Mr. Speaker, the resolution under consideration is an American measure, intended to protect American interests and no other interests on earth. \* \* \*

It has been contended by some very distinguished gentlemen that the Government should take and declare a positive stand in opposition to the German and Austro-Hungarian intention to sink armed ships on sight. They have told us how long ago the practice of arming merchantmen originated and have cited statutes and enactments of the reigns of Charles I. and other English monarchs to prove the justice of that practice.

I am unwilling to follow these distinguished gentlemen and their school of thought so far back, or indeed, to the other side of the ocean at all; but I invite them and those who think as they do to follow me not backward but forward, not across the ocean to the atmosphere of either British or German interests, but to the realm of pure American interests.

I would remind those who favor upholding the English contention in this crisis that England once enunciated the

doctrine of the closed sea, which meant that wherever armed English ships chose to flaunt the English flag and claim dominion over the waters, those waters were English as much as any stone of the British Isles themselves, and no ship dared sail those waters without English permission.

**NO REAL AMERICAN INTEREST THREATENED BY AMERICA.**

And to make that doctrine a fixed part of international law King Charles I. caused the learned Selden to write a book called "Marie Clausum"—the "Closed Sea."

Does anyone wish to uphold that British contention at this time? And yet all that ever invalidated that law was the change of conditions. \* \* \*

Mr. Speaker, it is a most remarkable fact that there is not a single American right or a single real American interest threatened by the intended German-Austrian submarine campaign against armed ships. Armed ships! Why, Mr. Speaker, there are no American ships except our warships. There are no American "armed merchant vessels." There are no American merchant ships sporting "defensive guns," I reiterate, I emphasize, I invite the most earnest

attention of this House and of every American to that remarkable fact, that not a single American ship is affected or threatened by the action which Germany and Austria-Hungary propose.

Why, then, is this Republic diverted from the normal course of its peaceful progress to gravely debate a possible war with Germany and Austria-Hungary? With not a single American ship involved, in heaven's name what are we called upon to protect against Germany, against Austria? Why, sir, we are called upon to protect English ships, Italian ships, perhaps French ships, if France is induced by her predominant ally to abandon the hitherto unbroken French policy, which, mark you, is that a merchant ship has no right to bear arms. Yes, that is the only meaning of it—we are called on to protect the ships of one faction in the present war against the ships of the other. We are called on to take sides in this war; we are called on to take part in this war. \* \* \* We are told that we should break with that nation which first recognized the weak Republic—weak then, but glorious in principle—which the fathers of 1776 brought forth on this continent. We are told that we should break with the people who have contributed the second largest element of our own Nation. And what is our only excuse? That we demand that heedless and adventurous American citizens who, regardless of their Nation's peace, insist on traveling on armed ships of a power at war. Was there ever a more uncalled-for proposition? To protect them in their foolish conduct we are to sacrifice the ancient tradition of the Nation, the more than century-old friendship of Germany.

Mr. Speaker, if anyone seeks evidences of denial of American rights at sea, let him examine why cotton is contraband; why milk for starving babies and rubber gloves can not go to Germany; why not a pound of American produce can move from any Atlantic or Gulf port to any neutral port in the world without the permission of an English consular spy; why hundreds of cargoes have been taken into English ports, confiscated or ruined; why not a single piece of mail can leave America for Europe with the assurance that it will reach its destination; why the American ships, Hocking and Genesee and Kankakee, are today impressed into English service, though they had not even attempted to cross the ocean, but only to sail along the coast of America. Let us learn why a distinguished American woman was stripped of every piece of her clothing by men in the presence of men—English "gentlemen," doubtless—because she talked to a German on a Dutch ship! Let us look upon these matters and we shall find plenty of stern business to do in the line of protecting the freedom of the seas! \* \* \*

### AMERICAN RIGHTS IN MEXICO.

In my resolution warning American citizens against traveling on the armed vessels of the belligerent nations, it was not even so much as intimated that Americans do not have the right to travel on such vessels, for most undoubtedly they have; but what I contend for, Mr. Speaker, is that they have no right to plunge this country into a war whose consequence no one can foretell, simply because a few American citizens may commit an act of folly and indiscretion.

Much is now being said by the war-seeking press of this country about upholding the honor of our country. Mr. Speaker, "he jests at scars, who never felt a wound," and many of those who prate loudest of honor at this threatening hour measure honor by the almighty dollar and would force us into war that they might reap financial gain. I do not believe there is a Member of this House or Senate who has not the honor of his country at heart. \* \* \*

I find it difficult to suppress my resentment when I recall how American citizens have been insulted and derided in Mexico the past three or four years, while we have pursued a "watchful waiting" policy that we might not be plunged into war. With these things in mind, it is hard for me to imagine how our country's honor can not be sullied if we warn American citizens against traveling on the armed vessels of the belligerent European nations that are now engaged in a death struggle.

Only a few days ago, Mr. Speaker, the President, in a letter to Senator Stone, denied the right of Congress, according to my interpretation of his letter, to make of him even a simple request regarding American citizens who wish to travel on the armed boats of the belligerent nations.

Now, Mr. Speaker, he comes to us and asks us if we are of the opinion that he should warn American citizens against traveling on such armed vessels. Mr. Speaker, the wind has changed so often in the past few weeks that I must admit my inability to exactly determine just where I am. It is a case of "you'll be damned if you do and you'll be damned if you don't."

When I was notified that the President regarded my resolution as an attempt to interfere with his application of the Administration's foreign policy, I was willing, as far as I was individually concerned, to let the resolution rest peacefully, for a while at least, with the committee to which it had been

referred. Now, he asks that the resolution, or a similar one, be put to a vote of the House and determine whether or not we shall warn American citizens against traveling on the armed boats of the belligerent nations.

### HUMAN DESTINY HANGS IN BALANCE.

Rep. FESS (O.). Mr. Speaker, there are moments in the life of a nation when human destiny seems to hang in the balance. With most of the world in a death struggle and our peace threatened upon every hand, our Nation has reached such a moment. \* \* \*

Whether Americans should go upon such vessels there is no doubt in my mind. Whether this country should withdraw protection from him if he does go on is another question. Whether the Congress should forbid him going on is still a graver question.

The first raises the question whether any citizen has the moral right to do what might involve the Nation in war. It would be difficult to justify anyone in such conduct. The second raises the question whether any nation can maintain its honor and dignity by abandoning its citizens because it fears the consequences of the proffered protection. That would be a virtual surrender of national honor. Waiving both of these questions, the warning is most serious. If the warning is issued, it will be placed upon the grounds of our note of January 18, made public the 12th of last month. In that note we declared that a small-calibre gun can be used effectively against a submarine. We also declared that "any armament on a merchant vessel would seem to have the character of an offensive armament." We also declared that "merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever" in order that submarines might respect the laws of search and seizure. We also declared it reasonable to consider a merchant vessel carrying any armament whatever as an auxiliary vessel.

Mr. Speaker, in the light of this note there can be no doubt in my mind what a warning resolution would mean to all the world. It would be a reaffirmation that any vessel carrying any gun is an auxiliary naval vessel. Germany so regarded it or she would not have at once announced her renewal of submarine warfare against armed merchant vessels without warning.

If we pass the McLemore resolution, we by that act declare these vessels "war vessels." Germany will so regard them and will demand that we so treat them. If we do not do so, we have given the central powers new grounds of complaint, viz., we declare them auxiliary as to our citizens but merchantmen as to commerce. \* \* \*

### INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL RIGHTS.

Rep. BAILEY (Pa.). Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for me to bring myself to accept the view of those who hold that to warn American citizens against taking passage on armed belligerent merchantmen is in some way to compromise the dignity of the Nation and to degrade this Government in the estimation of the chancelleries of the world.

My rights as an individual are limited by the equal rights of my neighbor. I think I have a right to travel the high seas, but not if in so doing I endanger the rights of the American people, as would be the case were I to take passage in an armed belligerent merchantman sailing into the zone of danger and falling a victim to an enemy submarine. My act would endanger the safety of the Nation; it would tend to draw the United States into the maelstrom of war; it would invite complications the outcome of which might be almost too serious for thought; and surely there should be no encouragement for me in this Congress or in any other quarter if my mind were set upon so foolhardy, so thoughtless, or so mercenary a course. \* \* \*

My intuition is against lending encouragement even by indirection to thoughtless, foolhardy, or corrupt Americans who may be disposed to risk the dangers of travel in armed merchant vessels sailing under belligerent flags. \* \* \*

### NOT AN INTERNATIONAL BUT A NATIONAL QUESTION.

Rep. KONOP (Wis.). Mr. Speaker, owing to the short time allowed for a debate on the McLemore resolution yesterday, it was impossible for me to get time to discuss this question. I am therefore grateful for the privilege of being able to state my views on the proposition to-day under leave to extend remarks.

\* \* \* Mr. Speaker, the question of whether or not we should or should not warn our own citizens to keep off armed belligerent merchantmen is not an international question at all. That is a national question. That is an American question. That is a question which concerns the safety and welfare of American citizens. That is the question which was submitted to us for action.

Why should we not warn our citizens of dangers not only to themselves but to their country? The warning of our own citizens to keep out of danger is our business. It in-

volves no questions of international law. It concerns no nation abroad nor any of its citizens, nor does it involve any relations of our citizens to foreign countries.

I for one, Mr. Speaker, am willing to warn American citizens to keep off armed belligerent ships. In doing that, I am asking American citizens to surrender no right. I am simply warning them of danger to themselves and to their country. I am simply appealing to their patriotism as American citizens and asking them not to jeopardize the peace of our beloved country and its peaceful people in this great crisis. In doing that, Mr. Speaker, I am not dishonoring my country. There is nothing dishonorable nor unpatriotic about this. I believe the men who favored the McLemore resolution are just as patriotic as those who voted to table it. The men who are in favor of keeping Americans off armed belligerent ships whose destruction is liable to bring us into international difficulties and war are as loyal to their country as those who would plunge us into war over some useless, resurrected, old international code, permitting the arming of merchantmen.

Mr. Speaker, we have warned American citizens to desert their property and their homes and get out of Mexico. I believe that we have even appropriated money and provided ships to get them out of that country. We did it for the simple reason that we did not want to be involved in a war with Mexico. If it was not dishonorable to warn the American citizens to desert their property and homes in Mexico, it is not dishonorable now to ask American citizens to keep off armed belligerent ships. \* \* \*

But what is the question now? What are the allies doing now, and what are they doing it for? They have armed and are arming their merchantmen with guns big enough to have sunk any and all warships used during the Civil War. They are arming them with 6-inch guns to do what? To sink submarines of the enemy. Just because some law of by-gone pirate and barbaric days permitted merchantmen to arm for defensive purposes only, the allies are arming merchantmen to sink submarines. \* \* \* Will any man claim that it is dishonorable to warn American citizens to keep off these armed ships while these questions are being settled? Shall reckless and indifferent men who take passage on armed belligerent ships "just for the thrill of it" plunge this country into war? No! Mr. Speaker, it is the exercise of the highest patriotism for our countrymen to forego and postpone the exercise of a "doubtful legal right" and for us, their Representatives, to warn them of the danger to our country.

Rep. DECKER (Mo.). Mr. Speaker, England, speaking for herself and her allies, contends that she has a right to arm her merchant ships for defensive purposes, and that these merchant ships so armed shall be treated in all respects the same as unarmed merchant ships.

England contends that while a merchant ship armed for defensive purposes has no right to go out of its ordinary course in search of submarines, yet it is not required to wait to be attacked before offering resistance, but has a right to attack the submarine before the submarine has made a hostile move. In other words, England claims the right of an armed merchant ship to "attack in self defense." A recent issue of the London Times recites several instances where armed merchant ships have attacked and destroyed German submarines. \* \* \*

Germany, speaking for herself and her allies, contends that armed merchant ships should be treated the same as warships, and that no practical distinction can be made between a ship armed for defensive and a ship armed for offensive purposes. Germany contends that the law giving merchant ships a right to arm came into existence for the purpose of allowing them to defend themselves against pirates and privateers and not for the purpose of allowing them to defend themselves against warships.

She contends that since pirates have long since been driven from the sea and privateering was abolished by the Declaration of Paris in 1856 therefore no reason now exists why merchant ships, armed to resist and destroy battleships, should not be treated the same as battleships. She invokes the principle of law that "when the reason for a law fails, the law itself falls." \* \* \*

The question which America must settle is: Is it for her welfare and consistent with her honor to prevent Americans from using these armed merchant ships?

The situation as it now stands is this: England and her allies have placed guns and trained gunners on her merchant ships for defensive purposes and have instructed them not to wait to be attacked, but to "attack in self-defense" any submarine that may come in sight. Germany and her allies have given notice that their submarines will sink without warning any merchant ships so armed. The President insists upon the right under international law of Americans to travel on merchant ships thus armed, and insists that if Germany sinks a merchant ship thus armed without warning and lives of American passengers are lost, Germany will be held to strict account. To put this plainly and bluntly, I believe, as the situation now stands, if American lives are

lost as the result of the sinking of any merchant ship by a German submarine without warning, it means war. Therefore I believe steps should be taken to prevent Americans from riding upon armed merchant ships before they are sunk and thus prevent war.

I admit that there are some things worse than war. I admit that war, dreadful as it is, is sometimes justifiable, but I do not believe that it is justifiable to wage war for a right that is in any respect doubtful or for a right that is not vital to our welfare. I do not believe that the right of Americans to travel upon armed merchant ships under present conditions is sufficiently clear and free from doubt as to justify war. I do not believe that the right of Americans to travel on armed merchant ships, even if it was clear and free from doubt, is of sufficient importance to our country to justify war. There are few places in the world that men cannot travel to-day on neutral ships. These neutral ships are not so comfortable, so luxurious, so swift, as the belligerent ships, but from the standpoint of importance is it not better that a few who must travel should sacrifice their ease than that hundreds of thousands should sacrifice their lives?

\* \* \* We have a right to prevent the carrying of dynamite on passenger trains. We have a right to prevent passengers from riding on dynamite trains. We have a right to prevent citizens from riding on ships carrying munitions of war. We have a right to prevent citizens from riding on armed merchant ships of a belligerent nation.

\* \* \* American citizens had legal rights in Mexico that were valuable, definite, and certain, based on treaty obligations. In that anarchy-ridden country there was no government to call to account for the violation of these rights, but nevertheless we could have sent our Army to maintain those rights. We did not send our Army to maintain those rights; but for the sake of the lives and welfare of the great mass of American citizens we warned the few American citizens in Mexico to come home. An American citizen has the legal right to receive a passport to travel in a belligerent country for business, pleasure, or any honorable purpose; yet the State Department has rightly refused to issue passports to persons who wish to travel in belligerent countries for pleasure or sightseeing. If it is wise for the State Department to use its discretion and restrict American rights, who will say that it is humiliating or unwise for the lawmaking body of this Government to use its discretion and restrict the American's rights to travel on armed ships of a belligerent nation for the purpose of saving this country from war?

### WE WANT TO KEEP OUT OF WAR.

Rep. BARNHART (Ind.) Mr. Speaker, the intense agitation in Congress comes, as I understand it, from the belief of our national leaders that we, for safety sake, should get off the lid that holds the McLemore and similar resolutions out of consideration on this floor and bring them out and lay them on the table out of consideration. \* \* \*

This question of warning foolhardy and dare-devil citizens of the United States to keep off of armed ships of the belligerents, and, by their acquiescent action, assist in keeping us out of war, is not only serious but it is complex. \* \* \*

It would not be candid for me to say that I believe it impossible to in some way warn our people to keep off of armed belligerent ships and at the same time preserve all our rights under international law. Instead, I believe it could be done and that it ought to be done by influential authority, and that such action would solidify our people more completely behind our President than to ask them by implication at least, to jeopardize our lives, our property, and our well-being by permitting, without protest, that the daring or the designing may invite trouble for us by unnecessarily risking their lives and our national safety by taking passage on armed ships which they know are liable to be blown up. It is a clear case of the safety of 100,000,000 people on one side against the probably reckless and unnecessary risk of a very few on the other.

Rep. BEAKES (Mich.). Mr. Speaker, on this momentous day, when we as Representatives of the American people are called upon to take a stand in reference to a question which requires delicate diplomatic handling, I wish to raise my voice as an American, and to raise it for peace. \* \* \*

I do not regard the American who would, out of a spirit of bravado or needlessly, expose his country to the danger of war by traveling on merchant ships of the warring nations as an American patriot. But certainly if threats of a torpedo would not deter him a warning by this body would have no effect. If he is unpatriotic enough to risk the welfare of his country he would care little for the mere warning of an American Congress. And certainly the State Department, without issuing any statement that it is not prepared to defend American rights, is doing more than a mere warning can to keep American citizens out of danger by making it extremely difficult to secure the passport necessary to



board the ships unless clear proof of the necessity of travel is shown. But what can be thought of any representative of the American people who would vote for a resolution that would say to any nation on earth that they could with impunity take the life of an American citizen traveling in a manner hitherto recognized in international law as lawful?

### LET THE STATE DEPARTMENT CONTINUE ITS PRESENT PRACTICE TO RESTRICT RIGHTS.

Rep. THOMPSON (Okla.). Mr. Speaker, this is a time for honest thinking and plain speaking. All admit that our country stands quivering on the perilous edge of the caldron of war. \* \* \*

I am willing to accept the views of our Secretary of State on this subject. On January 18 of this year he addressed a note to the belligerents, as follows: \* \* \*

I should say that my Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Note carefully the last paragraph of that note to the powers. The Secretary of State says, "My Government." Of course that phrase can have but one meaning, namely, that the administration is seriously considering treating all merchantmen, whether armed for defensive of offensive purposes, as auxiliary cruisers. Of course if they be treated as auxiliary cruisers, either belligerent would have the right to sink them without warning, even though they might carry neutral passengers. But, Mr. Speaker, conceding that American citizens under international law have the right to take passage on armed merchantmen, by no means argues that they should do so. The administration of President Taft warned American citizens to stay out of Mexico.

President Wilson's administration has done the same many times, and it has gone further and warned those who were there to abandon their property and leave the country. Sweden has warned its citizens to refrain from traveling on armed merchantmen of the belligerents within the past month. Our Department of State has refused passports to our citizens who contemplated visiting belligerent countries merely for "pleasure," "recreation," "touring," "sight-seeing," etc. The notice issued by the Secretary of State is as follows:

"All American citizens who go abroad should carry American passports and should inquire of diplomatic or consular officers of the countries which they expect to visit concerning the necessity of having the passports viséed therefor.

American citizens are advised to avoid visiting unnecessarily countries which are at war, and particularly to avoid if possible passing through or from a belligerent country to a country which is at war therewith.

It is especially important that naturalized American citizens refrain from visiting their countries of origin and countries at war therewith.

It is believed that governments of countries which are in a state of war do not welcome allies who are traveling merely for curiosity or pleasure. Under the passport regulations prescribed by the President, January 12, 1915, passports issued by the Government contain statements of the names of countries which the holders expect to visit and the objects of their visits thereto. The department does not deem it appropriate or advisable to issue passports to persons who contemplate visiting belligerent countries merely for "pleasure," "recreation," "touring," "sight-seeing," etc.

As belligerent countries are accustomed, for self-protection, to scrutinize carefully aliens who enter their territories, American citizens who find it necessary to visit such countries should, as a matter of precaution and in order to avoid detention, provide themselves with letters or other documents, in addition to their passports, showing definitely the objects of their visits. In particular it is advisable for persons who go to belligerent countries as representatives of commercial concerns to carry letters of identification or introduction from such concerns.

Naturalized American citizens who receive American passports are advised to carry their certificates of naturalization with them as well as their passports.

American citizens sojourning in countries which are at war are warned to refrain from any conduct or utterances which might be considered offensive or contrary to the principles of strict neutrality.

ROBERT LANSING.

Department of State.

Washington, October 4, 1915.

Note.—An application for a passport must be accompanied by duplicate unmounted photographs of the applicant not larger than 3 by 3 inches in size, one affixed to the back of the application by the clerk of the court before whom it is

executed, with an impression of the seal of the court; the other to be affixed to the passport by the department."

I am sure no Member of this House would permit a member of his family to take passage on an armed merchantman without a word of warning. If such a word would be proper to members of our families, why would it not be the right thing to do when the destiny of 100,000,000 people is involved? If it be proper to warn our citizens against going into Mexico; to warn those already there to flee; to refuse passports to travelers in belligerent countries, why is it not proper to request American citizens to refrain from traveling on armed ships on the high seas, and who, by their foolhardiness, may at any moment engulf us in an awful sea of blood and carnage?

Requesting our citizens to refrain from taking passage on armed merchantmen of belligerent nations by the Congress would be the exercise of an undisputed right. It is also in consonance with sound public policy. There is on the statute books of the United States at this time a law prohibiting the carrying of passengers on trains which convey explosives. If this is a wise provision of the law, why is it not also a good statute when applied to the sea? \* \* \*

The spirit of recklessness and utter abandon; the contempt felt by some people who claim to be American citizens for the lives and happiness of their fellow citizens is illustrated by the remarks of Charles Bellows, of Brooklyn, N. Y., who sailed on the 3d of this month on the White Star liner "Canopic." The news item carried in the papers on the morning of March 4 read:

Capt. James said that in the event of his encountering an enemy submarine he would make every effort to elude it. The use of the guns would depend on circumstances.

### FRIVOLITY IS NOT PATRIOTISM.

Two of the Americans were Mr. and Mrs. Charles Bellows, of 30 Pierrepont street, Brooklyn. Mr. Bellows is an importer, and with his wife has made the trip through the danger zone three times. When asked if he did not fear to sail in view of the captain's announcement, he said:

"By no means. I have run blockades before this, and so has my wife, and I really enjoy the thrills that come with it."

Mr. Speaker, I think a man who is capable of treating so serious a matter, fraught with such grave consequences to the peace, the happiness, and the welfare of 100,000,000 people, should be restrained the same as we would restrain an escaped madman. \* \* \* I can not consent for our citizens to walk into the blazing furnace with uncovered vessels of kerosene on their shoulders, knowing as we all know that if it should be ignited an explosion would result that will plunge us into the charnel house of bloody war. I do not believe we ought to permit our country to be placed in a position where it would be possible for one of its citizens, so thoughtless of its peace, its welfare, its happiness, its prosperity, by gallivanting over the high seas on armed merchantmen for the measly purpose of enjoying a "thrill," to levy so great a sacrifice on the mothers of this Republic. It were well to remember that if war should come these travelers will have already enjoyed all the "thrills that come with it" they desire, and countless thousands of the young men of our land—the very flower of its manhood—will march away never to return, and those who survive will come home maimed and pitiful reminders of the folly of reckless "thrillers." \* \* \*

Rep. TRIBBLE (Ga.). Mr. Chairman, I desire to thank the gentleman from Illinois—he is uniformly kind to me—and to say, as the gentleman from Texas has so kindly yielded, I will not take much time of the House.

\* \* \* I am for peace, honorable peace, and all reasonable methods should be exhausted to the very limit before this country should have a breach with any nation.

I do not believe American citizens should travel on any kind of ships owned by belligerent nations. Furthermore, I desire to say I do not believe this country will become involved in war solely on account of the foolhardy recklessness of Americans taking passage on vessels belonging to warring nations. I have been schooled to abhor war and to spare no effort to avert its horrors. \* \* \*

### NEW CONDITIONS NECESSITATE NEW RULES.

Rep. HAMILL (N. J.). Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States has urged that Congress express to him its opinion on a subject of vital international concern. \* \* \*

I firmly and fervently believe Americans should be warned from traveling on the armed merchant vessels of belligerents. Every consideration of patriotism, reason, and prudence irresistibly demands that such warning be issued. So believing, I will vote against the motion to lay the resolution on the table. \* \* \*

The use of the submarine has created new conditions in naval warfare. Before the advent of the undersea boat it

was admitted that a merchant vessel could not be assailed and sunk by a hostile ship of war without warning. Only if it resisted capture or endeavored to escape was it lawfully subject to destruction. At the beginning of this war German submarines sunk British merchant ships without notice, and American passengers on board lost their lives. Notably was this so in the cases of the "Arabic" and "Lusitania." As a result of negotiations, the United States, in the interest of and for the protection of American travelers, reasserted this right and compelled Germany to accept and practice the doctrine that merchant vessels could not be torpedoed without warning. This applied, of course, to merchant vessels as classified by international law. But the merchant vessel as known to international law is an unarmed ship.

The very fact of its being a defenseless messenger of commerce, bent on peaceful errands, is what clothes it with immunity from unheralded attack, a privilege which is not extended to an armed ship or man-of-war. \* \* \* It is consequently with great force contended that the reason and necessity for carrying armament having thus ceased the practice of doing so should cease also.

The British Government now contends that it has the right to equip merchant ships with an armament capable not only of destroying a submarine but even of warding off successfully an unarmored enemy naval cruiser. These armaments are to be operated by gunners either detailed from the regular navy or specially trained and selected from the ship's crew.

The United States is involved in the controversy for the reason that American citizens may take passage on ships so armed whose lives may be sacrificed in the event of an attack without warning, and has favorably recommended this contention to Germany with a strong request for its acceptance. The German Government refuses to accede. \* \* \*

If belligerent nations regard armed merchantmen as ships of war amenable to destruction without notice, the wisest course for an American to pursue is to keep off such merchantmen at least until it is settled and agreed upon that such ships are entitled to warning. Any other course would be preposterous.

### THE WISE AND FOOLHARDY AMERICAN.

Why should an American in these days of peril travel the ocean on the armed ship of a belligerent? If he is a real American with a genuine affection and solicitude for the welfare of his country, he should in times like these, that call for the exercise of exalted patriotism, cross in a vessel that carries at its masthead the Stars and Stripes. If he prefers a foreign to an American ship, let him take passage on a Dutch ship or a Danish ship or a Norwegian ship, or the ship of some other neutral nation. But it is vociferously proclaimed he has the right to travel on any ship that suits him. We will not deny his right, but we ought to inform him that if he is brash enough to exercise it he must do so severely alone and at his own peril. He has also the right to enter the danger zone during the progress of a riot or to step between two men who are fighting each other with revolvers, and he has likewise the right to receive in his own body the bullet intended for some one else.

Why should we permit a few foolhardy Americans who are either reckless of their own safety or perhaps procured and paid to protect a cargo of munitions of war bring down upon America all the multiplied misery and havoc which attaches to modern warfare? \* \* \*

Sweden as a neutral nation has adopted the policy of warning her citizens to refrain from traveling on belligerent ships, and there is the soundest reason why we should follow her wise example.

The honor of the country is not involved in any manner. It is still intact and stainless. True it is that the Government strongly insists upon the right of notice to armed ships carrying American passengers; true it is that the expression of our desire for warning and the defeat of this motion may weaken or even cause the withdrawal of that contention.

### THE SO-CALLED AND THE REAL HYPHEN.

Rep. LEHLBACH (N. J.). Mr. Speaker, in considering the question underlying any resolution by Congress concerning armed belligerent merchantmen there should be borne in mind certain fixed principles of international law, and also certain undisputed facts which constitute a situation to which these principles of law are applicable. \* \* \*

A belligerent merchantman armed, coupled with the purpose of destroying submarines when occasion arises, does not, in my opinion, come within the principle of international law. \* \* \* To the submarine such a vessel stands to all intents and purposes in the position of a formidable and dangerous combative opponent, and the submarine consequently has the same rights with reference to it as it has with reference to any other armed enemy ship. Here the

acknowledged principles of law and the ascertained facts end in our present situation. \* \* \*

Any American who wants in the present situation to exercise this disputed right of sailing on an armed belligerent vessel has not in his heart, first of all, the best interests of his country. Hyphenated Americanism is not predicated upon origin, but upon state of mind. He who gives his first consideration to the welfare and prosperity and happiness of the American people, no matter on which side of the European conflict his sympathies may be, is a true American, although he may have received his naturalization papers yesterday. He who would subvert the welfare, prosperity, and happiness of the American Nation to the success of either of the belligerents is hyphenated, though his lineage dates back to the earliest settlers.

### IF THERE WERE NO OTHER SHIPS.

Rep. MILLER (Pa.). Mr. Speaker, I favor the adoption of a resolution by the House warning all citizens of the United States, except in cases of absolute necessity, to refrain from traveling on any and all ships which shall mount guns, whether such ships are part of the naval forces of a belligerent power or merchant ships and whether such gun or guns or other armament be called offensive or defensive, and in case American citizens, after warning, do travel on such armed belligerent ships that they do so at their own risk.

I do not deny the right, under international law, of any of the powers at war to arm a merchant vessel for defense. Neither do I deny the right under international law of an American citizen to take passage on a merchant ship of a belligerent power armed only for defense. But, sirs, the armament carried by these merchant ships, it is admitted, is suitable and adapted for either offensive or defense, and the passenger has no control over the armament; therefore, under existing conditions, I affirm that an American citizen should not willfully, premeditatedly, and recklessly disregard warning and take passage on armed merchant ship. \* \*

If there were no other ships except armed ones on which American citizens could travel on the high seas the question might present a different aspect. There are, however, unarmed merchant passenger vessels upon which American citizens can travel with safety. There are merchant vessels which fly the American flag upon which they can travel if they so desire. The American citizens who took passage on the *Lusitania* by waiting 48 hours could have taken passage on a ship sailing under the American flag. But it was not so fast, the furnishings were not so luxurious, the voyage would not have been so pleasant as on the *Lusitania*.

I will not, therefore, by my vote encourage any of our citizens to willfully, recklessly, and wickedly risk their lives on an armed vessel of a belligerent nation, with the possible result of embroiling our Nation in the world-wide war. For American citizens to do so would, in my opinion, quoting the language of the Senator from Missouri to the President in a recent letter, "be so monstrous as to be indefensible." \* \* \*

Go ask the plain, honest, common people if they would not advise Congress to warn American citizens to keep off an armed merchant ship, and go by the slower, but safer way under a neutral, or the American flag, that floats over an unarmed ship.

### WE HAVE TO DISCHARGE A DUTY.

Rep. COLEMAN (Pa.). Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the President should not have written his letter to Representative Pou. But that letter, having been written, presents to this House, however irregularly, a question which we should squarely meet in the discharge of our duties. Shall American citizens be warned against traveling on armed merchant vessels of belligerent powers? This is the question with which we are now confronted. \* \* \*

It is because I contend for full public discussion of this important question, with freedom of amendment, in order that the action taken shall be the true expression of the opinion of the membership in this House, that I vote against tabling the McLemore resolution.

Following the President's message of August 27, 1913, in fact on the very same day that the message was delivered, Americans were warned out of Mexico, where they had an unquestioned right to be under every principle of international law, and the President was sustained by the general public in this action, because it was taken in the interest of peace. Again, in March, 1915, just about one year ago, Americans were for the second time warned out of Mexico, and again this action was taken in the interest of peace. Of course our people had a right to be in Mexico, and, in my judgment, they have a right to be on armed merchant vessels of belligerent powers, but it does not follow that because we have the right that we ought to exercise it. Even if it be an unquestioned right, we might well forego its exercise at this critical period in the world's history, when half of civil-

ization seems to have broken down, in the interest of that peace which it is our bounden duty to preserve when so many millions are beside themselves—maddened by the hell of war. \* \* \*

Certainly it is physically possible for our citizens to refrain from travel on armed ships, and just why the President should so firmly insist on our citizens traveling on whatsoever vessels they please, in view of his warning them out of Mexico, is difficult to understand. But just why the honor of our country is so much involved in the action of this House on a warning resolution, in the judgment of the supporters of the President, is not easy to explain in view of the President's action in ordering our armed forces out of Mexico without obtaining that salute for which they were sent to that country.

### INTERNATIONAL RIGHT IGNORED BY ALL BELLIGERENTS.

Rep. BROWNE (Wis.). Mr. Speaker, Senator Stone, who is the spokesman for the President upon this subject, in his speech before the Senate, March 2, said:

The President is firmly opposed to the idea embodied in this resolution. He is opposed to any form of official warning to American citizens to keep off so-called armed merchantmen.

This being President Wilson's position, it follows that if Congress sustains the President by laying this resolution on the table and an armed merchant vessel is sunk and an American life lost, that it will be followed by a declaration of war by the United States.

Assuming that those who are opposed to the passage of this resolution are technically right in their contention, is it expedient at this time, when almost every vestige of international law has been ignored and swept aside by all the belligerent countries, when a state of anarchy is said to prevail on the high seas, for the United States to jeopardize its peace and safety by insisting on an abstract principle of international law, a right that would be of no practical benefit to anyone?

The right to travel on armed vessels, if such a right exists, is a right that is a survival of the age of piracy.

It is not a reasonable right or a right that civilized nations in an international tribunal would agree to today. The rule was promulgated under conditions now obsolete.

We can see how the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, viewed this right when he addressed his note to the powers on January 18, 1916. He does his statement with the following language:

My Government is impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying an armament of any sort, in view of the character of the submarine warfare and the defensive weakness of undersea craft, should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser, and so treated by a neutral as well as by a belligerent Government, and is seriously considering instructing its officials accordingly.

Sweden has already warned her people not to embark upon these belligerent armed ships.

**We Have Submitted to More Serious Breaches of International Law.**

We have already submitted to the gravest breaches of international law from the belligerent countries for the sake of peace.

We submitted to a breach of international law by England when she issued her paper blockade. When she mined the open North Sea in November, 1914, the Scandinavian countries protested. When England claimed the right to take our peaceful merchant vessels, flying the American flag and carrying noncontraband goods to neutral nations, and not only searched them but took them before her prize courts, holding their cargoes for months before rendering a decision and demoralizing our trade with other nations.

We submitted to a grave breach of international law when England intercepted vessels carrying United States mail and rifled our mail bags.

We submitted to these grave breaches of international law for the sake of peace.

As the President stated in his message to Congress on the 8th of December, 1914:

And especially when half the world is on fire we shall be careful to make our moral insurance against the spread of the conflagration very definite and certain and adequate, indeed.

**Why Did the President Warn American Citizens in Mexico?**

Our citizens in Mexico were warned by this Government, because if our citizens remained in Mexico and were killed it would result in international complications and maybe war. \* \* \*

**Good Citizens are Willing to Withhold Exercise of Their Rights.**

The exercise of many individual rights have to be withheld when their exercise is incompatible with the safety and peace of a whole nation.

Blackstone has said in his Commentaries "that any man

that exercises all his legal rights was a scoundrel." \* \* \*

### Abundant Opportunities to Travel on Unarmed Vessels.

Any American citizen who desires to go to European countries can travel on vessels of neutral countries, or if he desires he can travel on merchant vessels of the belligerent countries. He can do this without inconvenience to himself and with perfect safety, and be protected by the United States.

What more can any sane citizen of the United States want?

There are a sufficient number of these vessels that do not carry guns to enable any citizen to travel to any part of the world without any inconvenience. What good reason, then, can any citizen of the United States give for wanting to become a passenger on a vessel of one of the belligerent nations that is carrying guns?

If there be such a citizen who wants to endanger his own safety, threaten the relationship of the United States with the belligerent powers, I say that such a citizen is foolhardy, and that the indiscreet act and willful disregard of such a citizen for his country's safety should not be allowed to involve this country in war. \* \* \*

**Some of the merchant vessels carry 6-inch guns that will shoot 6 miles. For what purpose do they carry these guns?** They certainly could surrender if challenged by a submarine just as easily if they had no guns. But there is no question but what these merchant vessels that are manned with guns have those guns for a purpose, and that purpose is to sink a submarine if they see one. They thus, by being manned by guns, lose their status as peaceful vessels.

One of these merchant vessels would be more formidable than most of our war vessels at the time of the Civil War.

For a submarine to give notice to such an armed vessel before attacking it would mean that the submarine would put itself at the mercy of the armed merchant vessels. They would not know whether the reply would be a surrender or whether it would be the reply of a 6-inch gun that would send it to the bottom. A submarine is a mere shell, and a single shot from a 6-inch gun will send it to the bottom.

Submarine warfare is recognized as legitimate by all the nations in the world, and all the belligerent nations are using submarines. \* \* \*

If an American citizen is killed in an encounter between an armed merchant vessel of one of the belligerent countries and a submarine, Congress, of course, after its action in sustaining the President's policy, would have to sustain it further and declare war against the violator of that policy. Thus Congress would be declaring war upon a policy that it thought was wrong and did not believe in. \* \* \*

It is asserted by some that our national honor is involved. I do not agree to this.

### MEMBERS ARE DENIED THE RIGHT OF RECORDING THEIR VOTE.

Rep. FULLER (Ill.). Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of Congress passing a resolution warning all Americans not to take passage on armed ships of any nation now at war. \* \* \* On the same day the McLemore resolution was submitted, February 22, I also submitted a resolution, which was also referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, as follows:

House concurrent resolution 17.

Whereas it is manifestly unsafe, owing to the unusual conditions prevailing throughout the world, for American citizens to take passage on belligerent ships that are armed or that carry war munitions; and Whereas the taking of such chances at this time may involve this country in serious trouble in its efforts to protect American lives and interests; and

Whereas it is the earnest desire of all our people that this country shall remain absolutely neutral as between the warring nations of Europe: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States be authorized and requested to issue a proclamation warning all American citizens of the great danger of taking passage on any belligerent ship that is armed or that carries munitions of war, and requesting them, for their own safety and in the interest of this country's neutrality, to refrain from so doing.

A vote on that resolution would mean something, but it seems Members are to be denied the privilege of recording their votes on the direct proposition of warning Americans off from armed ships of belligerents. \* \* \* It is little enough to ask of all loyal Americans that they do not travel on armed ships of belligerents and thereby involve the country in international complications, possibly leading to war. Patriotic citizens will not thus run the risk of plunging this country into the maelstrom of European war.

There is no controversy over the fact that if a belligerent ship is sunk by a submarine, and no lives of Americans are lost or imperiled, it is not our fight and we are not as a Nation under any duty or obligation in the matter. Then let us not put a chip on our shoulder and dare some one to knock it off. Americans should, one and all, recognize the obligation to maintain the strictest neutrality and thereby the peace of this country.

## THE TRAITOROUS AMERICAN DEMANDS HIS RIGHTS.

Rep. GALLIVAN (Mass.). Mr. Speaker, these are days for patriotic officeholders as well as for patriotic common citizens, and, regardless of any man's political affiliations, he should place the interests of his country and his flag first. The really traitorous American who in this crisis which confronts America demands his rights upon the seas deserves no sympathy and no protection. \* \* \* I want to see the President of the United States take some action which would prevent foolhardy or fortune-seeking Americans endangering the peace, the happiness, the homes, and the lives of 100,000,000 of their fellow countrymen. \* \* \*

Three classes of Americans are traveling through the war zone upon merchant ships. Some of them are bent upon business concerning munitions of war; some of them travel for pleasure; still others are connected with war relief work. Those who have business with foreign armies are in a risky occupation. If the pleasure seekers come to grief, they may be pitied without doing anyone any harm. As for the men and women anxious to bind up the wounds of war's victims, they would be the last to wish anyone to go to war upon their account; but they alone deserve every protection. (Applause.) \* \* \*

## MEMBERS ARE NOT READY TO DECLARE WAR ON GERMANY.

Rep. PARK (Ga.). Mr. Speaker, I do not believe in the bottom of the hearts of the Members that they would be willing to declare war on Germany solely for sinking an armed merchantman of Italy or England on which is carried some American fool or idiot, traveling for pleasure or for profit. The very fact that such a citizen so disregards the safety of his country, is so reckless of plunging his country into war as to cause a situation for pleasure or profit to himself, would make me feel that such a citizen was unworthy of the protection of this Government. And while I would be willing to demand a proper indemnity to be paid to his family—if he was worth anything to them—from the country whose submarine occasioned his death, I would not be willing to risk the lives of those who have to fight the wars of this country to avenge the death of such a contemptible fool. \* \* \*

Rep. STEPHENS (Tex.). Mr. Speaker, I am a Democrat in politics. Democrats have always been in favor of peace and against war, and I shall vote against any policy that would lead to war. In my judgment, if the President forces Congress to permit armed belligerent merchant vessels to carry our citizens on the ocean, over the protests of Germany, he will provoke a war with that country. \* \* \*

It would be criminal to bring on a war over a very doubtful point of international law, and against the will, the sound judgment, and the sober common sense of the American people. \* \* \*

Mr. Speaker, I believe that all Americans should be warned by their Government against traveling on the armed merchant vessels of belligerents. \* \* \*

Mr. Speaker, the following letter from a distinguished Philadelphian, Dr. Charles Fremont Taylor, to myself so well expresses my views on this subject that I attach it hereto and make it a part of my remarks. It is as follows, viz:

Philadelphia, Pa., March 3, 1916.

Hon. J. H. Stephens,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: Can you imagine an American traveling in the present time of stress on an armed belligerent ship except with unpatriotic motives? \* \* \*

Now, while "the world is on fire," is not a time to quibble, but to mind our own business strictly, keep out of all entanglements, and be sweet and cool.

Allow me to attempt to clarify the situation by presenting the following analysis:

1. It is perfectly clear that the intent of the international rule concerning merchant ships was to bar any armament that could be really dangerous to warships.

2. Hence if the small gun permitted under that rule has now become an offensive weapon against the U-boats, then it must come within the intent of the rule. Therefore merchant ships carrying such guns must be regarded as naval vessels.

3. The President's position disregards this plain fact of the situation and clings to the technical interpretation of the international rule under conditions now obsolete.

4. Hence I believe it to be the duty of Congress to prevent this error of Executive judgment from placing the Nation in a position where the act of a single American in sailing on an armed belligerent ship might drag the whole people into war with Germany.

As a citizen loving peace and abhorring what is now going on in Europe, I ask you not to permit, with your approbation or with false ideas of "honor," traitorous Americans to jeopardize the peace and welfare of our country. Shall a matter so important that it may lead to war be decided by the people's Representatives in Congress or by one man in the White House?

Yours, for cool, common sense, while the "world is on fire,"  
Charles Fremont Taylor.

Rep. REILLY (Wis.). \* \* \* I believe that, pending the settlement of the law and the facts of the present submarine controversy, for American citizens to travel on armed

belligerent merchant vessels is highly unpatriotic, and that those of our citizens who insist upon traveling on such ships have no regard for their own lives or for the peace and happiness of their country, and are richly deserving of severe censure and condemnation. \* \* \*

Our country warned American citizens to keep out of war-torn Mexico, and it has not been claimed, as far as I can learn, that by so doing we dishonored our country, surrendered any rights that our citizens might have in Mexico, or made more difficult our diplomatic dealings with that country.

In warning Americans to keep out of Mexico the President simply took a wise and patriotic course to avoid, as far as possible, any occasion for trouble with our sister Republic.

My vote on the warning question was the result of a firm conviction on my part that an expression of the sentiments of Congress that American citizens should refrain from endangering their lives and the peace and happiness of their country by taking passage on armed belligerent merchant ships was the best way to assist the President of the United States in his great and laudable work of keeping our country out of the European war. \* \* \*

## ALL RIGHTS ARE RELATIVE.

Rep. CLINE (Ind.). Mr. Speaker, under a square presentation of the question of warning American citizens to refuse to take passage on an armed merchantman of a belligerent, unmixed with any problem of diplomacy, I would vote to request them to stay off. The doctrine that a neutral has a right to take passage to any port at any time and upon any vessel is not questioned as an abstract proposition under international law. All rights are relative, and no man in a moral sense is justified in the exercise of a purely abstract individual right when such enforcement endangers the peace and safety of others. I have no concern but that the sane, level-headed man will not only pursue such a course as will insure his own safety and that of his fellow man; I am concerned about the unwise, foolhardy man that does not propose to surrender his right that he seeks to exercise for the good of his fellow citizens. One man has no moral right to involve a hundred millions of men in war when the right he seeks to enjoy is not a substantial one. \* \* \*

## HOUSE NEVER HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF VOTING A CLEAN CUT ISSUE OF WARNING.

Rep. McCULLOCH (O.). Mr. Speaker, in voting against tabling the McLemore resolution I felt that I voiced the sentiments of the sixteenth congressional district. I can not see where any other course could be justified. \* \* \*

The House never got an opportunity to vote on the clean-cut issue of warning. Through a parliamentary trick, engineered by some members of the Committee on Rules and certain of their colleagues, a vote was obtained on a resolution which in no way could bring a test of the real sentiment of the House. \* \* \*

The only reason why the majority prevented a square vote on this proposition was, in my judgment, because they knew that a square vote would result in a resolution of warning; so that in order to avoid an appearance of defeat they prevented a fair consideration of the proposition. \* \* \*

Rep. DAVIS (Tex.). Mr. Speaker, the heaviest responsibilities of my life have been passing over my head the last few weeks. The strenuous times and war-mad rage of Europe seems to be reaching America. \* \* \*

More than a year ago England and her allies made an alliance with the greatest business concerns of this Republic. It is known, sir, unquestionably, that the Morgan syndicates, so called in the United States, represent the greatest aggregations of the money power known to the world. \* \* \* In the early stages of the conflict mysterious meetings, conclaves, and cabals were formed and held between England and these American magicians of our money devil.

Becoming the sponsor, indorser, and general supply agent for England and her allies, they set about to make this country a business annex, if not a war annex. England in her arrogance and assumptive bigotry drew a dead line across the oceans, made a continent-wide war zone and put the whole of the German and Austrian Empires under siege, making the law of might her only right, with a total disregard for neutrals and with a flagrant disregard for Americans and their rights, feeling that the Morgan syndicates could be relied on to keep down resentment and rage against England's infamous conduct in this country. She defied us and the world to cross her dead line and trade with Germany and her enemies. \* \* \*

That Germany has sinned in a criminal way we must all admit. It is not my province to pass upon the whys and



wherefores that brought about this cruel war. But one thing I do know, that it was not of our making and we ought to keep out of it. \* \* \*

England took America by the throat, dragged her off the seas, crammed a million bales of southern cotton into her blockade, and held up nearly a billion dollars of our commerce on its way to nations with whom we had a perfect right to trade, killed the cotton market of the South; then her agents, Morgan and his syndicates, bought up that cotton at bankrupt prices. She showed with contempt she had absolutely no regard for the rights of America and for the American people. She cared nothing for the heartaches, heartburns, for the poverty and distress, for the woe and want, the misery and misfortune she was sending into at least a million southern farmers' homes. She expected Morgan and his influence to make the American people stand and deliver.

Little did she care and little did Morgan and his syndicate care for the fact that a hundred thousand sweet, innocent farmers' girls had pumped cotton hoes diving in cotton rows, dragged cotton sacks to gather that crop, and then saw it hawked off on the market at half price, while they stood through the coming winter half clad, half shod, and with heartaches in the penury of their distress. All, sir, that she cared for was to get that cotton to feed to her factories and to make giant cartridges for her massive cannon and serve her as munitions of war. \* \* \*

Much has been said about the right of Americans to travel on armed belligerent ships without molestation. I am not going to controvert that right, but there are many questions involved in this war problem besides the right of travel. \* \*

The Constitution gives to Congress full and absolute power over all our seafaring business. The following passages make that matter entirely clear and the position can be supported by numerous court discussions. Congress has power to—

Define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations.

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

The whole power of the President is expressed in our organic law as follows:

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties. He shall, from time to time, give to Congress information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

Not one sentence gives any President power over travel on the seas. Congress represents the people, and the President is bound to execute their laws and rules. \* \* \*

### WHAT WOULD THE SAME COMMANDER OF AN AMERICAN SUBMARINE DO?

Rep. RODENBERG (Ill.). \* \* \* If we were at war with Japan to-morrow and a Japanese armed merchant vessel was engaged in transporting a cargo of munitions to her shores, to be later used to kill and mangle American soldiers and sailors, does any sane and sensible human being believe for a moment that an American submarine would hesitate to attack such Japanese vessel because, forsooth, there were Chinese citizens aboard? \* \* \*

Sweden has issued a warning to her subjects not to take passage on belligerent merchant ships, and if the President of the United States were still animated by the same lofty considerations of humanity that caused him in the beginning of the great European conflict to set apart Sunday, October 4, 1914, as a day of prayer for peace, he would welcome similar action by the American Congress. In fact, he would have carried out the plan purport of Secretary Lansing's note, and instead of now insisting on the recognition of a "doubtful legal right" which may plunge us into war, he would have issued a warning notice on his own volition waiting for congressional action; and in doing so he would have earned the plaudits of the vast majority of his fellow citizens who are unalterably opposed to war. But a change seems to have "come over the spirit of his dreams." Suddenly and without warning he has seen fit to assume a bellicose attitude. He is willing now to run the risk of involving us in war with a friendly power in defense of a principle which, as late as January 18 of this year he himself regarded as a "doubtful legal right." \* \* \*

No American worthy of the name has a normal right to so conduct himself as to endanger the peace of his own country. If he should persist in willfully disregarding the duty that he owes to his fellow man by following a foolhardy course which, under a logical interpretation of the present attitude of the President, will result in war with a nation which has given us every evidence of loyal friendship in the past, then I regard it as high time for Congress to act and to notify such an individual that he can no longer claim the protection of the Government of the United States.

### NO SURRENDER OR WAIVER OF AMERICAN RIGHTS.

Rep. BURKE (Wis.). Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives is to-day required by special rule to consider and act upon a most important and serious resolution. \* \* \*

I call the attention of the House to the well-established fact that all of the serious controversies which the administration has had with Germany and Austria have, almost without exception, arisen from the sinking of the *Lusitania*, *Arabic*, and *Ancona*, resulting in the loss of life of American citizens while traveling upon the armed vessels of belligerent nations in the ocean war zones when sunk by submarines and resulting in the death of some of such foolhardy American citizens. I believe I am within the bounds of truth when I say that if our citizens had refrained from traveling upon such vessels not a single one of these serious and war-threatening controversies would have arisen between our Government and the central powers excepting over the sinking of the steamship *Frye* in the Pacific by a German war cruiser. \* \* \* And great was the relief of our people every time when it was announced finally the administration had won a great diplomatic victory. \* \* \*

It has been urged that the issuing of a simple official warning to our citizens is a surrender and waiver of American rights and not to be tolerated. This I emphatically deny. Such a warning is not directed to any other nation. It will be directed, if adopted, solely to our own citizens. We can give notice that we reserve all of our international rights, including the right to travel upon such vessels. It is, in my humble opinion, simply and solely a plain and exclusively domestic question into which there does not enter an iota of international law or diplomacy. It is simply a measure of precaution and protection. Governments are instituted and operated by the consent of the majority of the governed. The rights that the minorities may have, under certain circumstances, necessarily may at any time, for the welfare of the country, be suspended, abridged, or abrogated by the majority. In this case, were an official warning adopted, given, and enforced, it would simply suspend the rights of a handful of American fools during the present war. \* \* \*

It is argued that if we suspend and fail to protect a few American citizens who wish to enjoy such joy rides and thrills we are discriminating against them. This I also deny. At the best, the right of our citizens to travel upon such vessels is a doubtful right under international law as it exists at present. Even Secretary Lansing, in his letter of inquiry to the different powers at war, dated January 18, expressly referred to this right as a "doubtful legal right."

### THE RIGHTS OF 100,000,000 AGAINST THOSE OF A FEW.

But granting, for the sake of argument, that there is no doubt about the rights of such fool Americans to travel upon such vessels, there are other Americans whose rights conflict with the rights of such foolhardy Americans. Of what value are the rights of a handful of American fools to travel upon the armed merchant ships of belligerent nations compared with the rights of 100,000,000 Americans to have the peace of our beloved Nation preserved and the welfare of the whole Nation promoted? Shall the majority rule or shall a handful of fools in exercising their doubtful rights plunge this Nation into the most terrible and hellish war ever recorded on the pages of human history?

An official warning to our citizens to depart from Mexico, owing to the hazard, risks, and danger of their longer remaining in that turbulent country, was proclaimed by the President three years ago, and this warning was to a large extent heeded by our citizens then in Mexico.

It is only the other day that the papers reported that the administration had warned American citizens to remain away from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, down in Mexico. They were there not for pleasure, curiosity, or joy riding, but for actual business. If this report is true it shows wisdom, discretion, and precaution on the part of the administration and meets with the approval of all right-thinking people.

Then, again, contrast the course pursued by the administration in issuing passports to American citizens desiring to visit the Teutonic nations during the last few months. I am not aware that the same strict restrictions for the securing and issuing of passports to our citizens intending to visit Canada or the allied countries are maintained. \* \* \*

We find every jingo newspaper that denounced the President for being too easy with Germany in the *Lusitania*, *Arabic*, and *Ancona* affairs and every leading jingo in the country joining in denouncing the idea of issuing such a warning. They are standing behind the President now for the first time in the history of his administration. Why are they doing it? Is it love and admiration for the administration? Is it love for our 100,000,000 American people? Oh, no. It is the greedy desire, promoted by British gold, that



war may come between America and Germany, thus placing American in the role of an ally to John Bull.

Even during the last three or four months the papers report that societies have been organized in New York and New England States the very purpose of which are to advocate and create a public sentiment in favor of this Nation plunging into this war as an ally of England.

We who are supporters and friends of this warning measure view this support of the jingo press and of the jingo leaders of this country with the greatest of suspicion. We know full well that the President does not welcome their advice or their support for the very object of their support is because of the belief that without issuing such a warning submarine controversies will arise that will finally draw us over the chasm and plunge us into the terrible boiling conflagration that is sweeping over Europe.

It is charged by some of the jingo press which so freely denounced the President and his administration for the victories which he won in diplomacy over Germany and Austria that we Members of Congress who are in favor of such a warning resolution are the tools and servants of Germany and are afraid of our German constituents. This I denounce on behalf of myself and constituents and on behalf of my colleagues whose attitude upon this question is the same as my own as an absolute and abominable lie.

It is true that three-fourths of the people of the district I have the honor to represent are of German birth or descent. But the American citizens of German descent in my district and in every other district in the country are among the most loyal, patriotic, and unswerving Americans. \* \* \*

The love and sympathy of our citizens of German birth and descent for the fatherland is great, but their hostility and anger is only against the foreign enemies of the fatherland. \* \* \* Let war come—God forbid—and the first call for defenders by the President will be answered in overflowing numbers by our citizens of German birth and descent, and their love in upholding the flag of our country will not be excelled by any other class of Americans, even against the beloved fatherland. \* \* \*

The German carries into his politics no clannishness or bigotry. In exercising his right of suffrage he has always proven himself a genuine and intelligent American. With them in politics there is no racial prejudice or religious bigotry.

If this Nation is to be plunged into war because of the failure of the Government to issue such an official warning to our Americans to prevent them from traveling on the armed ships \* \* \* and a war arises from it with Germany that will make this Nation the ally of England—God forbid that such a thing should happen—how shameful the rank and file of the American citizens would feel to find this Nation an ally of England, the nation whose only victories in this terrible war have been in starving German babies \* \* \* God forbid that this country should ever become the ally in war of England, whose Government levied revenue taxes upon the charitable contributions in foodstuffs and clothing sent by charitable Americans to the people of Ireland in 1847 and 1848 when 3,000,000 Irish men, women, and children were dying of starvation.

If we must go to war, let it not be as an ally of the nation that robs the mails of neutral nations upon God's free high seas; let it not be as an ally of the nation that has in this war committed so many, almost innumerable, violations against our commerce, and let it not be as an ally of the nation which even compels our business men when buying

raw material from neutral countries and shipped in British ships to bind themselves down to pay a penalty if when the same is manufactured any of the same should be shipped to the enemies of England.

Let us issue a warning to our foolhardy Americans and let us enforce it, and if we must go to war let it be for something more important than the loss of a handful of foolish Americans engaged in enjoying "thrills," pleasure, and curiosity in dangerous war zones.

Rep. BENNET (N. Y.). Mr. Speaker, there seems to be a general misapprehension concerning the McLemore resolution vote. \* \* \*

What is our present danger? Briefly stated, Germany on the one hand claims the right to sink without warning any merchant vessel of the allies equipped with armament efficient enough to sink a submarine; Great Britain and the allies, on the other hand, claim the right to equip merchant vessels with armament efficient enough to sink a submarine, but to be used for defense purposes only. \* \* \*

### IF WE MUST GO TO WAR.

It seems scarcely necessary, \* \* \* to prove the propriety and wisdom of advising American citizens not to travel on armed merchant vessels of belligerents, but inasmuch as many people insist that such a right exists, it seems pertinent to call their attention to the fact that American citizens during this war have been advised many times to refrain from the exercise of undoubted rights so as to reduce the chance of our Government being in some way involved in the European war or its consequences. \* \* \*

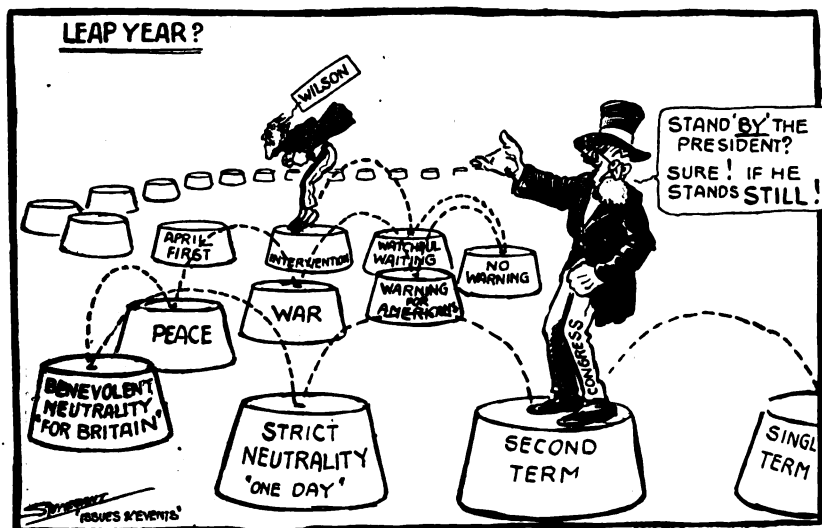
There is, in addition, a normal side. Ought an American citizen, for a light cause, to jeopardize the peace of his country? The Apostle Paul, who was not a pacifist and who always stood up for his rights when he thought it essential, understood the necessity of sometimes waiving a right.

Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.

I wish that there could be put into the hands of every reckless American, whose conduct tends to jeopardize our peace, the article in the February Atlantic entitled "The radical's progress," a description of a portion of the experiences of a British transport captain at Gallipoli. I quote one paragraph.

How would any one of your American jingoes like to be 27 years old, with both eyes shot out and both wrists shattered by shrapnel? The man I mean was a young Scot. I helped him up the gangway. He stood six feet three—a beautiful specimen of physical manhood. After a day aboard he suffered terrible torture from the heat of the weather and of the ship, and also from the swarms of flies attracted by the smell of blood. He could not lie on a cot, so we had to fence off a corner in the 'tween decks, carpet it with pillows and mattresses, and let him grope around in his agony. On the spots where the blood had soaked through his eye and wrist bandages the flies clustered in black clots. He moaned night and day and was scarcely conscious. He was totally blind, and even the sense of touch was denied him, because his wrists were so shattered that they would have to be amputated.

Personally, while I am perfectly willing in the exercise of the constitutional duties of Congress to vote to declare war because of a clear invasion of American rights, I am not willing to vote to duplicate all over our land experiences such as this, because of the assertion on our part of a doubtful right; and not being ready to vote to declare war because of the invasion of a right which I do not believe to exist, I have no moral right to deceive the President of the United States by voting to encourage him to continue to insist on a nonexistent right when such insistence might lead to war.



### 2,000 MERCHANT SHIPS SWEEPED OFF BY SEA WAR.

Washington—The European war has taken from the seas more than 2,000 merchant vessels, of nearly 4,000,000 tonnage, according to figures published recently by the Department of Commerce. Germany, with six hundred vessels sunk, captured or detained, heads the list of losers.

Two hundred and twenty-five of the 500 British vessels lost were sunk by submarines. Great Britain's allies lost 167 ships. Austria lost 80 and Turkey 124. The total of neutral losses is put at 736, but most of these were released after being reported captured.

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A Weekly Magazine

## Big Business---Free and Fair

By DR. W. D. BLISS.

(Editor of the Encyclopedia of Social Reform.)

IN America the business man who is not a multi-millionaire has usually less liberty than the laboring man. The laboring man has at least his trade union. The business man who does not obey the trusts has nothing to help him. Some try to fight the trusts, but, sooner or later, the trusts come to them and say: "Enter and obey the trust, or take down your sign and put up your shutters." Nor are even the trusts free. They are attacked by legislators, honest and dishonest.

The German Government does not attack business. It recognizes that combination, if just, is a good thing. It allows combinations—the kartels, as they are called—but it sees to it that they do not abuse either their employes or the public. Take the testimony of an American business man.

Mr. George W. Perkins wrote before the war: "Thirty years ago Germany was the land of the small enterprise. Today it is pre-eminently the land of the giant enterprise. The German Empire is not half as old as the United States of America; its population is but 65,000,000 as against our 90,000,000; its area is but 200,000 square miles as against our 3,000,000 square miles; yet Germany's foreign trade is much larger today than that of the United States. This astounding result has been achieved by Germany in a comparatively few years \* \* \* I hold no brief for Germany. I simply want to call your attention to the methods of our greatest industrial rival and ask you to pursue the study further, for apparently the industrial motto of Germany is 'Unite and Conquer,' while the industrial policy of the United States is 'Dissolve and Perish.' Under this policy German business has pushed forward, and the business man has found free vent for his every effort and his utmost powers."

### Trade Genius.

In Germany discovery and invention are rewarded. Mr. H. Stewart Chamberlain, who knows Germany so well, can speak of the men who have "imbued German industries with such a daring, German trade with a spirit of speculative boldness, German finance with nothing short of genius, pure and simple." To those who know, the talk of crushing individuality in Germany, compared with the situation in other countries, is almost laughable. Liberty does not come with lack of law, which breeds confusion and dismay for honest endeavor; it comes with laws which secure reward to ability, to honesty and to toil.

A German proverb says "*Hat der Bauer Geld, hat's die ganze Welt*" (If the farmer has money, everybody has). The German state has not forgotten the inter-

ests of the soil. In Great Britain a small class of the landed aristocracy almost rules the land; but this is not a state of freedom. France and some other countries in Europe have many small proprietors, but the division of the soil has gone to such an extent and many own so little land that either they have to till it in connection with some other occupation or without proper tools, sometimes being too poor even to have a horse or hire one, so that they drag the harrow with their own hands. Such conditions do not breed an independent yeomanry.

### Middleman Gets Profits Here.

In the United States the farming class is dependent on the railroad, the elevator company and the middleman. America produces marvelous crops and the middleman reaps the profit. The American farmer has to borrow money at usurious rates of money sharks, who have the one freedom there is in America, the freedom to charge all that the traffic will bear. In Germany the farmer under the Raffeisen system of small co-operative banks is dependent only on himself. The essence of this system is that each bank is limited to a small district, where each member is known to every other member. Each member has unlimited liability, and therefore the collective credit is of the best, and these co-operative banks can obtain capital on the most favorable terms. The extent to which these co-operative societies aid the German farmer may be seen in the fact that there were in Germany January 1, 1915, no less than 26,191 local agricultural co-operative societies, of which 19,576 were co-operative credit societies.

Compared with the United States, there are few large farms in Germany. In 1910 there were in the United States 3,000,000 farms of fifty acres or over; Germany has not 700,000 farms of twenty-five acres or over. Yet German science and organization enable her small farmers to compete with the large farmers of other countries. By these co-operative societies they are able to purchase expensive machinery. Electric plowing has been used in Germany for fifteen years, though in the United States it is only beginning. The German Government provides power plants, where the American farmer is dependent upon irrigation, with a large proportion of the water sources owned by great monopolizing companies. The German state railways serve the farmer, where the American railways rob the farmer. State railway charges in Germany include terminal charges, where the American elevator companies add another variation in the robbing of the farmer.

### German Schools Aid Farmer.

In Germany eight agricultural universities, 250 train-



ing schools, 197 winter agricultural schools, besides special schools of which there are 1,320 in Prussia alone, make the German farmer the most scientific in the world. The result is that Germany, though the soil is naturally far from the best, produces more than twice as much per acre of oats and of barley as the United States, and more than three times as much wheat per acre. One reason for this is that Germany leads the world in scientific fertilizers.

She uses more potash salts than all the rest of the

world combined. She has made the discovery of extracting nitrogen from the air instead of having to import it from South America, one of the most momentous discoveries of modern times. She gets phosphoric acid as a by-product of smelting, thus using what other nations waste. All this, through the aid of the Government, puts the German farmer in a state of economic security and therefore of independence and comparative freedom. But Germany believes most of all in free thinking.

## Right and Wrong in the European War

By GEORGE BRANDES.

Each of the several belligerent nations is convinced that on its side is what it calls "Right," and that it is battling against what it calls "Wrong." And if a neutral writer in a discussion of the situation purposely avoids the use of these terms, holding them applicable rather to the realms of morals and jurisprudence, then it may happen that a politician from one of the warring nations with the avowed intention of unmasking the supineness and "overculture" of such a view, impatiently and arrogantly shouts: "But answer us, man, which side is right?"

Right! As if the very word could find a place in the immeasurable misery which has been brought upon us by the reckless struggle for national supremacy, the stupidity of amateurish politicians and the short-sighted servility of an inflammatory press!

Naturally, the French and the British justify their attitude of moral superiority in two outrageous acts: Austria-Hungary's deliberate and indefensible attack on Serbia, and Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality.

But when this double crime—which, by the way, is being treated as if it were entirely unmotivated, as if it had not been preceded by long and painful developments—is made the basis for the doctrinal pronouncement that neither France nor England wanted war, that they are battling solely on behalf of the sanctity of treaties and the inviolable rights of the smaller nations, then any one in the slightest degree familiar with Europe's later history can only smile unless, indeed, the war has deprived him of reason and memory alike!

It may be stated, almost as an axiom, that whenever two world powers unite in hearty friendship, be the understanding called Alliance or Entente, then the object is always the same—the benevolent assimilation of a smaller nation. Germany's old friendship for Russia led to untold sufferings for Poland. Austria's and Germany's previous alliance cost Denmark dearly. Morocco paid with her independence for the cordial understanding previously arrived at between Germany and France. Even so is Britain's championship of the weaker powers of a recent date. We need not go back to her 700 year-long treatment of the Irish people. But wasn't it England who, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, for purely political reasons that had nothing to do with Right or Wrong, without warning assailed the neutral and defenseless Denmark, bombarded Copenhagen while the Danish Army was concentrated in Holstein for the purpose of defending the country's neutrality, purloined its fleet and gave Norway to Bernadotte as a reward for his treachery?

During the last twelve years five small nations have been deprived of their sovereignty. No voice of protest has been heard from any of the great powers—for good and sufficient reasons. The Transvaal and Orange Free State lost their independence when England annexed their territory—which, by the way, she

has governed excellently ever since. Persia lost her independence as a result of what in England has been called the "Robber Treaty" between Russia and Great Britain. As a consideration for allowing England a free hand in Egypt, and for permitting her to break her promise to evacuate the country, France and Spain were permitted to split Morocco between them.

Korea's fate points with tragic prophecy to the fate which threatens Belgium. In a treaty signed by Russia, England, and France, Japan had guaranteed Korea's independence. Korea's Queen was murdered by the Japanese, as was Austria-Hungary's heir by the Servians. Shortly afterward the Japanese deluged Korea and forced the country to join them in their war against Russia. Both Russia and Korea protested and demanded that France and England intervene, but neither power then felt a moral urge to intervene. The pledged guarantee did not enter into consideration, and Korea's independence was left to die.

Now it is Europe that is sick, perhaps dying. At a deathbed one would rather be silent. At least, if one is forced to speak, it should be with the same subdued feelings which are proper in the presence of death.

\* \* \* Russia has ever been dependent on the Occidental money market. She needs money, credit. But before the Western banks could be accommodating it was necessary to instill a spirit of friendliness and confidence in the small investor. As long as Russia appeared to the English capitalist as a hostile power or as an uncertain despotism constantly threatened by revolution she appealed in vain for English funds. But from the moment King Edward visited the Czar in Reval, and the Czar returned the visit on the Isle of Wight—from that moment it became the policy of the English press to represent Russia as a benevolent power steadily progressing toward constitutional liberty. Then the English investor pulled out his pocket-book. Exactly as in France, the press, the politicians, and the upper classes entered into a silent conspiracy for the purpose of praising and glorifying the benevolent character of the Russian Government.

It will be remembered that a Constitution had been wrested from the Czar in October, 1905. The election to the first Duma took place with the reactionary forces in full control of the provinces, under intense excitement. A great hope was germinating in the Russian people, and the elections returned an enormous majority of progressives to the Duma. They had to fight step by step a reactionary ministry and a court which bitterly regretted the privileges which terror had forced them to grant. The Duma could have defied the autocracy had it been able to say to a discredited and bankrupt Government: "Your cashbox is empty, your credit exhausted. Behind us stand Russia and Europe. Recognize our constitutional rights and we will vote taxes and authorize loans. Refuse and neither London nor Paris will advance you a penny!"

But the Duma could not speak in this strain, for

already in March, 1906, the big loan had been negotiated, and when the Duma assembled in May the Governmental coffers were full. In vain had Russia's struggling patriots beseeched liberal Europe not by new loans to sign the death warrant of the new Constitution! In less than three months the Duma was dissolved; Stolypin reigned without Parliament; martial courts pronounced and executed death sentences all over the country. The second Duma assembled in 1907; it was even more radical than the first. Stolypin's counter-stroke was to accuse the Social Democrats, the most influential branch of the Duma, of treasonable conspiracy and to impeach them before a tribunal composed of members of all parties.

The commission reported its unanimous findings to the third Duma—the Socialists were found not guilty. Then the coup d'état; thirty-five members were arbitrarily examined before a special committee, seventeen were sentenced to prison for terms ranging from four to five years, and ten were sent to Siberia for life. Two died in prison, one became insane, one, the party orator, contracted consumption. All of them were treated like low criminals, were shackled, and occasionally knouted.

The dissolution of the second Duma marked the end of Russian liberty. In his pamphlet, "Russian Terror-

ism" (1909), Kropotkin has shown that during the period of nominal liberty the number of prisoners rose from a daily average of 85,000 in 1905, to 181,000 in 1909. He has told of the ravaging diseases in the overcrowded prisons and of the extensive use of torture. During 1909 the military courts sentenced on an average three prisoners a day to death. The number of political exiles to Siberia reached, according to official figures, a total of 74,000.

These terrifying results would have been impossible without the co-operation of France and England with the Russian Government. The nonsensical assertion, seriously advanced, that the Anglo-French-Russian alliance will have a beneficial effect on Russia's internal affairs—that the war has enlisted Russia among the liberty-loving powers—is only a clumsy attempt to mislead the public. The famous revolutionary leader, ———, declared at the outbreak of the war this to be his belief, and in order to prove the sincerity of his conviction he returned to Russia, declaring his intention of putting himself at the disposition of his country. Upon reaching the border he was arrested and sentenced to life exile in Siberia.

(From the Copenhagen Magazine, Tilskueren.)

## An Open Letter to Josiah Royce, Professor at Harvard University

By WILLIAM A. SHAPER,

Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota.

The following letter is a reply to Professor Josiah Royce's address, "The Duties of Americans in the Present War," delivered at Tremont Temple on January 30, 1916.

Professor Royce is a member of "The Citizens' League for America and the Allies," which league was formed to put this nation in a position of definite sympathy with the Allies, and in an equally definite position of moral disapprobation of the purposes and methods of the Central Teutonic Empires.—EDITOR.

YOUR address on "The Duties of Americans in the Present War" reminds me very strangely of an incident of my college days. A certain respected professor of philosophy was put to the test in the following manner. A neighbor built a house on an adjoining lot in such a position as to share with him a glimpse of a beautiful lake, thereby partially obstructing his view of the State House. Forgetting all the fine philosophy he had been teaching, he ordered a tight board fence to be constructed, high enough to completely shut off his new neighbor's view of the lake. The students regarded this practical application of philosophy with astonishment at first, then with amusement and finally in a "spirit of gentle hazing," a group of them one night painted this admonition from his own teachings on the spite-fence to the great amusement of the public:

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

You have been for many years a respected teacher and writer of philosophy. A great tragic war has broken out among the kinsmen of the American people in Europe, setting your kinsmen against my kinsmen in deadly combat. Another philosopher is put to the test and with what result. You abandon the principles of sane thinking that you have so ably championed and descend to the level of the curbstone orator inciting the mob to war. Not content to confine your efforts to your friends and neighbors in Boston, you thrust your Tremont Temple speech ringing with toryism, into my home and the homes of thousands whom you do not know and do not understand any better than you comprehend the war itself.

With your personal one-sided view of the great

European tragedy, with your personal assessment of the degree of guilt against the several governments involved, I am not concerned at all, so long as your views remain mere private views. But I am concerned when you deliberately set on foot, as you and your associates publicly declare that you do, a movement to involve our common country in the most infamous war in human history. In effect you ask me to assist your kinsmen dwelling in the British Empire, to murder, maim and utterly crush the children of my own father's and mother's brothers and sisters and their countrymen, dwelling in Germany. Encircled by an iron ring of nations in arms, it is plain what my kinsmen are fighting for. They are fighting heroically to keep out invaders whose leaders, since exposed and discredited, openly boasted twenty years ago: "If Germany were extinguished tomorrow, the day after tomorrow there is not an Englishman in the world who would not be richer. Nations have fought for years over a city or a right of succession. Must they not fight for two hundred million pounds of commerce?"

You revive that exploded sham about Belgium, invented to decorate the recruiting posters, to mislead a nation into war, denounced more than a year ago by Professor F. C. Conybeare of Oxford in these burning words: "All Grey's answers to Kier Hardie on August 27 (about Germany's proposal to respect Belgian neutrality) are thus a model of hard lying. Naturally the House of Commons, having been utterly hoodwinked by him, applauded. Presently they will send him to the gallows. I doubt if even Asquith knew of this crime, but if he really was Grèy's accomplice, he will swing, too."

This stirring address of our colleague in London

evidently received no mention in the press of Boston. Men of your stamp brand me a "foreigner," a "hyphenated" American and suspect me of harboring traitorous designs against this my own native land, because I refuse to join you in your mad course. It is you and your associates, sir, who have ceased to be Americans. It is you who have laid yourselves open to the suspicion of being traitors to the land made glorious by your fathers. You are obsessed with the idea that you are the true American, and that the home in which your address was conceived typifies all America. You are mistaken. At my own fireside the two main streams of our population merge in perfect accord and full understanding, one coming along the way made sacred by the English pilgrim fathers, the other coming by another route which shall yet be equally revered because it was the pathway our German pilgrim fathers trod. Then the truth will dawn upon you and your associates too, that America is not now and never has been, a "New England." It is true that the northeast coast once constituted a transplanted little England, but other European stocks have long since taken possession even there. Do but observe the names on the rolls of Harvard and note the people in the streets of Boston and be convinced that America is but a reunited and transformed "New Europe," a land where the old world hatreds have died and must not be revived.

A foreign policy that fails to recognize this plain fact of our national life is heading us towards the breakers. Have you Anglo-Americans lost your common sense? In that case new leaders in closer touch with the people

who know the real America must seize the helm and steer our course.

This nation, kept ignorant by a disloyal press, debauched by war profits and drifting for want of scientific understanding or management of its affairs, is indeed presenting a sorry spectacle to the world. We have permitted one side in this world war to trample on the inviolability of our mails, on our rights of peaceful commerce, on the sacred right of our citizens to the equal protection of the government, whatever their nationality or their names may be; and at the same time we permit the same faction to mobilize our financial and military resources as if this country had rejoined the British Empire. I marvel at the patient self-restraint of millions of American citizens of all nationalities, whose hearts are filled with shame and torn with anguish at this outrage committed in the name of humanity and international righteousness.

The gulf betwixt you and me this moment, divides this entire nation. You and your associates can no more deliver the whole of this nation to King George in 1916 than could the Tories in 1776. Before you go too far in your plottings, just remember the fate of the "loyalists." The American spirit is rising again. Presently it will assert itself and bring the nation back to its senses. Your "Citizens' League for America and the Allies" will vanish like a bad dream with the coming of another dawn.

WM. A. SCHAPER.

Prof. of Political Science, University of Minnesota.  
March 22, 1916.

## The Business System as a Political Party

By CHARLES FERGUSON.

**I**F the passing age had not been represented, and in truth thoroughly representable, by men like Mr. Roosevelt, if it had not been peculiarly well-furnished with acute and facile leaders, capable of versatile play with the stiff formulas of consecrated thought, but wholly incapable of adjusting minds or morals to a huge new actuality such as the modern business system—probably the age would not have passed in the crash of a great catastrophe.

\* \* \*

The contention here is that the modern economy and discipline of the world's productive power, through credit, contract, corporate organization and a universal news service, is the central moral and intellectual adventure of modern times; that this power is political; that it lays hold of human lives and natural forces in such a way that it is practically irresistible by any other political force except autocracy and martial law; and that its rational and self-consistent development would give the world permanent peace and unexampled plenty. On the other hand, it is wholly due to the perversion of this system of production and exchange that the world has been plunged into war; and there is no reason for expecting that the war-welter will be brought to an end until a true type of business organization shall be produced somewhere, on a scale large enough to form a base from which to command the whole circle of commerce.

\* \* \*

This new principle of world-organization that has been trying to get itself expressed through the industrial and commercial order was featured in an interesting fashion in Mr. Norman Angell's little book, "The Great Illusion." Mr. Angell took it for granted that the financial and commercial system was actually being operated in such a manner that the world had been

brought into a single community of interest—so that the only danger of war lay in a failure of the people of the several nations to perceive this accomplished fact. His book deserved the respectful consideration it received, because it presented a vision and a hope. But in exposing a "great illusion," it cast the spell of a greater one. It was bad enough that plain unprivileged people should go on thinking that wars might be made financially profitable to themselves; but it was rather worse that they should be lulled to sleep with the sedative notion that the great bankers of the world were all busy knitting up strong bonds of international union, at the very moment when, as a matter of fact, they were doing the opposite thing.

The new and regenerative idea which Mr. Angell so seriously misstates—is that a vast eirenicon, a world-wide common law can be and ought to be worked out along the lines suggested by the existing international system of bank-credits, free contracts and universal news service. Mr. Angell was right in suggesting the immense possibilities that are bound up with a normal and wholesome development of international business; but he failed to see that the actual business system was developing in a most abnormal and unwholesome manner.

The corruption of the best is the worst corruption. And it is just because the business system of modern times sets out to be the finest and freest of all social constitutions, that it has become so monstrous and terrible in its perversion and misuse.

\* \* \*

Politics is the massing of interests.

The political parties of Western democratic countries have succeeded in massing the interests of large numbers of men; but they have done it in a thin and formal manner. The common interests they represent do not

go deep into life. Being a Republican or a Democrat has nothing to do with the passions of the heart, and not much to do with board and clothes and housing.

In the middle of the Nineteenth Century a new politics came into the field—but it was not called politics. A new and very effective way was found to mass the interests of large numbers of men—but it was agreed on all hands that this kind of common interest should be held under political suspicion.

This new and effective massing of interests was accomplished by the development of large-scale industry and commerce, under a technology of unprecedented excellence, and with the aid of a refined system of credit-accounting, an elaboration of corporate devices and a supra-national finance. It was accomplished by the creation of a new social tissue that wove all men together in a mesh of reciprocal relations, so delicate and tense that the business of a nation—even the whole world's business—came to be thought and spoken of as

a single, indissoluble process. And this was a thing quite new in human history.

Strange, is it not, that students of political science should have yielded their minds so completely to the illusion of names? They generally failed to recognize the business organization as a political power, and its instigators and champions as a political party—because such a manner of thinking and speaking was socially tabooed. The tradition of democratic government had grown up under a cult of moral dualism which required that Cincinnatus should leave the plow and forget about food and raiment when he turned his mind to affairs of state. It was esteemed indelicate, if not immoral, that one should mix his political ideas with any thought about making a living. Not only in the best American drawing rooms, but also around the saw-dust box in remote country stores, politics was regarded as a realm of Olympian idealism, a region of rarified thought into which the low-browed Titans of tools and trade were not to be permitted to ascend.

## The Defeat of England

The following article which appeared in the London Nation of March 4, 1916 is so severe an arraignment of England's educational policy as pursued by her leading men, men of wealth and position, of responsibility and trust, that I wish to emphasize that it was not the "Nation" of Berlin or Vienna, nor even of New York, but the "Nation" of London, England, in which the article appeared.—EDITOR.

**T**HE London County Council's saving on Education (maintenance and capital) for the next financial year will probably reach nearly a million sterling, while the amount from all other sources together is only a fraction of that sum."

We do not know what definite results are to be expected from the meeting of ladies and gentlemen who approached the Guildhall "attired in furs and conveyed in a stream of expensive motor-cars, and entered it as enthusiasts for national economy. But we beg them to remember that if the people can help the Government, the Government can do still more to help the people. The main responsibility for expenditure is theirs. **They began the war, they financed the war, and they determined the particular mode of waging the war.** In other words, they decided for Continentalism. They proposed to maintain at Once Continental armies on a scale of millions, an all-powerful navy and a stream of aids and subsidies to our Allies which must amount in two years of fighting to over 800 millions. On this basis the nation was organized for the production of war industries. Two of their members did their best to obtain some equation of the resulting expenditure, so that the furtherance of the first of these objects should not endanger the second and the third. They were not successful, and as a result of this triple strain on our resources, we have had a war expenditure approaching five millions a day. We speak only of notorious facts when we say that the original provision for raising, housing, feeding, and transporting the armies was of the most profligate character. It mulcted the taxpayer of vast sums on high contracts. The bill, therefor, has been presented to the nation by the Government. But the Government, again, possesses the most obvious, cogent, and easily available means of settling it. Mr. McKenna told the Guildhall meeting that unless the people ceased spending he would have to tax. But taxation is the automatic method of bringing needless expenditure to an end. The Government can tax wealth. They can tax amusements. They can prohibit luxuries by the simple process of stopping their import. Their resort to the first expedient has been quite inadequate, and as for the second, they propose to deal with a nation inapt at thinking and over-

inclined to sensuous indulgence by stopping its supplies of paper and giving free course to its inflow of alcohol. Finally, it being necessary not only to check expenditure but to stimulate production in order to keep the armies going, the War Office which, through the mouth of its chief, pleads for more civilian workers, sweeps the most unmilitary types of civilian into the armies, and tramples out hundreds of small industries.

Now we wish well to an appeal to the nation to brace itself to the call of duty, and live simple and hard through its hour of trial. But we cannot treat this question of economy as if it were a mere exercise in cheese-paring. National Economy is the direction of the people's resources to their highest end. It is a problem of use, quite as much as one of abstinence. What are we in this war for? To beat the Germans? Yes. But not only to beat the Germans in war. It would be a small thing to do that, and then to fill on this earth for the next two generations a meaner place than this swarming aggressive race of militant industrials. But how can we keep at the top of the tree? We are spilling young blood like water, the finest, bravest, most adventurous members of our stock. What are we doing to replace them. We are deliberately proposing to make poorer provision for the minds and bodies of the children who have passed, or are now passing, from infancy into boyhood and girlhood. Is any great country engaged in the war doing the like? Our information is that Germany at least is not. The other day a proposal was made to stop the work of a branch of the useful movement for building up the bodies of very young children by means of scientific feeding and the instruction of others. The branch was at once informed that the Germans had decided to continue their corresponding movement, with special regard to its influence on the health of the coming population. We take a different measure of the responsibilities of the State to the coming age and the men and women who will sustain it. The London County Council proposes to lower the standard of its teaching staff and to save nearly a million on its educational estimates. And the Committee on Public Retrenchment suggests that the minimum school age shall be raised from five to six years, and, as a measure of

economy, that the Board of Education should lose control of its medical department so far as its superintendence of motherhood and the younger children is concerned, and that the service should be treated as a mere branch of sanitary work under the Local Government Board. In time, no doubt, there would be a complete amalgamation of the two medical services in the interests, maybe, of cheapness, but certainly not of education. Observe the disingenuous feeble mindedness of the proposal. It can produce little immediate effect in the way of economy. The process of amalgamation of the two services will be difficult and costly. But it gets rid of a more scientific and fruitful form of social service in favor of a cruder and less pertinent one, and takes out of our educational system just that element of practical thought for the future which, very late in the day, we were beginning to supply and from which a really scientific educational structure can be built. In other words, it is a piece of blundering amateurism disguised as thrift—a blow struck, we suppose, in ignorance, at an entire conception and scheme of training for children. The day nurseries of the Education Department, its clinics, its open-air and special schools, its provision of meals, its care of motherhood, and of the medical exercises, its special training of doctors and teachers, are parts of an educational, not a sanitary, problem. The child is taken at a very early age, and his small steps set at once on the path of physical and mental health. Now this process of betterment, conducted from mere babyhood to the limits of the school age, is to be cut in two, taken out of the hands of the school authorities, and handled, if handled at all, as a mere function of a sanitary official. Child labor on the farm is being rapidly extended, the over-large classes, which are the despair of the conscientious

and capable teacher, are being swollen to still greater dimensions, so that not a day passes without fresh toll being taken of the life and intelligence of the child and of the future efficiency of the nation.

Now all this means the defeat of England. If England does not know how to spend she will not know how to save, and if she wastes her children she will sacrifice her manhood in a useless struggle with forces that are too strong, because too cunning and too far-seeing for her. We make much call for a Man to deliver us from the many perplexities of the hour. But our defect is not so much in individual character, in which we have abundant wealth, as in largeness, nobility, and generosity of ideas, in national length and steadiness of purpose. A country whose conception of economy is to shut its museums and subsidize its racing-studs, to open its school-gate late and close it early, will find itself at the end of the war re-starting the race of civilization whole laps behind Germany. What will it then be reduced to if it lacks the spirit of advance, the material for a re-conquest of all that it has lost, and an assault on new heights of independent aspiration and achievement? To the feeblest devices of the decadent Protectionist State. To a Chinese wall of tariffs and prohibitions. To a timid insularity which will revolt our democratic dominions and stereotype our national conservatism of thought and habit. To become a prey of the most unenterprising and, finally, the most corrupt among our traders, the seduced of the most ignorant of our demagogues. For not the most smashing settlement against Germany would counter-vail for many years this self-inflicted defeat of a nation that, thinking to war against Kultur, turned its sword on Wisdom."

## Changing the Law of Nations

THE argument of our Government that international law cannot be changed during the progress of a war is of no force, in view of the previous attitude of this Government in reference to the blockade. In our note of March 30, 1915, to Great Britain, it is stated:

"The government of the United States is, of course, not oblivious to the great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare since the rules hitherto governing legal blockade were formulated. It might be ready to admit that the old form of 'blockade,' with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports, is no longer practicable in the face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make an effective defense by the use of submarines, mines and aircraft."

In our note of March 5, 1915, to the British Government, it is stated:

"This Government is fully alive to the possibility that the methods of modern naval warfare, particularly in the use of the submarines for both defensive and offensive operations, may make the means of maintaining a blockade a physical impossibility."

The attitude of our Government thus seems to be that we can admit to Great Britain and France that the advent of submarines may cause a change in a fundamental proposition of international law, without asking Germany for its consent to this change, even though such happens to injure the cause of Germany. On the other hand, in a case where we are "particularly im-

pressed" with the justice of the German position in reference to the advent of submarines, we will not consent to the clearing of a doubtful proposition of international law without the consent of England, if the change would happen to bear heavily upon the Allies.

Not only have we refused to take any firm stand against England, but we have refused to aid any one else in so doing. When in November, 1914, Great Britain mined the open North Sea, the Scandinavian countries asked us to join them in a protest against this lawless act. We declined. We now decline to join Sweden in a protest against Britain's interference with international mails on the high seas.

We insist on the very letter of the law when it is a question of our right to ship ammunition to the Allies. But we insist on neither the letter nor the spirit of the law when it is a question of shipping food to the peaceful inhabitants of Germany. We protest that the "blockade" is unlawful, but we do nothing, and promise to do nothing about it. Thomas Jefferson tells us that there is no difference between our restraining shipments of food to Britain's enemy, and allowing Britain to restrain them unlawfully. Both alike are unneutral acts.

Is all this fair? Is it American? Is it the performance of that even-handed justice which befits a neutral?

Above all, have we kept the faith and fulfilled our trust, to hand down to posterity the full body of international law which civilization has intrusted to us?

—N. Y. Evening Mail.



# The War at Sea

Editorial from the "Ekstrablad," Copenhagen, January 6, 1916.

THE advantage of being a neutral state—especially a great Power—is forcibly shown by the attitude of the United States Government. No sooner is an American Citizen killed or even slightly injured through one of the numerous acts of torpedoing, an outcry is raised in the States as if it was something unheard of and incredible that any one should come to grief during a state of war. With satisfaction—but without thanks to either side—do the Americans pocket the millions which the war brings them, but at the first sign that the war may likewise cause them damage and inconvenience, there is an outburst, as if the world had come to an end. The American conscience—like so many things in American civilization—has a robustness of its own. Whilst they do not object to making piles of money out of the bloodshed, they raise their mighty voices in alarm and condemnation of the slightest injury they suffer. If the Americans are sending across the sea ships filled with as many guns and shells as ever they will carry, they are certainly in full agreement with the war. There is surely a loathsome hypocrisy in all this.

In our opinion, right should be right for our friends the same as for those we do not otherwise sympathize with, and we really cannot help feeling that the Germans are fully justified in their irritation over the conduct of "neutral" America. The "neutrality" shown by America is an insult, and a mockery without precedent. It is characteristic that from the country which is making untold fortunes by the war, which is rolling in war booty and which, through its production of ammunition is literally speaking, spilling German blood, that from that self same country emanated the first and so far only peace movement of any importance. This in direct contrast with the country's economic interests, but at the same time so hopelessly intricate and tossed about in wind and weather, that at no time was there danger of its coming to anything but banquets and speechmaking. The truth of it is, that America's sole interest is to see the war going on until there is not a red cent left in Europe to pay for the war ammunition. We cannot get over the fact, we must acknowledge that Americans are piling up as much as ever they can. If at the same time, they pose as peacemakers and are ready to faint whenever the war imposes any sacrifice of life upon them, we must regard this as a product of the particular American taste and culture, which are not noted for reasoning power or self-recognition.

The latest misfortune which has befallen America is the torpedoing of the "Persia." On that occasion many people perished, and the scenes when the large steamer rapidly sank are reported to have been gruesome. No human being, worthy of the name, can help being filled with deepest sympathy for the victims of such a catastrophe, but under the spell of a world war we must surely gauge things by a measure differing from normal circumstances. War itself is an organized system of cruelty; however much we may condemn and curse that system, we must recognize its existence and we must necessarily base our arguments upon this—so to speak—lawful state of affairs. The neutral men, women and children who are killed in a naval war such as the Germans are carrying on, are naturally innocent and helpless victims of its terrors, but is war different from an earthquake, typhoon and flood or any other of nature's catastrophes? Does any such catastrophe care about its more or less innocent victims?

It is, in a way, the Germans' own fault that their conduct is judged as harshly as it often is, even in our own country, for the Germans themselves have, where their

enemies are concerned, demanded "a civilized warfare," thus, for instance, when they protested against England and France putting negroes and Hottentots in the field against them. It would have been wiser for the Germans to at once and unconditionally take their stand upon the only really true axiom in war: "that all is fair in war." War removes all distinction between good and bad, between civilized and barbarous—practically speaking. The talk of "civilized warfare" is nothing but a derision of every human thought and feeling. When the Germans used such language they only provided for the Americans a solid basis for their hypocritical wrath that neutral American citizens should have lost their lives through the war at sea. Almost one of the ugliest features of the dreadful war has been the attitude of the Americans; they like to wallow in the millions which they make by supplying guns, powder and dynamite for wholesale massacre—but they flare up sky high when one of their own dear children gets hit by a bullet. To condemn the war, cry out about its cruelties when fattening and prospering upon it oneself, yes, that is truly American. Thus to be American is synonymous with being hypocritical and ugly. When the gentlemen of America stop their export of ammunition we shall consider their righteous indignation in accordance with good taste. But they are not likely to turn away good business. The war at sea takes its course, and one terror and cruelty in this horrible and bloody war is not much worse than another, if we want to be honest and truthful. And let us be so, though it be ever so hard, and though for being so, we may get the word—"PRO GERMAN" added to our honest, neutral name.

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"In our intense feeling against the Central Powers arising out of the use of the submarine against unarmed merchant vessels, for which our Government rightly demands 'strict accountability,' we have either overlooked, forgotten, condoned, or approved the attitude of Great Britain in her sweeping violation of the rights of neutrals. The freedom of the seas, as understood in international law, which she has had vastly the greatest part in framing, has absolutely no meaning today.

"Since she took command of the sea, one hundred years ago, she has proceeded to make the rules for it. Coincident with making the rules, she has erected a navy double in size of any other nation to enforce with special reference to her own future. She had a leading part at the Declaration of Paris at the close of the Crimean War, which defined blockades. In the Spanish-American War, the Boer War, and in the Japanese-Russian War England stoutly and successfully defended the rights of neutrals against undue interference. Upon the initiation of England, the famous Declaration of London was adopted. This is the latest and best expression of international law in existence.

"What is the attitude of this defender of neutral rights on the sea in the light of these agreements? She has violated every one of them, and in the most highhanded manner. She has not only repudiated all her professions as found in her protestations as a neutral, but she has shamefully ignored all the important rights the United States has stood for, and has done so upon the ground that she is fighting our battles for us."—Representative Fess (Repub., Ohio).

# Issues and Events

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(Signed) FRANCIS J. L. DORL.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1916.

(Signed) ALEX GILCHRIST, JR.

My commission expires March 30, 1918.

Notary Public, Rockland County.

### BETHMAN-HOLLWEG'S CHALLENGE.

ONCE more the German Chancellor has made his overture of peace. And once more the press of the Anglican allies, on both sides of the Atlantic, gives a sneer for an answer.

Yet it cannot be that the reiterated German challenge to stop killing and reason together shall be wholly without a response of generous and responsible men, both in England and the United States.

In England for generations past there has been an unbroken succession of men with minds not insular or sunk in prejudice—and we in America have always supposed—with some show of reason—that intellectual fairness and a broad humanism belong to the very genius of our all-related democracy.

The official position of the Allies on this subject is in fair-mindedness untenable. To say as Mr. Asquith does that he is ready to listen to any "reasonable peace proposals, and then to declare in the next breath that the military power of Germany must first be broken—is to speak after a manner that would deserve a reprimand in a public school. It is crooked. It is not cricket.

To cry out with strained sarcasm: "Oh, yes, you Germans are willing to parley because you are ahead of the game"—is pointless and stupid. For if the Teutons were at a disadvantage the sarcasm would no doubt be still more strained and bitter.

The largest affairs of the great world proceed at last in accordance with homely household laws. In the long run the question which party was most to blame for this huge catastrophe will be settled by considering which, on the whole, was the more placable.

### HORROR OF BEING A "PIKER."

SOME James Anthony Froude or Thomas Carlyle of the twenty-first century—turning over the files of the present-day newspapers in search of dramatic incidents wherewith to expose the cause and motive of

our social disasters—will light upon the story of Dr. Arthur W. Waite, the poisoner, and will note the cry of confession that was wrung from him the other day when he exclaimed with passionate and despairing simplicity: "I did it because I would rather die than be a piker!"

Carlyle said that among the English of his time hell consisted in "not making money." But what lay in the back of the English mind of that period was perhaps a reasonable dread of the perdition of poverty as it existed in the Black Country and East London.

The mental habit of an American in this year of grace who had deliberately planned to poison his rich relations in order to escape the doom of pikerhood is a different thing. Here we have a murder-motive that seems to be peculiar to an age and country of "spenders"—in which self-respect has, for a large proportion of the population, become mainly a matter of seeming to be a success.

Is not this the mature fruitage of plutocracy? The inner life—the life of the mind and soul—shallows down to an inconceivable thinness and the sense of worth and reality comes to lie wholly in the figure that one cuts in the market of consumable goods.

Waite assassinates his relations to get money wherewith to feel respectable. His is an extreme case, of course. Nevertheless he is a significant and representative character and his frank self-revelation has a distinct sociological value.

### ROOSEVELTIAN HEROICS.

MR. ROOSEVELT, sitting in his house at Oyster Bay, pounds the arm of his chair and declaims in loud tones "as if addressing a great multitude," the platitudinous planks of his platform.

Plainly he is beginning to feel that the nation is nearly heroic enough to endure his running for President. He insists that he will not run on pussy-feet. And with an air of dare-deviltry—like a lonely revolutionary mounting a barricade in the face of a machine-gun, he declares that we have all just got to be "for America first and for no other country even second."

What a brave boy he is, to be sure! We were all like him or longed to be—when we were under nine.

Mr. Roosevelt really does have courage of a certain kind. But he will never be caught single-handed on the top of a street-barricade. Never by any chance will he espouse the kind of Right that happens to be called Wrong or stand alone with God against a machine gun. He has the courage of the big crowd and a will that projects itself with the most easily accepted opinion. He is to politics what Charlie Chaplin is to dramatic art—a darling of the crowd, a force that it would be folly to disregard.

### THE STRENGTH OF MENTAL STUPOR

vs.

### THE STRENGTH OF KNOWING HOW.

THE real issue in the presidential campaign now opening strikes down below the surface of our shallow hereditary politics. We stand face to face with a perilous situation. The whole world is in flux. Nothing is certain except that things will be different, that they cannot remain as they are.

The word "preparedness"—unctioned though it be with the cant of a scared, pietistic plutocracy—is the key-word of the time. It stands fairly for the fact that discounts all other facts about our present social state, namely—that we cannot rest, that we are stirred with anxious anticipations and that we must get ready for an unknown future.

Nothing is so futile as the attitude of the men and

women who made speeches at Carnegie Hall last Thursday night. Anti-preparedness is absurd. There should be no question among sensible people that we are as a nation physically weak and need to be made physically strong. We don't need literature, book-learning, fresh ideals or fervid preaching. These at least can wait. What we need is earth-gripping strength.

The only real and urgent question is, "How shall the nation be made strong?" And here lies the issue of the present political campaign. It goes to the roots of democracy. It will settle the claims of the United States as a world-historic social experiment. Some of us—not many—care what history shall say about us. All of us are interested to avoid a head-on collision with the impossible.

Strong we must be, or lose our place in the sun. The God of history seems to have small respect for good intentions. It will not do to just mean well. And the kind of strength that served well enough for Caesar or Hannibal, will not do.

The point is that there are two kinds of strength possible to nations—and that the former of the two kinds is historically played out.

Mr. Roosevelt—an acute, energetic but mentally uncreative and superficial man—is driven by the fatality of his stolid Dutch-reformism (which is radical only in social security and some distance after the event) to become the typical representative and far-resounding champion of the kind of national strength that is historically played out.

That obsolete kind of strength was got by mental standardization—the systematic stupefaction of the intellectual faculties in the mass of the people, in order to effect a unification of wills under the emotional stimulus of certain primary hypnotic words such as liberty, humanity, *senatus populusque Romanus*—and so on. During the long ages in which all the leading nations were wont to practice this method, it availed well enough. It availed because there was no competition offered with another and more effectual method.

But now a great thing has happened. Germany has forced the hand of history. She has achieved a new kind of national strength that puts the old kind quite out of the running. Of course Germany has not yet perfected her *NOVUM ORGANUM* of social power. She has merely launched the world into a sensational experiment. She has demonstrated a new principle of social dynamics and set it working in the vitals of mankind. What Germany has achieved in this matter is nothing to the possibility of achievement that is now presented to the American people.

The quintessence of the new method of social calisthenics is that it seeks to weld together the personal wills of the multitude not by suppression of private intelligence but by education and enlightenment directed toward tools and materials and the kind of actualities that free and sensible men can agree upon. The war is compelling England and France to move—painfully and reluctantly—toward participation in this new kind of social power. It is only in the United States that the pure doctrine of Caesarian militarism is still preached—albeit to somewhat dull and drowsy worshippers.

However, Mr. Roosevelt does very well—quite fills the picture—as champion of reaction or Hero of the Way Back. It is to be regretted that Mr. Wilson does NOT fill the picture as protagonist of the New Strength of Nations. Not yet. But Mr. Wilson has a little time left. He may come to it.

If he doesn't, somebody else will.

It is the purpose of this journal to discover the man that can organize into forms of irresistible public power, the Forces of Knowing How.

## MR. WILSON'S VISION.

THE interchange between the President and the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is an astonishing and profoundly disquieting affair.

To begin with, it discloses the astounding fact that Senator Stone is in no better position to understand what the President is driving at than the rest of us. Although he is head of a body hardly less responsible for our foreign contacts than the Chief Executive himself, we find him appealing to Mr. Wilson for light much as the unofficial citizen must do. If Senator Stone has no more light than is given forth from the shining surface of Mr. Wilson's public phrases we do not wonder that he is bewildered and alarmed. And neither he nor we plain citizens are helped by the President's reply to the Stone letter. It is impossible to believe that the President's mind is fully disclosed by his reply.

"For my own part," he declares. "I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation are involved. We covet peace and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor."

"Once accept a single abatement of right," he asserts in another place, "and many humiliations would certainly follow and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece."

"No nation or group of nations," says Mr. Wilson, "has the right while the war is in progress to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war." And he adds: "If the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action, it seems to me we have in horror no choice as to what our course should be."

Yet our honor, as kept by Mr. Wilson, has not brought us in proximity to war with the Allies, although they have freely disregarded principles as to commerce on the high seas "agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war."

If we are to go to war rather than submit to the alteration or disregard of previously existing international law, are we to go to war simultaneously against both the central empires and the Allies? For both sides have simultaneously disregarded and changed to suit their own conscience the previously existing laws of the seas.

If, however, "previously existing international law," is only the alleged reason, and the real reason for the President's adamant stand toward Germany and flexible stand with the Allies is because of a deep, statesmanlike vision that German triumph would be fraught with menace to America, then Congress and the nation have a right to know all about that vision at first hand.

Perhaps the President's vision is right. Perhaps German triumph would be fraught with such menace to our republican individualistic ideals that we should go to war sooner than acquiesce in such triumph. But if that is the President's vision, let us know it and act on it, rather than be treated as children, blindly led by the nose into war without being told why.

As far as he has let us or the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs—a co-ordinate branch of government in foreign affairs—know anything of his vision, it is this. While repeatedly advising 40,000 American citizens to leave their homes and property in Mexico rather than defend them, President Wilson actually contemplates war with the greatest existing military power in order to establish the right of American citizens to travel in the war zone on the armed merchant ships of Great Britain.

Surely, never in the history of the world has a less inspiring battle cry been seriously propounded.

—Chicago Tribune.

# Triple Entente Fables About German Atrocities

By Florizel von Reuter.

WITH almost incredible venom, as well as amazing disregard of veracity, the London Press continues its libelous campaign against Germany.

There is not a day that does not bring some new cock-and-bull story as sop for the British (and American) public.

There is something almost diabolical in the ingenuity and persistence of these newspaper attacks. One hardly expected the day when practically the entire British press, official as well as unofficial, should dye itself that much censured color—yellow.

It is indeed strange to see the Times—that once conservative and official organ—indulging in orgies of calumny which would do credit to the worst “hapenny dreadful.”

Who would have expected a sedate and hitherto respectable weekly like the Graphic to lend its columns and illustrators for such bunkum purposes. It is, to be sure, not so surprising to see the Daily Mail cheerfully offering the world in general so much a line for sending in tales of German atrocities. Such a bid for fables is quite in keeping with that remarkable newspaper's reputation for truth and veracity. But it is rather a staggering blow when the penny papers and weekly issues throw discretion to the winds and join the hunt for sensationalism.

It is a matter for constant wonder that intelligent, educated, well-bred readers are actually expected to believe all these marvelous reports of German barbarism.

English people have for years fraternized with their German cousins and, up to the present, had not found them totally lacking in the fundamental principles of humanity and civilization.

Thousands of English have flocked yearly to Germany, but have never returned home with proofs of German barbarism. They have not discovered while completing their medical, scientific, artistic, musical, literary educations in the great German schools that the German nation is made up of illiterate barbarians, heathens and cannibals; yet all of a sudden—merely because a state of war exists between the two countries—they are actually asked to believe that German soldiers, of decent even though humble families, devour babies, mutilate women and children, wantonly slay harmless peasants, ruthlessly pillage and destroy houses, and, on the whole, stagger and bluster around in the territory they have conquered in a perpetual state of drunkenness, behaving like savages of the most revolting kind.

Only temporary aberration of mind could excuse anyone believing these maniacal libels upon the German people; for these infamous accusations are really directed against the folk of Germany, as the German armies are the German people. Every family from the poorest to the richest, from the simplest peasant to the most aristocratic of the nobles, the princesses, the dukes, the counts and barons, supplies a husband, a son, a father or a brother to swell that mighty army.

If one is to believe the tales of the barbarism of the German troops one must believe that Germany, with her enforced laws of compulsory education (which logically play an important part in the humanizing of an army), her recognized high standards in medicine, philosophy, art, music, and all the units which tend to produce a high grade of civilization and culture, is really rotten to the core—a decadent nation of degenerates in which the mere brute successfully struggles for pre-dominance. One must also believe that these nobly raised aristocratic sons and fathers, all the blue blood

of the Teutonic race, as well as the very professors and doctors with whom one has studied, deliberately give orders for these barbaric cruelties; for these are the men, these most highly cultured men, who are in authority from general to lieutenant.

I wonder if the newspapers quite realize what they are asking their readers to believe, or if the readers themselves grasp the abnormality of what is demanded of their credulity.

Do they know the statistics which show the progress of education and culture in the various European nations?

Are they aware of the fact that in Germany only 1 in 7,000 recruits is unable to read and write?

Compare this with the statistics of other nations:

Sweden .....	1 out of 300
Denmark .....	2 out of 1,000
Switzerland .....	20 out of 1,000
Netherlands .....	23 out of 1,000
England .....	37 out of 1,000
France .....	46 out of 1,000
Belgium .....	101 out of 1,000 (or more than 10%)

These statistics make it less to be wondered at the Belgians having perpetrated such revolting cruelties; but I fancy it is not generally realized that the education laws are poorer in Belgium than anywhere else in Europe, excepting naturally Russia, where it is **against the law** for peasants and serfs to learn to read and write.

Eighty per cent. of the Belgian children only go to school for three years, and then only during six months of the year. The number of public schools is lamentably insufficient.

It is therefore quite logical that barbarism in warfare was more likely to break out in Belgium than anywhere else. An ignorant, illiterate immoral peasantry like the Flemish is far more inclined to commit atrocities, when driven by anger and hate, than are the soldiers of a nation like Germany, where every child must have schooling until the age of sixteen, and where religion is taught in the schools as being a highly important branch of culture, and indispensable for the refinement of the lower classes.

I do not mean to imply that the Belgian soldiers continually descended to wanton cruelties, but what I do wish to make clear is that it was not the **German military**, but the **Belgian peasants**, who behaved like “beasts,” “fiends” and “savages” (a few of the choice epithets of Germany's enemies).

Doesn't England know that at the beginning of the war the Kaiser absolutely prohibited the use of alcohol in the army—for the purpose of keeping his troops steady and reliable?

Doesn't England know that edicts and rules cannot be disregarded in the **German** army without prompt retribution being meted out to the offender?

Since the opening of the war all restaurants, railroad refreshment counters, and so forth, are forbidden by law to sell intoxicating drinks to any soldier, whether officer or private.

These laws are strictly enforced in all conquered territory.

The German army now drinks milk and coffee. If there have been a few stray cases of rioting or drunkenness one may rest assured they were severely punished.

Let us hope that England with her lax laws and comparatively incompetent military organization is in-

capable of comprehending the high moral grade to which discipline has raised the German army; but as English newspapers have not hesitated to accuse high German officers of abetting the common soldiery in its favorite amusements of burning, plundering and maiming (why not add scalping?) it is to be feared that her accusations are more the outcome of blind fury than mere ignorance.

Supposing England really thought she had discovered a few cases of cruelty amongst the German troops, there is not the slightest excuse for her having the impertinence to insult the German royalty and nobility by intimating that wanton cruelty was sanctioned, even ordered by the officers.

Recently there appeared in a hitherto supposedly reliable and conservative pictorial a sketch which was quite a triumph of faked sensationalism.

An ingenious and imaginative artist had pictured a German Red Cross Wagon in which a machine-gun had been installed and was being operated by three artillery men of murderous mien upon the unsuspecting French and English.

This disgraceful sketch was actually printed as authentic, despite the obvious fact that an ambulance could never under any considerations be in a position to inflict damage upon an enemy, even if it had ten machine guns concealed in it.

If the artist only had had the sense to clothe his murderous soldiers in correct German uniforms (with German not English helmets) his faked sketch might have borne more of the stamp of authenticity.

Because there are a few beasts in every army these hackneyed tales of cruelty are always revived, remodeled and refitted to every new war that shakes Europe. They sprang into life again when the Italians landed in Tripoli; they raged rampant during the Balkan war and were indiscriminately applied to all of the belligerents.

Now they have found fresh vigor in the hands of the Triple Entente.

Granted that in an army of six million a few cases of brutality are noticed, is that any excuse for wholesale libels of a civilized, cultured nation?

Does anyone suppose that because some of the English and French soldiers actually did use dum-dum bullets that all of them are brutes, or that the English and French nations are barbarous nations, which in the interest of culture should be wiped off the face of the earth?

Because there is occasionally in times of peace a murder in London or in Paris does any German brand those nations as nations of murderers?

The English soldiers have during this war certainly committed some acts of cruelty, and have in some instances mutilated the wounded.

Well, then, let us grant that there have been occasional acts of cruelty in the German ranks, England is the last nation to trumpet them abroad, as the French and English themselves have been by no means blameless.

How absurd and vicious are also the pictures that depict German officers carousing like Neros in their tents, while their troops carry on the work of destruction outside.

A French pictorial shows a German soldier standing on a woman's corpse and bears the inscription: "Thus do the Germans make war."

Should not the governments of civilized nations prohibit rather than encourage the publication of such inflammatory material.

Why try and make war out worse than it is? Isn't the truth grim and dreadful enough?

On the other hand, how inconsistent are the people

who throw up their hands in holy horror every time a church-tower or a public building, a garden or a hotel is damaged by shells!

Is war a Sunday school, a picnic or a circus?

Can armies who are hourly sacrificing hundreds of lives endanger their chances of success by declining to bombard cities? Take the case of the Rheims Cathedral.

The French deliberately stationed their artillery in a line with the Cathedral, hoping thereby to evade the German fire. In the church tower they placed their lookouts, who by means of field glasses could locate the position of the German artillery.

If the Germans refrained from firing in the neighborhood of the tower, they were at a disadvantage; but if they dislodged the lookouts and damaged the tower, the French government would have the joy of preparing another protest against "German Vandalism."

The French stood to gain in either case; so the Germans naturally chose what would benefit them more, and in one shot they blew away the lookouts and the top of the tower with them. Will any sensible person blame them?

I think not.

It is refreshing to hear of at least one prominent Englishman who has had the courage to protest against the constant libels against the German army.

"Let us be worthy of our foes," writes Lord Roberts, and he proceeds to recall how greatly exaggerated were the reports of British cruelties in South Africa, ending up by declaring that the Germans have violated no rule in the grim game of war.

One would like to see more Lord Robert's in England.

It would help to rekindle that fast dying spark of respect for British "fair play" principles.

"And let me tell you this, that in the next generation we are going to have compulsory military education in this country. There are some who are afraid of militarism. There is no danger of that, but there is danger of destroying the martial spirit of our youth. The paid emissaries of the canny old Scot are even now going around the country preaching peace at any price. Let us all get behind a measure which, if not providing for absolutely compulsory military education, shall be as compulsory and universal as possible. Then, and not until then, will this country be safe and able to preserve the peace."—Senator G. E. Chamberlain (Oregon).

## THE BILLIONAIRE POWER.

### No Other Book Like It Published.

When a great statesman, who has since passed away, was told that the late William H. Vanderbilt was worth two hundred million dollars he declared that it was too great a power to be in the possession of one man. John D. Rockefeller is said to be worth two billion dollars, or ten times the wealth of Vanderbilt. A very few of these over-rich individuals make up what may be termed a multi-billionaire group. A leading New York daily paper recently asked, "What is to be said of Mr. Morgan returning to Wall Street with one billion dollars of marketable securities at his own exclusive disposition?"

The question is answered by Charles M. Howell in his booklet, entitled "The Billionaire Power.—The Remedy." On a correct answer, by the people of the United States, Mr. Howell maintains, depends the restoration and preservation to them of their constitutional right "to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." There is no other book like it published. Price 25 cents, postpaid. Order and remit through Issues and Events, 21 Park Row, New York City.



# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### ROOSEVELT LET JAPS VIOLATE KOREA.

Dr. Horace N. Allen, of Toledo, formerly United States minister to Korea, said that it is true the United States government flagrantly violated its treaty agreement with Korea at the time of the Japanese war with Russia. Dr. Allen was in Korea then.

Japan was permitted to seize Korea for war purposes and the United States, under President Roosevelt's administration, not only did not take steps to prevent this, but at the conclusion of the war withdrew its legation from Korea, leaving that country to become a Japanese dependency.

President Cleveland, Dr. Allen said, observed the treaty between the two nations in 1894, when Japan and China were at war, and sent "one of his stalwart messages," which resulted in preserving the independence of Korea.

Dr. Allen said:

"I was not there at the withdrawal of our legation after the Japanese-Russian war. I had been recalled two months before. I had been there 21 years as a missionary-physician, as physician to the royal family, as secretary of the legation, and from 1897 to 1905 as American minister.

"Although conditions are not the same as to Belgium and Korea, it is true that we violated our treaty flagrantly in the case of Korea. I cannot recall the exact words of the treaty of 1883, but it was to the effect that if either nation should be attacked by a third, the other would come to its assistance.

"This treaty was the main inducement which called Korea out from its seclusion as the hermit kingdom and opened the way for the United States as the favored nation.

"Americans installed all their improvements. They purchased American goods and from Americans whenever possible. They resented deeply the failure of the United States to keep its treaty obligations by protecting them from Japan.

"In the case of the war between Japan and China in 1894, President

Cleveland recognized the binding character of this clause in the Korean treaty. He sent a very emphatic cable to the Japanese government to the effect that America was shocked at the unfair war on Korea.

"This act of President Cleveland had a marked effect on the subsequent attitude of the Japanese government, which on the conclusion of peace with China gave Korea her absolute independence. When Japan entered on her later war in 1914 she announced that she would maintain the integrity of Korea and of its royal house.

"This promise was violated.

"We want no differences with Japan. It is unfortunate that political expediency drags the question from oblivion."

The Korean affair has been revived by the speech of Elihu Root in the New York Republican state convention. He commended the Roosevelt foreign policy and flayed Wilson for not protesting the invasions of Belgium.

Democrats expect to show that Japan invaded Korea, just as Germany invaded Belgium, and that President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Root not only never opposed the move, but aided Japan to overrun the hermit kingdom.

### HALDANE WARNS BRITAIN.

London.—"Great Britain and her allies will face a new peril after the present conflict in an industrial war for which Germany has long been preparing by the creation of a new and formidable class of highly skilled workmen."

This statement was made by Viscount Haldane, the former Secretary of State for War, in an address at the University of London last night.

"I want to sound a warning of what is in store for us," he asserted. "I am more afraid of an engine for conquest in peace time, which the Germans were busy preparing before the war, than I am of the 42-centimeter guns. Germany is training the youth of the land in special skilled trades to outdistance competitors throughout the world."

### GERMAN DISCOVERS MEAT SUBSTITUTE.

London.—Berlin papers which have reached here contain advertisements of the latest scientific discovery of German chemists—a substitute for meat.

It is called "Procarnol," and the advertisement describes it as "a vegetable meat, above all competition, a first class article of popular consumption, of high class economic value, for private households, the military authorities, military hospitals, communities, hotels, etc., in taste and preparation just like meat, but far more nutritious and cheaper, good for baking and boiling in a variety of ways.

The London morning papers all discuss the recruiting difficulties. The Times takes the leading place as the advocate of universal compulsion. The Chronicle, on the other side, supports the Government's present position. It asserts:

"Many of the loudest critics of Asquith's attitude are far more anxious to overthrow the Prime Minister and destroy the coalition government than to add men to the army.

"The German Emperor won't wait and the War Office cannot wait or we might be able to consider and even concede some of your demands. No matter whether married or single, every man should be prepared to defend his country."

This was the gist of a brief reply given by the Earl of Derby to a deputation of married men, who had attested and who demanded the enrollment of every unmarried man before calling up the others.

### GERMANY MAY MAKE OWN SILK AFTER WAR.

Berlin.—The discovery that the leaves of viper's grass, or schwarzwurzel, make a better food than mulberry leaves for silkworms is announced by a Prof. Dammer.

Viper's grass is extensively cultivated in Europe as a vegetable, the root being highly prized in winter when other vegetables are not abundant, but the leaves of the plant have been regarded as worthless. According to Prof. Dammer viper's grass can be grown in the poorest sandy soil and its leaves can be plucked continuously, whereas only one crop of leaves can be harvested from the mulberry tree each year.

He says each workman can produce only about 150 pounds of cocoons a year from worms fed with mulberry leaves, but the yield with viper's root leaves can be brought up to 600 to 750 pounds. He thinks there is a big future for silk production in Germany. An abundance of land can be used without reducing the present cultivated area and many poor people, widows and crippled men can profitably take to silk growing, since the work is light and the little skill needed can soon be acquired.

Before the war Germany imported nearly \$40,000,000 worth of raw silk yearly. Dammer proposes that henceforth it shall be produced at home. The quality of the silk produced from viper's root, he says, has been found equal to the very highest imported grades.



**PREPAREDNESS.**

English writers claim great credit for their country because England allegedly was not prepared for this war. Aside from the fact that England was prepared with allies, whose preparation had been far more frenzied than those of Germany, the allegation that Britain herself was unprepared is disputable. Protected by her navy, Britain need not fear the armies of the continent; as far as Britain is concerned, these armies are solely defensive. Not so the British navy, which can be used for aggression as well as for defense. But it is the illegal use of her navy as an instrument of torture that makes Britain a formidable enemy, as demonstrated a century ago. Attrition, the threat of starvation is at the same time the meanest and the most frightful resource of Albion. It also is an effective means of forcing neutral countries to commit unneutral acts and to "support diplomacy" striving to enlist allies. The feelings of the neutral countries thus coerced ("though they protest, they obey," Lord Chas. Beresford), the fact that her blockade is illegal, are irrelevant to Albion.

**To Drive Dull Care Away****MASTERLY RETREATS.**

"For masterly retreats," explained a British officer to an American, "we have had a few generals equal to Buller. On several occasions he had made a retreat without losing an officer, a man, a gun, or a flag."

"Or a minute," added the American.

**DROVE THINGS HOME.**

"You remember that speaker you told us not long ago?" asked the committeeman, of the lecture bureau.

"Sure."

"You remember you told us he was the sort of speaker that drove home the truth?"

"Yes, indeed. Didn't he do it?"

"Yep, he did; and the audience, and everything."

**WAR PRICES.**

"How much for the shoes?"

"Five dollars."

"Why, I used to pay three for this kind."

"Yes, sir, but the war has run up the price of leather, you see."

"I'll have to think a minute."

((The customer thinks a minute.))

"How much did you say?"

"I said five dollars, but the price is now five-fifty. In forty seconds more it will be six. I advise you to buy right away."

"Wrap them up, quick! Here's my check."

((The clerk wraps up the shoes and looks at the check.))

"You've made a slight mistake, sir."

"What's wrong?"

"You've written the check for five-fifty. That pays for one shoe only. A pair of them will cost you \$11."

**GOOD TASTE IN COLORS.**

"Such taste!" exclaimed the spinster. "She ties her little daughter's red hair with pink ribbons."

"Did you ever stop to notice," replied the matron, "that the Lord gave little red-headed girls pink lips?"

**A TEA EXPERT'S MISTAKE.**

A Chicagoan who claims to be something of an epicure recently looked over his wife's grocery bill and there discovered that she had been paying only 80 cents a pound for tea when he thought he had been drinking tea that cost \$3 a pound. He had never before made any complaint about the tea, but just as soon as he learned the cost he discovered all kinds of flaws in the beverage. He said nothing, but when he went to town the next time he visited a tea store and bought a pound of the finest Oolong tea, for which he paid \$5.00. He took it home that night, and, slipping into the kitchen when his wife was out, he searched about until he found the tea caddy, which was nearly full. He threw away the contents, however, and refilled the caddy from his own package. It had not been his intention to say anything about the substitution, but next evening he could not help referring to the improved quality of the beverage.

"Ah, this is something like tea, this evening," said he. "Don't you notice the difference?"

"No, I don't," said his wife. "It tastes to me exactly like the tea we have been drinking for the last month, and so it should, for it is the same tea."

The epicurean husband laughed.

"Just like a woman," he said. "She never knows what is good and what isn't unless we tell her. Now I could have told you with my eyes shut that this tea is better than the tea we have been drinking."

"It is a pity you haven't been drinking with your eyes shut all the time," retorted the lady. "Anyhow, it is the same tea."

"Well, I'll just prove to you," said her husband, "how defective a woman's sense of taste can be. Yesterday I bought a pound of \$5.00 tea, threw out what was in the caddy, and put mine in its place. And to think that you never noticed the difference."

"Which caddy did you empty?"

"One on the middle shelf of the pantry," he replied.

"Just what I thought," said the wife, quietly. "That was some special tea I keep for special occasions. The caddy with the cheap tea is in the cupboard in the kitchen, and this," she added, with an exasperating smile, as she lifted the teapot, "was made out of the self same caddy as it has been every evening. How blessed you must be in possessing such a cultivated taste. I have heard that tea tasters got very high salaries. Now, don't you—"

But the husband cut her remarks short by leaving the room.

\* \* \*

**TAKING NO CHANCES.**

Irrespective of what they may decide to do as members of the Government, Senators are wiring their European bound friends to sail only on neutral ships.

New Orleans paper says that lightning moves in curves. That's probably why you never can tell just where the presidential kind is going to strike.

**SLACKERS.**

British Foreman Compositor—"Three more of my men have enlisted this morning."

Editor—"Ah! A wave of patriotism, I suppose?"

Foreman Compositor—"Well! Perhaps that's the way to put it, but they say they would rather be shot than set any more of your copy!"—Passing Show.

**AND YET THEY MAKE FUN OF THEM.**

Mr. Foggy London—What causes the delightfully clear weather you have in New York?

Mr. Man Hattan—Skyscrapers, dear boy.

**HAD ENOUGH.**

The Lady—"Don't be frightened. My dog's bark is worse than his bite."

The Tramp (who has been bitten)—"Then, for Heaven's sake, lady, don't let him bark."

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# Issues<sup>and</sup> Events

## A Weekly Magazine

Vol. IV. No. 17

NEW YORK, APRIL 22, 1916

Five Cents

## Public Brains

By CHARLES FERGUSON

At the invitation of President Wilson the five national societies of Engineers are organizing standing committees to make a survey of the industrial resources of the country. In each State five men, skilled in the practical arts whereby we all—directly or indirectly, honestly or dishonestly—get our living, will make an orderly effort to find out how well or ill the immense apparatus of private production is adjusted to the public need. The engineering societies elect the committees and these will serve under Federal appointment but without pay.

The immediate end in view is preparedness for war. But we have come to understand—Germany has taught us the lesson—that productive power and destructive or defensive power are two sides of the same thing. Therefore, in evolving organs of scientific intelligence to husband our industrial strength for fighting, we have achieved also—as a by-product—an intelligence that can be turned to the building of cities and the subdual of the earth. It is a pity that we had to think socially about killing people in order to take social thought about the economizing of our own lives. One may

wish that we had come to this new adventure on more honorable terms.

Nevertheless, a momentous thing has come to pass. We have developed a social cerebrum—PUBLIC BRAINS!

So far as I know this is the first time in the history of modern republics that institutions based on sheer competency and self-devotion and exercising distinct public jurisdiction, have risen up out of the people.

Take note that these engineers are not officials. They remain private citizens. Their power to affect the operation of laws and to influence events, depends solely upon the public persuasion that they know their way around in the real world, and that they are going to use their knowledge with a single eye to the general welfare.

Now, having gone thus far toward the organization of practical intelligence on democratic grounds, we shall be inexcusable if we don't go farther.

It is a good thing that every State should have a public brain, working free and clear from the pressure of private interest, the warp of party politics and

(Continued on page 284)

## Sir Roger Casement

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# Issues and Events

A Weekly Magazine

## Freedom of Mind and Soul

By DR. W. D. BLISS.

(Editor of the Encyclopedia of Social Reform.)

**A**CADEMIC freedom is a phrase of German origin. Ex-President Eliot, of Harvard University, recently found himself able to say: "The German people do not know what political and social liberty is." This appears, however, to be his war opinion since in 1913 he wrote very differently. Then he said: "Two great doctrines which had sprung from the German Protestant Reformation had been developed by Germans from seed then planted in Germany. The first was the doctrine of universal education, developed from the Protestant conception of individual responsibility, and the second was the great doctrine of civil liberty, liberty in industries, in society, in government, liberty with order under law." Of German academic freedom, he said (in 1913): "This academic freedom meant emancipation from tradition and prejudice, and from authority, whether governmental or ecclesiastical. \* \* \* The Teutonic peoples set higher value on truth in speech, thought and action than any other people. \* \* \* They love truth; they seek it; they woo it. America is more indebted to Germany than to any other nation, because the range of German research has been wider and deeper than that of any nation."

### American Tyranny.

Every American scholar knows that in 1913 Dr. Eliot spoke the facts. No thinking has been so wide, so deep, so unfettered, so free as German thinking. In the United States every year, almost every month, some professor is driven from his chair in university or school for the sin of daring to think contrary to the financial interests of his institution. In Germany such a situation is almost unthinkable. In the smaller colleges or schools in the United States a worse state of affairs exists. There teachers are not so often driven from their chairs for the freedom of their thoughts; they are scarcely allowed to think at all.

Said an American professor at a conference called this year to promote freedom of teaching in America—note the object—"For the vast majority of colleges, the mere question of existence overrides all other questions in the relation of teachers and institution. What follows? They naturally go with the crowd. They do what is expected of them. They are born that way and they'll starve if they don't. But what is expected of them? I find that in three cases out of four the man is expected not to take up current, vital, social and economic issues. If he does, the president tells him this is a difficult subject; better keep off. \* \* \* The grinding oppressive power of vested interests is more expressed toward this group than toward the dozen who are fired."

At the same conference President Pritchett, of the

Carnegie Foundation, declared that in nine cases out of ten the trustees of American colleges are chosen for financial reasons only. Do we wonder that money rules and that scholarship and, sometimes even truth, take second place? Did one ever hear of a conference in Germany to preserve freedom of teaching? And it is certainly not because the professors in German universities do not think freely. In almost all branches of thought they are the most daring and advanced thinkers in the world. In religion, all schools of thought go to Germany for their progressive thinking. In economics and in the science of government, the Socialists of the chair are equally well known.

### Real Free Thought.

It is the same outside of the university. A large share of the free thought and free literature of the world comes from Germany. Occasionally, it is true, one hears of a Socialist paper being suspended in Germany. But in America radical papers are hounded out of existence by the postoffice. Radicals, agitators, labor leaders, beyond all possibility of denial, are more often arrested and imprisoned for their utterances in America than in any civilized country, unless it be Russia. The lack of free speech in America is one of the great questions of the day. \* \* \* Some radicals consider it the greatest question. He who doubts this has never read the radical press of America.

### Freedom of Preaching.

People talk of the evils of a state church. The writer of this article does not believe in a state church. But a state church, as it exists in Germany, is liberty itself compared with a money church, such as we have so many of in the United States. Liberty of preaching in Germany and in the United States is perhaps as 100 to 1. The writer has personal acquaintance with literally scores of clergymen in the United States who have lost their churches through preaching sermons unsatisfactory to the rich men in their congregations or furnishing their support. A leading radical clergyman in Germany, who is in a position to know, tells the writer that such a situation in Germany is all but unknown. Nor, again, is this because German clergymen do not dare express unpopular truths. German theology, of every school of religious thought, is known for its daring and radicalism. Most modern heresies come from Germany.

In the United States we have a comparatively few city clergymen receiving princely salaries, while the large majority of the clergymen receive salaries on which it is barely possible to live.

In almost every denomination in the United States it is these obsequious preachers of the rich who rule the

denomination machinery and give rise to the charge so continually made that the American churches have given up Christianity for Mammonism. Of the Church of England Karl Marx wrote, years ago, that she would willingly sacrifice thirty-eight of her thirty-nine articles rather than one-thirty-ninth of her income. The fact is that Germany is a very nursery of every kind of new thought. This is especially true of advanced scientific thought. In the year 1910 there were issued in the world some 15,540 technical and scientific books. Of these 2,000 were French 2,100 were in English (English and American); 10,400 were German. He who does not read German is 'not up with the world's advance thought. He who questions the freedom of German thinking simply writes himself down as unacquainted with the best scholarship.

### Social Freedom.

The same freedom exists in everyday German life. Those who know Germany superficially do not usually realize this, because some things which you can do in other countries you cannot do in Germany, and this attracts attention. In many German cities you cannot play a piano which will disturb your neighbors excepting between 7 in the morning and 9 at night; you cannot air your bedding at the front window; you cannot hire a servant or change your residence without notifying the police. These and similar regulations strike the notice of travelers, and, those whose conception of liberty consists in the right to do these things consider Germany a land of too much law. But this freedom from disturbance by one's neighbors, the fact that when you employ a servant you can know whom you are employing; with the fact that people of shady morals or unpaid bills cannot move by night, shows why many people believe that in Germany you are freer in many personal and social ways than in any other land.

You are comparatively free, for example, from being poisoned by your grocer, from being sold water by your

milkman or your stock dealer, from being given stones when you ask for bread, or disease germs when you pay for meat; you are not robbed when you travel by rail or on a street car, nor burned or drowned when you travel by water; you are not mulcted by your gas company and lied to by your meter; you are not taxed without representation, nor mocked when you vote a protest ticket. There is certainly something to be said for having just laws and for having them enforced—always excepting the interests of the three classes of whom we spoke at the beginning of last week's article. For them, of course, the lack of law is a gain.

*"No rogue e'er felt the halter draw  
With good opinion of the law."*

### Unconventional Habits.

On the other hand, if one happens to have unusual opinions as to forms of dress or mode of living, sometimes even of what constitutes personal morality, there is in Germany a freedom from the tyranny of the majority, from ex-communication by Mother Grundy, found in other lands. Upon the streets of German cities one sees dressing, healthy and esthetic, even if not always fashionable, and in German homes unconventional ways, such as few would dare venture upon where every individual is free to torment or annoy his neighbor.

Those who are willing to look and to learn from facts will thus find that in the deep things of the soul, in the great things of the intellect, in the necessities of business and of labor, in the right to speedy and impartial justice, in the right to vote and have your vote influence public polity and legislation, in the personal things which often express individuality the most, Germany, the land of the world's wisest and most advanced laws, is also the land of the greatest amount of personal liberty. Thus Germany, as measured by facts, is the land of personal freedom.

## Public Brains

(Continued from cover page.)

the deadly routine of officialdom. Let us hope and expect that the engineers will not fail us.

**But why shouldn't we have brains of this sort in every country town and city-ward?**

Come now, fellow-citizens, let us get hold of this **new truth**: A democracy is a social system that has public brains in every village—just as a live man has brain all over his body, in every nerve-ganglion.

Mr. Roosevelt and his admirers think its enough that the country have brains at the top of its head—in Washington. Washington, they say, ought to manage the trusts, and then let the trusts manage the rest of the country.

But we don't think so, do we? And we don't think it's very intelligent of Mr. Roosevelt to think so, or to think he can make us think so.

Mr. Roosevelt has done his best to discredit the German people. He now proves his complete misunderstanding of the German Social System by inviting us to admire and imitate a German Economic Autocracy—that does **not** exist.

Those who know Germany, know that its strength, for peace or war, depends upon its essential democracy—the wide diffusion of its working intelligence, the multiplicity of its local centers of scientific control.

It is possible for the United States to be much stronger than Germany—by being still more democratic

than Germany is—with a still wider diffusion of working intelligence and more and stronger centers of scientific control.

If however we follow such counsels as Mr. Roosevelt offers we shall continue to be weak, and shall turn our backs upon the hope of solid and permanent prosperity.

Such men as he belong to the past, and live upon the survival of outworn political superstitions. His is a feeble-forcibleness, the weakness of violence and vehemence. The spirit of modern science and democracy is not in him.

He appeals to the party-passion. And parties are played out.

The party-system served well enough, before the development of the vast mutuality of modern business. But now it has become inevitable that those who control the industrial system shall control the parties and the government.

The meaning of new state standing committees of engineers is that the American public is taking its first scientific survey of its industrial plant, with a view to subjecting it to a public and impersonal control.

But we must get much closer to the engines before we shall master them and make them work for us all.

**We must have public brains in every town—must develop free and unofficial institutions of scientific control in every local community.**

Is it not so?

# Danger Signals and Sentinels

By FRANK WILLIAMS

THE danger signals still fly in Washington. The demoniac powers still conjure storms out of the vasty deep to threaten the Ship of State. The nation is still threatened with disaster—with disaster that would pale the ghosts of all previous earthly political catastrophes.

This Republic was established in blood and sacrifice by men who had conceived a new and unprecedentedly noble political ideal, and the date of its establishment was the birthday of modern times. The American Republic is inestimably precious to the world. It matters supremely whether it continues to exist in its purity or goes the way of all civic decay. True patriots realize that with the charter of our liberties we did not get a guarantee of success, but only a fighting chance. It has been a fight from the Fourth of July, 1776, till to-day: against English exploitation, against human slavery, against bigotry, against English treachery, against coarse materialism, greed, appalling corruption, and the encroaching power of a capitalism unrestrained in its lust to subject the world to its uses and debauch governments in order to rise superior to law. And now to-day the ancient enemy, England, and the new foe, capitalism, allied and interfused and made one, are engaged in a desperate attempt to undo at one stroke the work of the stern men who erected the Republic, and to blight with one blast the fairest hope of organized, political mankind.

There, in England, in that little island which has brought the world under the sway of her blood-stained trident, is the center of the capitalistic power in all its lawless, brutal forms; distinct from the true and useful capitalism, which builds up the world for all, where this super-capitalism subjects the world, carelessly crushing out all human values, for the profit of a few. And here, in America, the tentacles stretch over the land. How much of the golden blood of our wealth is drained into England! But now, blind to the glorious human values which the German people had created, England, having attacked that people and having found them, with Almighty God on their side, not an easy victim but an easy victor—England seeks to draw even the last dollar of American wealth and credit, even the last drop of American blood to her side, to fight for her, to die and be dissipated for her. And the great banking power of America, seeing in an alliance with England on those terms the perfect means of triumphing, of undoing the Republic, and of reducing a free people to the status of debt-laden serfs, is moving Hell and Earth to consummate the plot.

'So J. P. Morgan is the financial agent of England. So the metals and chemicals industries of the United States have been turned into a vast munitions works for England and her poor "allies." So the press of the country has been carefully debauched, the social atmosphere tainted, and the public men intimidated. And so, as the steady step of Nemesis has drawn nearer and nearer to a shrinking, chattering England, her agents, her emissaries, her spies, her servants and her dupes in this country have made ever more frantic efforts to draw this country into the world war on her side. We have said before that we need make no allegations against our President. All the world may interpret what he has done since the Lusitania fell a victim to the law of reprisal, and what he is doing to-day.

It is doubtful if any government has ever so cheapened itself as the present administration has in its method of feeding the press with suspicions, charges and every species of sensationalism. And it is doubtful if any government ever adopted so shameful an attitude

as that which the State Department and the White House allowed the press to put it in a few days ago, when it was stated that if Germany asked us to produce our proofs that the Sussex was torpedoed, we would refuse to do so, but would only reiterate our charge and intensify our truculent attitude. What shame will mantle the patriot's brow when in future decades he reads that the government of the United States took the attitude of the bully and the blackmailer and the marplot, and threatened war while afraid to let in the light of day to its reasons and its proofs! What would the courts do to a private citizen who threatened his neighbor with vengeance for a fancied wrong, and in face of that neighbor's denial, refused to submit his evidence?

In things like this, in the mysterious movements of Colonel House, in the visits of Cleveland H. Dodge, in the obvious panic that threatens the cohesion of the "allies" and the evident frenzy of the Anglo-Americans, close observers in Washington read the evidence that the hope of engaging us in the war has not departed from Mr. Wilson's breast. Members of Congress believe it. More and more of the Nation's legislators are likely to be forced to realize that a dangerous mistake was made when the helm of the Ship of State was not taken entirely from the hands of a captain who endures the piracy and the insults of England, nay, loves the pirate so well that he would go to her aid.

The ominous thing is that as English outrages multiply, Congress nevertheless continues to forego its function of guiding the nation. In this, as the case now stands, there is an appalling failure already of the intention and purpose of American government. Many members of Congress must know, and surely all of them should know, that the Constitution gives the President no right whatever to guide the nation in international affairs, but on the other hand does repose that right and impose that duty on Congress. Every member of Congress does know what outrages have been put upon the nation. Every member of Congress, if he has the brains to deserve a place in that responsible body, should see that if the Administration is permitted to involve the nation in the war, the Republic will be tottering to ruin, its fabric will be torn by forces it can hardly withstand. Every traditional policy will be rooted out; every meaning which our history has ever had will be nullified. We shall become as England, a doting mock-democracy, ruled by suave fakers in behalf of an upper class which steadily grinds us down under debt and taxes, holding us in the horrible harness of economic necessity, serfs to an enthroned super-capitalism. Before that fate fastens on us there will be an internal struggle in this country beside the horrors of which the French Revolution and our own Civil War will seem mere riots and skirmishes. To-day all the courage of patriots and thinkers is needed to battle with encroaching Plutocracy. If we are drawn into the war, the battle will be all but hopeless, but the battle will at least be made.

It is such a problem, nothing less, which looms before a careless Congress. We cannot without danger permit our temporary Executive to lend all the force of this Government to the protection of English ships—English ships, not American, flying the English flag—save when they borrow ours as a cloak from which to strike a murderous blow. Our course as an ally of England, threatening Germany with war in defense of English ships, cries to Heaven. Will it not cry to Congress?

There are men in Congress who are on guard. They have already made it inevitable that the President must

go before them with a statement of his reasons before he plunges into war. The question is, will he succeed in creating such a situation that when he goes before Congress that body will, as in the Panama and Mexican crises, weakly yield him all he wants? Or will Congress—the one supremely responsible power of the greatest Republic on earth—Congress the elected rulers of the original Free People—will it rise to the heights it seems to have permanently lost, and save the Republic? Shall History record 1916 as the year of regeneration—or as the year when Caesar, or super-capitalism, became the State?

Citizens of some states are still writing their Congressmen urging them to defend the rights and safety of the Republic. Citizens of every state should do the same.

We are not living now in a peaceful interval; we are living in a continuing crisis. It can be stated very positively that the excellent fight which was recently made by patriots in Congress for the McLemore resolution was made possible only by the alert action of thousands of citizens who wrote and telegraphed their representatives. It can be stated just as positively that the safety of the nation in the near future depends absolutely on the people letting their representatives understand that this country must not war on Germany in defense of English ships and to protect the profits of Morgan and to fasten the weight of a bonded debt and the hopeless chains of economic slavery upon the people.

## The Backward Nation

By JAMES P. WARBASSE.

OUTSIDE of the European charnel fields is a great world of neutral people. All about is a circumference of non-combatant spectators. They go their way. Some look on with amazement; some with pity, some with scorn, some with gladness, because there are large profits to be reaped. The bleeding bodies of suffering men are running streams of gold for some.

Three thousand miles away is a great nation. Its wealthy are prosperous beyond their fondest needs; its resources and possibilities for happiness are infinite. It goes about its business, interested in the sufferings of the fellowmen in Europe chiefly in two senses—as a great and newsy contest and as a field for coining profit. At peace with itself, at peace with the world, this sordid, slothful nation wallows in blood-won prosperity. It is the greatest in wealth, the most powerful in influence, the most endowed with latent potentialities for world service of all the non-combatant nations of the earth.

In the trenches of Europe, in the camps, in the beleaguered cities, in the councils of the marshals of the men of death, are those who look with longing vision to this great nation to set in motion the world movement which shall bring them and their fellows peace at last. They know that there are certain points upon which the combatants are agreed. Each of the belligerent countries is oppressed with an increasing sense of horror at the loss of life and treasure; there is a growing desire on the part of each to discover some means of settlement which will obviate the further sacrifice which prolongation of the war entails; they have expressed themselves that they do not desire territorial aggrandizement; they are willing to consider proposals of peace; they wish the war to end; and they know that to hasten the end the initiative for peace must come from outside the warring nations.

Future historians will write it down that at this period of deadlock, when neither side could speak of peace, the greatest neutral nation of the world stood idly by and made no move to gather together a congress of the nations of the world to formulate the plans of peace which the combatants themselves were powerless to suggest. The President has twice rejected the invitation of Sweden to join it in a neutral conference designed to formulate terms of peace to end the war. It is stated that he declares he will take no steps for peace until his aid is asked by one of the belligerents. Of all the official utterances of this nation there is not one constructive peace-making note—platitudes, stale academic utterances, jingo politics, mediaeval superstitions, but not a glimmer of social vision, not a constructive thought. Only one positive thing has been done. Some twelve months ago the President of the

United States set aside a day upon which he invoked the people to pray for peace, although, with the dust of the altars still on their knees, they quickly proceeded to make powder and guns to be sold for the purpose of perpetuating the war.

At this time of bloody suffering in Europe, at this time of opportunity for this country to come forward with a great social plan for peace, at this time when the world is witnessing the dreadful effects of "preparedness," at this time above all others when militarism must be thought of in shame, at this time when there is less danger of attack from a foreign foe than ever in the history of the country, there transpires the amazing spectacle of the President of the United States leaving his important duties of state, going up and down the country, exhorting the people not to avoid the pitfalls into which Europe has fallen, not to display to the world an example of peace, but urging them to make more powder and shells, to build more guns, to construct more dreadnoughts and engines of destruction, to take more men from the peaceful pursuits of life and fill their hearts with the spirit of murder. And all this, not in the interest of the great destiny of a hundred million people, but in the interest of a pending political campaign!

May the soldier in the trenches, with the vision of his wife and babes at home, who waits and hopes that the great nation across the water may inaugurate the movement that shall bring peace, be spared the horror of knowing that it is the nasty thing we call politics to which he must defer. Pity us for his judgment when he learns that no President can be elected in this bitter year who has not the approval of the great money camorra, which holds the magic basket into which drops of blood are distilled into gold and which now demands of its candidate that he shall give them the power to threaten and kill in distant lands where they have sent their gold to multiply and increase.

You, soldier in the trenches, you may cease to dream of your wife and babes. The President of the nation to which you turn your eyes will offer "friendly offices" when your kings and monarchs ask for peace, and not before. This is the custom of the ancients! It is written thus in the books; the academies teach it thus. Yet the stupidest politician knows that when the monarch ask for peace peace will quickly come without external aid.

In the meantime, while you long for peace and cessation of the roar of cannon, the President of the United States exhorts his people to enter the contest of matching armaments with the pitiful and deluded powers of Europe.

Thus passes the greatest opportunity any man or any nation ever had to serve the peoples of the world.

# The Engineer vs. the Commercial Man

(From an address by H. L. Gannt, the industrial engineer.)

**T**RUE to his traditions of buying at the lowest price and selling at the highest, the commercial man has continued to apply these principles to all his dealings, including the purchase of labor. The combinations, or trusts, derive their strength and profit, not from their ability to produce more cheaply, as was at first claimed, but largely from their ability to fix both the buying and the selling price.

The workmen, on their part, recognize these facts, and realize that the only effort to get a greater reward for their work is one backed by force. Hence under these methods of doing business, the growth of trusts on one side, and hostile labor unions on the other, is a natural development. Further, the workmen, realizing that they get but a small share of the increase in wealth produced by greater efforts on their part, or by improved machinery, are not only slow in exerting greater efforts, or adopting improved machinery, but often opposed to both. Thus, much of our industrial development is carried on under conditions where one party and often both are hostile to such developments; for the commercial man is also often opposed to improved methods. Such methods usually cost money to install, and he being interested only in profits, does not see any advantage in effecting economies if his competitor is able ultimately to do the same. Thus where the control of a plant is in the hands of a man of commercial instincts, or training, there is apt to be but little interest in effecting economies that cost money; and, as many of our plants are under such control, this condition is widespread.

Inasmuch as most factories are controlled by men of commercial instincts or training, their gauge is necessarily not efficiency, of which they know nothing, but profits, of which they know a great deal.

If we would increase the efficiency of a plant, the

problem must be put up to a man who knows at least what the word means. Fortunately the man who knows most about efficiency also knows most not only about the application of science to the mechanic arts, but also about workmen, by whose side he has obtained his knowledge and acquired his skill in the use of tools. This man is the engineer. **He is the only man who spans the whole gap between the capitalist and the workmen, and knows the mental attitude and necessities of each. It is on his shoulders therefore that must fall the burden of harmonizing their interests.**

As said before the engineer has too often been content when he has built his machine or plant, and his training has largely been confined to preparation for his work. Now, however, when the larger responsibility of management thrusts itself upon him, his education and training should include at once the elements of his new duties.

The greatest problem before us today is not that of developing new and better appliances, but that of properly utilizing those we have. The recognition of this fact has given rise to the tremendous interest in the subject of management which has become manifest in the last few years. Interest, however, is not enough. Knowledge must be obtained before great progress can be made.

Our difficulty has been mainly with the commercial man, who often seems incapable of considering anybody's interest except his own, and has not yet recognized that the prosperity of all is directly helped by the prosperity of each. As yet he has no idea of what real co-operation means. His idea of co-operation is that of the pack, or herd, whose co-operation is for attack or defense. George W. Perkins and Samuel Gompers are the most prominent public advocates of this kind of co-operation, which aims to spoil the outsiders for the benefit of those in the ring.

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## A Peonage That is Not Mexican

By CHARLES FERGUSON.

**I**MAGINE a State—say the State of California—in which landlordism had ceased to exist through the public appropriation of all “economic” rents, in accordance with the Henry George formula. Then imagine the abolishment of all capital also—by “act of God”—some greater San Francisco fire and earthquake that had swept away the whole material equipment of productive enterprise throughout the state. Society would then be thrown back upon its **immaterial equipment**—upon the complex creative capabilities, of technical and scientific talents, which is the historical heritage of the people of the State of California. Let it be noted that these “incorporeal hereditaments”—this immaterial equipment—is the quintessence of all economic and political power. It is the stuff out of which all material wealth is made. **And the power to put the immaterial equipment of a people in array—or in disarray—is the ultimate definition of social authority.**

In the case supposed therefore the immaterial equipment would be sufficient for the restoration of the apparatus of civilization—food, clothes, housing, the means of transportation and so on. The practical question would be: How is this equipment to be composed and assembled? Individuals in isolation could do next

to nothing toward restoring the apparatus of civilization. The problem would be to effect the social correlations necessary for the re-creation of ranches, mines, mills, etc.

Now as things stand in the mentality and habit of the United States our devastated California could re-establish its necessary correlations in only one way. Let us see what that way would be:

Capitalists—i. e., the owners of tools and productive materials—would have nothing to say about it; for there would be no tools and materials, and consequently no such ownership, and no capitalists. Landlords would be out of the reckoning also—by grace of Henry George.

Does anybody suppose therefore that California society would start fresh and free—that it would be delivered from old habitual task-masters and from the yoke of privilege? Is there any likelihood that its farmers, mechanics, chemists, artists, engineers and industrial organizers would conspire together in local communities, saying to one another: We have in our own minds and bodies the immaterial equipment of civilization, out of which a new and sufficient material equipment can be created in a year, or two or three. If at first we need corn or clothes and a shovel or two—or



even a gang-plow or a mining plant—such things can be got from our neighbors to the eastward **on the security of these same incorporeal values which are the basis of all wealth.** Let us establish new credit centers—for the administration of a rousing finance that shall put every man on his mettle, and really make things move. **Let all of us back the notes of each one of us—in proportion to his delivery of the goods.**

That would be a business-like arrangement and a sensible thing to do. But who, having observed and reflected upon the tortuous mentality of modern business communities, can suppose that anything so business-like and sensible would actually be done? No, it may be said with confidence that in such a case as that supposed it would hardly occur to the business communities of California to improvise banks or credit centers devoted frankly to the production of goods. The reason is that Californians, like other Americans, are accustomed to do business from credit centers that are operated in the interest of a creditor class. And the idea of working a bank for the direct purpose of building a town or raising the living standard would be regarded as “fine for the millenium” but for present and practical purposes altogether visionary.

The plain fact is that in all matters relating to large scale production and distribution of goods, our modes of action and habits of thought have been adjusted to an impersonal and complicated CUSTOM OF PEONAGE. It is difficult for us to conceive of a very large economic enterprise as being instituted by others than the people to whom the community owes money, or as being undertaken with any other motive than the

increase of the community's debt to such people. Thus our unfortunate Californians must not be expected to understand that all the intrinsic powers of modern finance are lodged in their own bodies. Their mechanics, engineers and industrial organizers have not acquired the habit of getting together on their own account for financial purposes. They lie under the general persuasion that finance begins with having a lot of money, and ends in an inscrutable mystery that no layman should hope to fathom. Therefore the thing that the Californians would actually do in the face of their emergency, is this:

They would resort to certain leisurely and sedentary persons called bankers—persons generally quite unapt and uninterested in the outdoor processes whereby the earth is subdued and cities built, and skilled only in the processes whereby the claims of creditors are fastened upon the apparatus of civilization. These persons, acting as curators and trustees of the creditor class, would have in their strong-boxes certificates of indebtedness against society at large. Or if the documents had been lost their substance would persist in memory, and could be proved in court. It is upon these debt-certificates and the memory of claims against tools and materials that had ceased to exist, that the new fabric of Californian civilization would be constituted. Yes, it is true. So far as any reconstructive operations on a considerable scale were concerned, the ranchers, mechanics, engineers and industrial organizers would twirl their fingers and kick their heels in bewilderment—until the trustees of their creditors should say: “Go on.”

## A Financial Renaissance

PROFESSOR SCOTT NEARING, of the University of Pennsylvania, in his book on “Income” says: “A student of current American economic facts is forced to the conclusion that there is only one economic contrast that can be made clear-cut and definite—the contrast between service income and property income; between income secured as the return for effect and income secured in return for property ownership. \* \* \* The line of future conflict is the line that separates these two ideas. \* \* \* Certainly the crisis in this conflict has not yet come. Nevertheless, one who has watched the developments of the last few years \* \* \* cannot help feeling that the United States is moving toward the crisis with breathless speed.”

He says the tax that the owners of property are levying upon the producers of goods is steadily increasing, both actually and proportionately; and declares that “the student will search in vain through history for a situation more fraught with destructive possibilities. The recipients of property income and of service income face each other and prepare for the conflict.”

Mr. Nearing's book develops with force and light the elements of the social contradiction that is spreading confusion through the world. But he does not undertake to answer his own riddle. He does not point out the fact that the impending social deadlock and destruction can be averted by a transfer of the credit-center from the ownership of property to the production of goods. Yet the idea that social credits ought to be administered with primary consideration for the fostering of enterprise, and with a merely secondary consideration for the proprietary claims that have fastened upon enterprise—is elementary in economics, though

it is nowhere clearly stated in the classic books of political economy. It should be remembered that there are many truths so simple that they escape the attention of erudite men.

\* \* \*

The bottom reason why credit should not be administered from the stand-point of security-holders is that it cannot be—for long. If the attempt is made—as indeed it has been made, quite universally—the economic system is thrown into periodical convulsions, tending toward a progressive necrosis of the social tissues and an ultimate paralysis that can be staved off only by war. By means of war, and the accompanying phenomena of political absolutism, the credit-center is shifted to the power that commands the fighting forces, and is then administered with main consideration for the productive—or destructive—process.

The financiers who suppose they can go on indefinitely nursing the claims of the mortgagees of industry, but not nursing industry itself, do not understand their trade. It has limitations in nature. One should not cross a bridge with a heavier train than its girders will stand; and one should not lay upon the shoulders of labor and enterprise greater burdens than human nature can bear. People who manage banks and high financial undertakings without concerning themselves about the physical conditions of existence, do not manage them well.

\* \* \*

Much of the present strength of Germany is due to the fact that there had grown up there, before the war, a system of commercial banks that really took an interest in the extension of enterprises and the advancement of the practical arts. A beginning had been made toward the administration of credits for the upbuilding

of a commonwealth. In England, France and the United States, the promotion and underwriting of enterprises was carried on by the banks with an eye that was rarely deflected from the standpoint of the security-holder; but the **Deutsche Bank**, the **Dresdner Bank** and the **Disconto Gesellschaft**, were somewhat capable of the social-economic point of view. They had some perception of the truth that no business venture can be made to pay **by itself**; that the validity of all securities depends upon the creative power of the whole volume of business; and that the industrial powers can be brought to a standstill, and the stock and bond structure reduced to scraps of paper—just by taking each concern separately, and laying upon it the heaviest possible tax of unearned income.

The broadest reason why Germany is stronger than Great Britain and France combined is that she long ago recognized the fact that the credit-power is public and political—and they did not.

\* \* \*

It does not follow that the United States, or any other democratic country should imitate the German banking system. The point is, that the administration of credit is half of modern government (taken in connection with the news service, it is a good deal more than half) and any government must necessarily be weak that allows half of its powers to be exercised in derogation of the other half.

## Industrial Leadership

By H. L. GANTT

(From an article by a famous industrial engineer in the Engineering Magazine for April.)

**T**HE great war in Europe is making increasingly clear the superiority which autocratic Germany had over democratic England in organizing both for industrial and military efficiency. If democracy is to compete successfully with autocracy in the long run, it must develop organizing and executive methods which are at least equal to those that have been developed by autocratic Germany.

This war is teaching us many lessons, but the one that stands out pre-eminently is the necessity for leaders who not only **know what to do**, but **how to do it**.

England, reposing in the security of her island home, and surrounded by waters that are not only a defense, but a source of wealth, had not seen the necessity for that leadership which alone is capable of organizing and training men for industry and for war, and now finds herself at a sad disadvantage when confronted by a nation whose main business for the last fifty years has been to study its industrial and military problems, and to train men to solve them.

There are indications that we would, in many respects, be in the class with England, if we should suddenly find ourselves confronted with her problems.

It is imperative, therefore, that our industrial leaders should be able to formulate correct policies, which must be based on **fact** and not on **opinion**, as has been too often the case in the past. Our industrial leaders must therefore be able to distinguish between an **opinion** and a **fact**. They should also be able to determine and use facts, and thereby anticipate the future and provide for it.

It was this ability which enabled the Germans to gain such phenomenal successes, and it was the lack of this ability on the part of the Allies that forced them on the defensive at nearly all points; illustrating the fact that we can no longer blindly follow the trail of those who have gone before simply because they were successful, for what spelled success yesterday may spell failure tomorrow.

During the visit of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers to Germany in the summer of 1913, the high estimation in which the engineer was held in that country was evident on all sides. There, he is looked up to for the solution of all their industrial problems, and is no doubt largely responsible for the rapid industrial progress of that nation. Recognizing the importance of the educated engineer, and realizing that unless he had equal rank with other professional men he would not have the influence that he should have, the Germans invented the degree of Doctor of Engineering and bestowed it liberally, with the result that the new

profession soon took rank with the older professions in the estimation of the people. We found many of the highest civic positions held by the leading engineers. What could be more appropriate in an industrial nation?

We claim to be an industrial nation. I feel we are only just beginning to be an industrial nation, and shall not be fully entitled to that name until we have a complete knowledge of the principles on which successful industry is based.

Too many of our enterprises are still founded on **what has been done** rather than on **what can be done**. The real industrial leader must be guided by **future possibilities** rather than **past performances**.

So far, the training of executives in democratic countries has been left largely to chance, and in few cases have the principles by which successful executives must be guided been even vaguely comprehended. If democracy is to survive in the competition with highly developed autocratic methods these principles must be understood and the essential qualities of leadership inculcated.

**The widespread attempt of people to abolish special privilege will be successful only when the efficiency of those making the attempt is greater than the efficiency of those opposing it.**

Not until we have determined the principles on which industrial development must be based, and accepted the lines along which our leaders must be trained, can we expect any harmonious development. The great war now being waged in Europe has enabled us to contrast a great nation where industries were thus harmoniously developed with one whose industries have been developed in the haphazard manner which we seem to cherish so highly.

This war is destined to be the most far reaching event that has taken place since the fall of the Roman Empire, and many methods which were in vogue when it began, will be as obsolete when it ends as the dodo.

If we would keep our place in the new world, which is to be created by this war, we must learn our lesson as it progresses, and train our people accordingly.

There can be no peace until every race now subject shall have trod the red road to national freedom by the ruthless destruction of all tyranny and despotism. Not until there is national independence and international equality can we allow any talk of international peace and the abandonment of the horrors of war."—A Hindu Correspondent in the New York Evening Post (1910).

# Issues and Events

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### RIGHT AND MIGHT.

A MAN living in the midst of a corrupt nation may be strong just because the nation is corrupt. He may be strong in his relations with his fellow citizens because the nation promotes charlatans and degrades honest men. People that grow up under such social conditions and are mentally enfeebled but not wholly corrupted by them, will generally accept the idea that right and power do not belong together, that fine purposes are not practical and that whatever is practical cannot be very fine. They will even plume themselves upon their mental wistfulness and will cultivate an idealism that is felt to be all the purer because it is not intended for use. They will fail to perceive that this severance of reality from right is due to the morbid state of their own unhappy country and will erroneously assume that it exists in the eternal nature of things.

It is impossible for such a people to understand the feeling of a happy and successful race that marches forward in confidence that virtue and power are close akin. And the collision of two nations with minds so different must be fraught with grave moral misunderstanding.

Yet it should be clear to those who are neither corrupted at heart nor mentally enfeebled that life on this planet can never be anything but purgatorial if base nations are stronger than noble nations. It should be clear that an idealism that spends itself in fine words or homilies cannot cope with an idealism that masters materials. Thus nothing is more noble in a man or a nation than impatience at any permanent distinction between right and force.

### BROKEN STATUTES OF NEUTRALITY.

NEUTRALITY is a late development of the law of nations—a principle hard-won and hard-kept against the primitive idea that when a great war is on every nation must necessarily take sides. Neutrality is necessarily costly, sacrificial. In order to keep out of war the neutral nation is thought of in the law as making a willing sacrifice of a part of its natural rights.

The fundamental principles of neutrality are two—a positive and a negative principle. The positive principle is the duty of impartiality in every consideration and benefit that does not immediately relate to the war.

The negative duty is to give no assistance to either party in arms, ammunition or anything that directly relates to their struggle.

These two principles were well stated in a U. S. court in 1856 (in re charge to Grand Jury, 2 Curt. 630) as follows:

"The duties of impartiality, kindness and peaceful treatment" of belligerent nations "being plainly incum-

bent upon the government of the U. S., it is its duty to see that all those subject to its authority do nothing in contravention of these duties. What the government may not itself do in these particulars it may not permit to be done. And for its own peace and welfare it cannot suffer individuals by mingling themselves in the belligerent operation of other nations . . . to run the hazard of counteracting the policy or embroiling the relations of their own government."

No international lawyer would say that a neutral nation has a *right* to furnish contraband goods to either or both belligerents. Such a conception would be unintelligible in any court—as absurd as to say that the neutral nation has a right to furnish troops to one or both sides. The legal idea with reference to contraband of war is that the neutral nation by withdrawing her protection from such goods in transit and permitting them to be seized and confiscated by belligerents frees herself, so far, from any imputation of complicity in such traffic.

The whole history of international law under this head is an emphatic and cumulative negation of the notion now widely current in this country that the furnishing of war munitions impartially to both sides is a neutral right. That notion is indeed legally unthinkable. The grand scale production of war munitions for belligerents in a neutral country can be justified only upon the theory that it is a matter of so private a character that no complicity of public authorities or cognizance of law can be assumed.

Under the common law of nations if the circumstances surrounding the production of war munitions for belligerents should happen to be of such a nature that the cognizance and complicity of public authorities might be assumed—then the principle of neutrality would be contravened.

Our own Federal statute laws relating to neutrality have been held to be merely explanatory of this common law of nations. They stand now substantially as they have stood since 1794—consolidated in 1818.

The original statutes were drawn by Alexander Hamilton pursuant to a recommendation contained in President Washington's annual address to Congress dated December 3, 1793. They were passed in the Senate only by means of Vice-President Adams' casting vote.

The occasion was the beginning of the generation of international wars that followed the French Revolution. The immediate incentive was the pernicious activity of the French minister to the U. S., who sought with the aid of a powerful party in this country to draw the young republic into those entangling alliances against which the profound and instinctive intelligence of George Washington so strongly protested.

Thus the purpose of our neutrality statutes is simply to keep this country clear of unnecessary trouble—by seeing to it that private citizens shall not do anything to embroil us with belligerents. These statutes are purely prudential. Applied today they must not be thought of as running in favor of the English or the Germans but solely in favor of the peace of the United States.

Neither George Washington nor any other man of high intelligence in such an emergency as this, could have patience with merely technical neutrality. We should of course either get into the war or keep out of it. Having decided to keep out, our impartiality must be real and rigorous.

The statutes of the first Presidency should be applied in letter and spirit.

Now no one can study these statutes and the court decisions that have followed them without perceiving that they were meant to preclude the possibility that any kind of combination should ever be formed on this soil to render material assistance to either party in a European war.

Washington would have raged and sworn at the futility of any program of mere formal impeccability. He was a practical man who know his world. And his point was that as neutrals we positively must not do any harm to a powerful belligerent under any pretense or by any indirection. Since he knew that if we did, we should later, as the world goes, have to pay for it.

No one with even a faint glimmer of historical imagination can fail to see that under the Washington's proclamation of neutrality respecting the French war in 1793 and under the statutes as they were understood in their subsequent years, no distinguished American financier could possibly have accepted a commission as fiscal agent for the French government for the purchase of unlimited war supplies in the United States.

And in spite of the fact that rather more than half the people of the United States were sentimentally devoted to the cause of France, it cannot be imagined that the executive power and the courts would have permitted the flotation of a French loan in an amount that strained the resources of the country, to be negotiated in a secret conclave at New York, presided over by high officials of the French government and their American agents; or that such a proceeding would have been condoned on the ground that the money was all to be spent right here for French war supplies—or on the ground that our own industrial system might come to a standstill unless it were geared in with the French industrial system.

These conceptions pass the utmost reach and stretch of the historical imagination.

The statutes inhibit with minute scruple such matters as bribing a recruit to enlist in a foreign army or accepting a commission to serve as cook or steward on a belligerent supply ship, and no man of Washington's day could have supposed that the laws meant to strain at these gnats and to swallow such a camel as the harnessing of the financial system of the United States to the stalled war budget of a European belligerent.

Times change. It must be confessed that the political and legal atmosphere of these times is laden with such vapors that courts and executives cannot breathe freely. There is a kind of government among us that is called invisible—though indeed it is visible enough—and this government is a fact and a force and cannot be treated as if it did not exist.

Yet the statutes stand. And there is at least a fighting chance for them—not in the letter only but in the meaning and purpose of their enactment.

#### "APPEAL TO THE BELLY."

MR. ROOSEVELT dismisses questions of trade and tariff as of minor importance in politics—an "appeal to the belly." He has heretofore confessed in moments of emotional expansion that he does not know much about commerce and finance. His mind has always been preoccupied with "moral" problems.

Here we have the secret of Mr. Roosevelt's immense vogue. He is the perpetual candidate and natural representative of the great mass of ineffectual men—because he is like them in the mentally morbid separation that he maintains between ideals and the business of making a living.

It is the distinction of men of really first-rate capacity—a Richelieu, a Cromwell, an Earl of Chatham—that they invest the energy of imagination in the mastery of the concrete problems. Mr. Roosevelt has sometimes, for a moment, attempted to do this. But has always given up the task as too arduous and uncongenial.

He revels in "great moral issues," that have nothing to do with the maintenance of our position on this somewhat difficult and inhospitable planet.

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### ANOTHER CRISIS WITH GERMANY.

**I**T is time for thoughtful people to understand that our perpetual diplomatic controversy with Germany is due to a real and abiding opposition of interest that exists in the nature of things and that will always exist so long as belligerent nations battle at sea, and thus menace the ways of neutral commerce.

In the case of the Sussex the German foreign office has probably made a mistake. But the broad and all-important fact of the matter is that vital interest of a belligerent nation runs counter to a vital interest of a neutral nation. The contradiction exists and will continue to exist, in the like case, to the end of time. It can be resolved only by the yielding of the less insistent to the more insistent.

This fact should be faced by all men of intellectual virility. They should give up the notion that rules of abstract right can be framed and written down on paper with some awful kind of ink that will force fighting nations to give up their vital interests and die for a legal scruple.

Why not come at once to the simple understanding that Germany is acting in this matter precisely as England, France or the United States would act in her place? It is inconceivable that the American people would, if we stood in the situation of Germany, support an administration that did not act on the submarine question substantially as the German foreign office is acting. We would all cheerfully risk being a little ruthless and making a few mistakes with the lives and fortunes of foreigners—if we were trying to get food into our ports and to stop guns and shrapnel on the way to our enemies.

Why can we not have sense enough—good humor, imagination and magnanimity enough—to admit this?

After admitting it, we may go on, if we choose, insisting as hard as we dare that Germany's present interest must yield to our present interest.

But we should have cleared our minds of cant.

### OUR TRUSTEESHIP FOR MEXICO.

**T**HE President's speech at the Jefferson dinner in Washington seemed to deny that we could do a constructive work in Mexico. In his challenge, "I defy you to show a single example in history in which liberty and prosperity were ever handed down from above"—he seemed to imply that such work as has been done by the United States in Cuba and Mexico, is not good work.

If this is really the President's position, it is to be hoped that he will reconsider it. Indeed is it not quite plain that he will be compelled to reconsider it? Carranza's summons to us to get out of the country, cannot be obeyed. And what has happened at Parral cannot be treated as if it had not happened. We shall be obliged by the drift of events to drop the theory on which our expedition has hitherto proceeded. It cannot continue to be treated as a sheriff's posse. It must soon acquire some sort of territorial jurisdiction, and must feel itself responsible for putting at least a small part of Mexico in order. Then the President will have to think again whether we cannot "hand down from above" a little liberty and prosperity to the Mexicans.

Of course there is a fragment of truth in what was said at the Jefferson dinner. It is true that no privileged class has ever bestowed freedom and well-being upon the class that its privileges exploited. But that is so obvious that it is hardly worth saying.

On the other hand it is decidedly not true that strong and masterful men have never emancipated the weak and incompetent. The notion that feeble and disorderly communities must be left to "slosh 'round" in their misery and ineptitude—must be permitted to muss up

large and fair sections of the earth's surface, until their weakness and folly have begotten wisdom and strength as thistles bear luscious figs—that notion, so often set forth in the name of democracy and spiritual enlightenment, seems to be nothing but scholastic moonshine. Certainly it never has any warrant in the annals of authentic history, or the brave things that have been done under the sun. One must not attribute such a notion to the President.

It is a part of the ground-plan of human existence that the gifts of the free spirit should be "handed down from above." That is what grown-up people every where are trying to do for their children. It is the whole meaning of education. Restraint, discipline from above—in order that the up-coming youngsters may be put in possession of their own powers and may not waste themselves in fruitless strivings for the moon.

Of course it is sound democratic doctrine that no nation should impose its religion or its speculative legal and ethical theories upon another; and also that no teacher should do that to a pupil in a public school. In conformity with this doctrine the people of the United States have established in the Philippine Islands, a public school system that is more free from mental tyranny and better calculated to give a youth the solid scientific basis of liberty and a living—than is the system we have saddled upon our own children.

And can anybody be found, knowing the work of Victor G. Heiser, Director of the Public Health service of the Philippine Islands—who will deny that deliverance from disease can be "handed down from above?" Father Damien was largely an imaginary hero created by the literary genius of Robert Louis Stevenson. But Victor Heiser is the real thing. Through a decade and a half of exposure and toil, surpassing the patience and devotion of mediaeval saints, this man has wrought the conquest of oriental filth and fever.

All the supercilious traditions of French, Dutch and English colonial policy—all the immemorial myths consecrating leprosy, beri-beri and the black plague—were against him. Against him also was this pseudo-democratic doctrine that the feeble and the filthy have a natural right to corrupt the trade-winds and clutter up the islands of the sea.

But Heiser had his stark, indissuadable way—the way of science—which seems to most moderns to be the way of humanity. Manila became the astonishment of the Orient—"the City without Odors."

Will not the President agree that a like miracle can be worked—on unimpeachable democratic grounds—in Huarez and Chihuahua?—**N. Y. Journal.**

### MEXICAN MOTHERS.

**T**HE Mexican Indian who owns a little strip of ground devotes about one hundred and twenty days each year to the cultivation and harvesting of his corn. If the uncertain rainfall and frequent frosts permit, he may produce enough to feed himself and his family through the one hundred and eighty-five days during which he does a minimum amount of work. If he is fortunate, he may have a little corn to sell.

But at home sits the woman over her stone "metate" grinding, grinding, grinding. Before corn can be made into those delicious and nourishing disks that the Indian rolls into a cylinder around a core of beans and swallows so amazingly fast, it must be soaked in warm lime water and then ground fine to a doughy paste called "maza." This means hours of unproductive work, time that for centuries has been laid up against the progress of the Indian as a race. The Mexican mother has been little more than a bearer of children and a very inefficient and expensive grinding machine.

In fifteen minutes a small and simple power mill can



grind more corn into "maza" than the Indian woman can grind in eight hours of hard, straining work. During the latter days of the Diaz regime the whirr of the power mill was beginning to be heard in the land. The superstition about an evil genius that lived in the wheels and cogs of this mysterious foreign engine was melting away and the village women stood in long lines in the morning awaiting their turn at the humming machine. They brought their corn to the mill in hard, yellow kernels and came away with a lump of dough. They brought to the mill fifteen minutes and left it with eight hours of time—eight hours potential liberty and independence.

And this freedom was not for the Mexican mother alone. It was part of a real liberation of Mexico. Energy was released for productive work in the garden or in the field and in the humble education of children for other tasks than the grinding of corn. With the productive help of his woman the man found more time to learn the simple, but vital principles of irrigation and intensive cultivation. This the Indian was barely beginning to do. Gradually he was learning the value of foreign machinery and foreign tools in terms of net return in corn and beans, but he was learning this under a guidance and leadership that was not a product of his native clime.

The Indian was led to turn on those who were opening up his country to the inflow of that capital and machinery which could alone redeem his land for him and make available the resources of his forests and mountains. His thanks for the lifting of the weight of a stone "metate" from the neck of his women, for the sewing machine, which had begun to quadruple the effort of their hands, and the steel plow that replaced his wooden sticks was a cry of "Mueran los Científicos!" and then "Mueran los Gringos!" But it was the cry of misguided ignorance and not of inherent malice.

Now he is hungry again. He needs new seed corn and new tools. Six years of anarchy have almost taught him that the sowing of bullets and the wrecking of mills does not spell the liberty he was led to expect. A swift, thorough American invasion of Mexico with sacks of corn and wheat instead of powder and shell, followed by the placing in power of men with sufficient vision of the needs of their country to see that credit and capital must precede any real reconstruction, might result in the beginnings of a new Mexico. The attitude of a whole people toward the Gringo might be changed from a contemptuous hatred into a grateful respect. For underneath the ferment of chronic revolution there lies a vast and childlike people of fathers and mothers and children who want only to eat, and to rest, and forget.

Can we solve the problem of Mexico by imposing upon its undeveloped natives the ballot which has come as the fruit of twenty centuries of culture and service in Europe? Or do they not need the leadership of white men, a government organized so that it will command the confidence of American capital, that will bring railroads, engines and mills to grind corn? Is not seven and three-quarter hours of leisure from the heavy work of grinding more significant to the peon Mexican mother than a ballot which her husband cannot understand or use?

#### MR. SCHIFF'S DANGER SIGNAL.

WE do not suppose that the Republican Club of New York, or the Republican Party for that matter, will take seriously to heart the warning pronounced by Jacob H. Schiff, but he at least assumed the role of a friendly counsellor when he said:

Standing here on holy Republican ground, I say without fear or favor, if you renew in the next Presidential cam-

paign the tariff agitation of the past, if you threaten the country and show it you want a renewal of special privilege and high protection, the people will have none of it. The people have learned; the workmen and the farmers have learned, and they cannot be misled any longer. I do not say that because I love the Republican Party less, but because I love it more.

Those who profit from privilege and plunder heed nothing but the lightnings of popular wrath. William McKinley's last speech, in which he asked attention to the very errors and excesses to which Mr. Schiff refers, was forgotten overnight. Even though Henry Clay, Henry C. Carey, William D. Kelley and M. A. Hanna were to rise from the dead and utter such words of caution, they would receive little attention.

The threat of the slave oligarchy was always disunion. The threat of pampered business interests intent upon misusing the sovereign power of taxation is always panic. Unless a prodigious change comes over the leadership of the Republican Party it will ignore every other consideration this year and propose to meet the mighty problems that confront us with the one idea of renewed extortion in behalf of financial and industrial gluttons.

If there ever was a time when economic bigotry of all kinds merited discouragement it is now. To legislate intelligently on the subject of tariffs while the European war is in progress is out of the question, for nobody knows or can know the conditions that will prevail a year hence. To foreclose in behalf of monopoly an issue involving wider markets and a more enduring prosperity than we have ever known would be to invite far-reaching disaster.

We are glad to be informed by Mr. Schiff that the people will have none of this. The business and political outlook would be brighter if some one speaking with equal or greater authority could assure the country that the reactionary influences in control of the Republican Party in most places could be restrained by fear and enlightened self-interest, if not by wisdom and justice.

#### RECONSTRUCTING EAST PRUSSIA.

Russian hordes have ravished and ruined a portion of East Prussia. For only a brief space of time the Russians were in possession of this region of Germany, yet these vandals left devastation and destruction in their retreat. With characteristic cruelty and barbarity the country was laid waste and the inhabitants maltreated in a most shameful manner. More than sixty towns and villages bear traces of the Russians' wanton pillage and destruction.

A noble organization, namely the East Prussia Relief Fund, Inc., has been called into life for the purpose of relieving these sad conditions. Its main purpose is to reconstruct unfortunate East Prussia. Some have conceived the idea of founding in East Prussia in honor of the great leader "Hindenburg Homesteads" for those soldiers who have fought under him, as a more fitting memorial than the erection of monuments.

Judge A. K. Nippert of Cincinnati will sail in the near future for Germany to take personal charge of the German-American part in this enterprise. Emperor William has personally undertaken to rebuild one of these cities. Ragnit is the district for the reconstruction of which an appeal is made to the magnanimity and generosity of German-Americans. Some of the streets will bear the names of principal American cities as New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Detroit, Milwaukee, etc. The best architects have been engaged for this work of reconstruction. The headquarters for the East Prussian Relief Fund, Inc., are at 17 Battery Place, New York City. Treasurer: Hugo Cillis, 50 Union Square, N. Y. City.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### GERMAN PRISONERS IN JAPAN. (From the Kobe "Japan Weekly Chronicle.")

It is reported that when the Third Secretary of the U. S. Embassy recently paid a visit to the prisoners' depot at Kurume, one of the German officers there made complaints of the cruel treatment accorded by the Japanese. He declared that not only are German prisoners beaten by Japanese soldiers without reason, but the treatment of Germans confined in the military prison is harsh in the extreme. Prisoners there are stripped of their military uniforms, which is insulting to their profession, and the treatment in the military prison is worse than in the civil prisons. The officer further called the attention of the American visitor to the importance of occasional indulgence in music and theatricals by the prisoners for their moral and physical well-being, though the Japanese military authorities were unnecessarily severe in regulating such amusements.

Major Mano, in charge of the Kurume Camp, is said to have submitted that the occasional beating of a refractory prisoner was inevitable for the enforcement of discipline.

\* \* \*

(From the Tokyo "Japan Advertiser.")

The three Japanese warships, Tango, Soya, and Sagami, which the Japanese Government has agreed to sell to the

Russian navy, will leave Yokosuka this morning for Vladivostok, report the Japanese papers. On their way these warships will stop at Saseho, in Kyushu, and from there they will sail for Vladivostok under the escort of the cruisers Ibuki and Suma, commanded by Rear Admiral Yamanaka.

According to an authority in the Finance Office, quoted in the Japanese papers, the price of the warships is, roughly, 25,000,000 yen.

The Russian orders placed with the Japanese Government and individual manufacturers have further increased recently, says an authority in the Finance Department. Since the beginning of this year the Army Office has received orders to the value of 80,000,000 yen, and the Navy Office, 10,000,000 yen, in addition to the three warships that the Imperial navy has agreed to sell to Russia. The total amount of orders so far is 106,000,000 yen. Besides, the Russian Government is now negotiating with Okura & Company on an order for boots and woolen clothing to the value of 50,000,000 yen. Payments for the orders placed with the army have been made to the government by the Taihei-gumi, which acts as agent between the Japanese army and the Russian Government.

"But for life the universe were nothing, and all that has life requires nourishment."—Victor Ayer.

### FROM THE "JAPAN ADVERTISER."

#### Preparing For Peace Conference.

The Foreign Office has decided to make preparations looking forward to the peace conference that will follow the war. Dr. Adachi, former Minister to Mexico, will be in charge of the preparations.

#### Coal for Great Britain.

It is reported that the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha has concluded a contract with the British Government for 700,000 tons of Japanese coal. The proposal was made first some time ago, but was not accepted by the Japanese company because of the lack of bottoms. But it was again made and this time was accepted on condition that the British Government would send ships to get the coal from Japan.

#### Another Boat Searched by Cruiser.

A dispatch from Wakamatsu in Kyushu to the Tokyo Asahi reports that the Mitsui Bussan steamer, Fuji-Maru, which entered there, was also halted and fired at twice by a converted British cruiser. The last shot was real shell. The steamer was on her way to Shanghai, March 4, and was sailing 48 miles from Saddle Island when she was suddenly stopped by the cruiser. Fortunately, the shell did not reach the steamer. A lieutenant with several men went aboard and made a search of the steamer. The Asahi report says the search was made in a "very haughty manner."

#### BRITISH LOSSES IN MARCH WERE 20,424.

London.—British casualties in March, as compiled from the published lists, amounted to 1,107 officers and 19,317 men.

The unpublished lists leave much to the imagination.

#### SEIZED ALL MAIL IN THE HELLIG OLAV.

The seizure at Kirkwall of all the mail on the Scandinavian-American Line steamer Hellig Olav, consisting of 800 sacks, is reported in a wireless despatch from Berlin. This is the first time that all the mail on a Scandinavian-American steamer, including letters, has been seized. The Hellig Olav sailed from New York March 17 for Christiansand, Norway.

#### ENGLAND WANTS PEACE.

Readers of the daily press must have been shocked during the last week at the utter malevolence with which every English penny-a-liner shrieked at Germany.

And if there were such a thing as international police England would have been consigned to a criminal lunatic asylum.

While the Kiplings were frothing at the mouth and cursing Germany with impotent wrath England was seeking peace.

And England is still seeking peace.

Through Lord Howard, envoy extraordinary to the Vatican, peace terms have been suggested to Germany, and the Conscription Bill and the mouthings of the maddest jingoes held out as what will happen if Germany does not concede terms that will save England's face.



## To Drive Dull Care Away

### FRANKNESS.

Departing Visitor—Good-bye, little Ethel! You may be a grown young lady before you see me again.

Candid Little Ethel—Yes, ma'am; I hope so.

### MISTAKEN IDENTITY.

Ragged Robin—Are you Dennis McGuinness?

Tattered Tom—No. Are you Larry O'Gaff?

Ragged Robin—No! And isn't it queer! I thought it was you, you thought it was me, and, bedad, it's neither of us!"

### Thoughtful.

They were a very saving old couple, and as a result they had a beautifully furnished house.

One day the old woman missed her husband.

"Joseph, where are you?" she called out.

"I'm resting in the parlor," came the reply.

"What, on the sofa?" cried the old woman, horrified.

"No, on the floor."

"Not on that grand carpet!" came in tones of anguish.

"No; I've rolled it up!"—Farming Business.

### Missing.

"Children," said the Sunday-school superintendent, "this picture illustrates today's lesson: Lot was warned to take his wife and daughters and flee out of Sodom. Here are Lot and his daughters, with his wife just behind them; and there is Sodom in the background. Now, has any girl or boy a question before we take up the study of the lesson? Well, Susie?"

"Pleathe, thir," lisped the latest graduate from the infant class, "where ith the flea?"—Harper's Monthly.

### War-Time Repartee.

An anemic elderly woman, who looked as if she might have as much maternal affection as an incubator, sized up a broad-shouldered cockney who was idly looking into a window on the Strand, and in a rasping voice said to him:

"My good man, why aren't you in the trenches? Aren't you willing to do anything for your country?"

Turning around slowly, he looked at her a second and replied contemptuously:

"Move on, you slacker! Where's your war-baby?"—Everybody's.

**How Sam's Changed.**—Apropos of Preparedness (and what isn't?), some years before the present war "Punch" ran a cartoon representing Britannia pleading for a more adequate defense against the War Lord, shown rampant in the background, with the caption: (Britain to Vulcan) "If you turn sulky and won't make any armor, how shall I be able to resist Mars?"

The date of the issue of "Punch" was March 25, 1865, and the War Lord in the background was Uncle Sam, fresh from his victory over the Confederacy and arrogant with lust for territorial and financial aggrandizement. Isn't it a small world, after all?

### How to Be President.

Every American-born small boy knows that he may one day become President. This property-rainbow is often stretched across the scenes of childhood's drama by fond parents and relatives. It takes on after a while a quality of axiomatic banality. Only later does the small boy realize, when no longer small, that his inalienable right to the Presidency conflicts with that of several million other small boys. Should his purpose still be fixed on that office, he will need something like the following encouragement to keep his heart up. This is in the form of a schedule of qualifications necessary for a President of the United States, and has been compiled by an editor-author-professor who has studied closely the lives of our country's leaders. Only acquire these, and the Electoral College will cast a unanimous vote for you. We quote them from the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

The candidate for President who lives near the limelighted center of population enjoys a big initial advantage over his competitors.

The candidate should possess a wife and children.

He should have a public-official record, including an army record.

He should have an agreeable name, preferably but two.

He should be publicly known as a warm friend or as a bitter enemy of at least one President.

He should be an orphan or an elder child; and thereby have got an early start in independent living.

He should be from forty-five to sixty-eight years old.

He should have but limited wealth and income from earnings.

He should have some knowledge of the law.

He should be a country boy by birth and rearing.

He should belong to one or more national secret societies.

He should be identified prominently in the public mind with some cause, or principle, or achievement, or issue.

He should have a group of enthusi-

astic friends, either "insiders" or with large financial means, or both.

Here is the composite picture of the Presidents. How do the aspirants now before the country fit into the photo of their illustrious predecessors?—Literary Digest.

### Prepared.

"I'm thinking of getting married, pa. What's it like?"

"You had a job as janitor once, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"And you had a position as watchman once, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"And you worked a while as a caretaker, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"Well, it's a combination of all three jobs—and then some."—Pittsburgh Chronicle-Telegraph.

### He Was Wise.

He had been calling on her twice a week for six months, but had not proposed. He was a wise young man, and didn't think it necessary.

"Ethel," he said, as they were taking a stroll one evening, "I—er—am going to ask you an important question."

"Oh, George," she exclaimed, "this is so sudden. Why, I—"

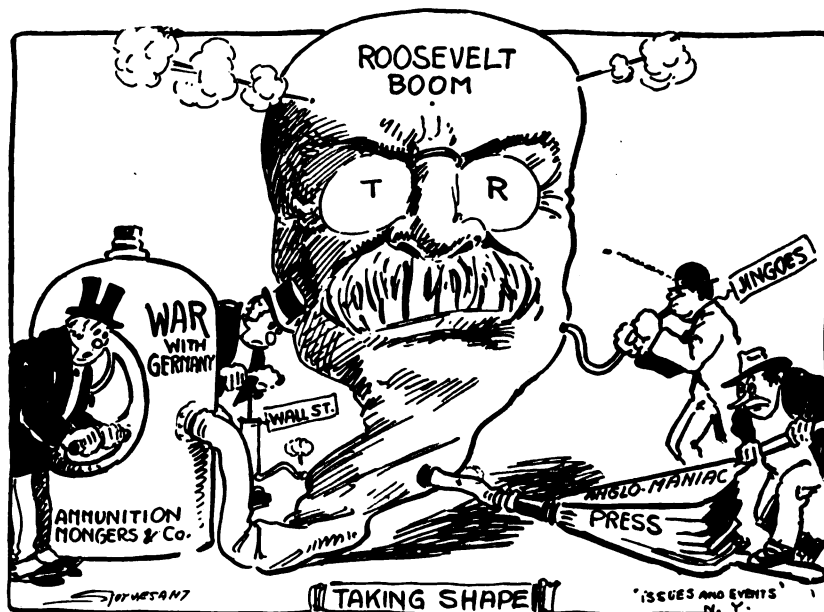
"What I want to ask is this," he interrupted: "What date have you and your mother decided upon for our wedding?"—Detroit Saturday Night.

### Little Patriot!

All this talk of hyphenated citizenship has evidently had its effect upon a San Francisco youngster, American-born, who recently rebelled fiercely when his Italian father whipped him for some misdeed.

"But, Tommaso, your father has a right to whip you when you are bad," someone of the family said.

Tommaso's eyes flashed. "I am a citizen of the United States," he declared. "Do you think I am going to let any foreigner lick me?"—Argonaut



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Vol. IV. No. 18

NEW YORK, APRIL 29, 1916

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## I Want War

### 1. TO HELP FRANCE—

Because France was once our ally against England and we may need her aid again; besides, the French love us.

### 2. TO HELP ENGLAND—

(a) Because England needs help.

(b) A grateful England may induce her ally Japan, to be good to us in the Pacific.

### 3. TO HELP RUSSIA—

(a) When France and England repay the billion dollars they owe us we can invest this money in darkest Russia and double it.

(b) A native born citizen, I am not allowed, on account of my race, to travel freely in Russia. But if my adopted country helps the Czar to conquer Germany in gratitude he may grant me an American passport so that I may discover and visit the grave of my father (*Insert here whether father supposed to be interred in Poland or Siberia.*)

4. Because I stand for an army large enough to annex Mexico and Central America, to guard railroads and factories against union strikers and put down anarchy and socialism with a strong hand.

5. Because I can't stand for inhumanity. I don't know what it means in war times but I stand by the President to the last definition. (*Insert here what kind of munitions you are making, your age and parentage, whether President or merely Professor in your college, and which Peace Society you belong to, Carnegie or Clews.*)

## I Want Peace

1. Because I am an American citizen and believe love of country should begin at home and not go sweethearting abroad. International friendships are a short-lived delusion. Witness the following:

During the Spanish war Ambassador Porter summoned the leading business men and newspaper proprietors of Paris to the American Embassy. He then read a warning which he had addressed to all American tourists, advising them to travel in any other neutral country on the continent in preference to France. He cited instances of insults and even violence to which Americans had been subjected at the hands of French people of every grade.

I should like to receive from the files of the State Department a copy of Ambassador Porter's famous French war circular with his reasons why it was never issued.

2. If a million Englishmen and all the French-Canadians are too proud to fight for their respective countries I am too wise to become their substitutes in a quarrel of their choosing.

3. Because war will add to the national debt and deplete the national wealth. It will put our currency upon a worthless paper basis, drive gold out of circulation, quadruple taxation and double the cost of living. Alas, I have no means of increasing my income by army contracts or Wall Street speculation!

4. A citizen of a free Republic, I once fondly believed that only monarchs could bring about war against the wishes of their subjects. I find I am mistaken. I find that one man in Washington possesses greater power and may exercise it more boldly than a Czar, a Kaiser or an English foreign Secretary.

Knowledge of such omnipotence causes me to doubt its omniscience. I therefore appeal from Philip, drunk with power, to Congress, sobered by responsibility. Between Washington and Wall Street I have been done enough. What will my children get in exchange for my life?

Trust magnates drive 10-ton motor trucks through anti-Trust statutes and Supreme Court decisions. Railroad Commissions raise rates that should be lowered. One man—a majority, with England on his side—has talked the people's ship purchase bill to death in Congress in the interest of a bankrupt foreign shipping combine. Another man has loaned a billion dollars of our gold to one set of belligerents on paper tokens of indebtedness, while our own manufacturers and merchants are either gagged or ruined by Orders of Council of the chief borrower. If such things can be done in time of peace what will not war inflict on its victims!

I, as one of the Common people, address you humbly, respectfully. I beg, I implore you to stop at this last crowning perfidy of infamy. Do not attempt to push, prod and drag me and mine like sheep into the bloody abattoirs of Europe. That way lies madness.

Signature .....

Address .....



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# Issues *and* Events

A Weekly Magazine

## England's "Militarism"

By PROFESSOR HERMAN ONCKEN of the University of Heidelberg.

The contention that England instead of Germany has the brand of militarism under which the peace of the world is threatened is made in the following article by Prof. Herman Oncken, head of the Department of Modern History of the University of Heidelberg. The article is one of a series published under the title "Germany, England and America," in the *Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst, und Technik*.

IT is now time to discuss the catch-word with which England has most successfully carried on the poisoning of public opinion throughout the world, and nowhere more lastingly than in America. The catch-word is "German militarism."

Is this a case of the innate insular aversion to the general compulsory military service which is established in France and Russia just as well as in Germany? Yet have they not for some years been eagerly agitating for the establishment of compulsory general military service in England because leading men thought they recognized in this system—and not in the substitute system of hired mercenaries and of auxiliaries of enslaved races—the sole means of keeping up the endangered artificial structure of the world empire?

The charges against German militarism which have found such a loud echo in America are in their substance not believed by the Englishmen themselves. Can it be that they are merely calculated to divert the attention of the world from the nobler English system, with which they are obliged for the present to help themselves, and from its traditional methods, in the use of which they have surpassed even themselves in the present war?

Every race develops the military constitution most consonant with its position and needs in the world, its political thought, and its ethical conceptions. I shall therefore not begin with a general ideal of a military constitution, and shall for the present pass over entirely the question whether a professional and mercenary army or an army of compulsory general service embodies a higher ethical value. The point from which I wish to start, with the help of English declarations, is the decisive question which of the two systems in its workings out can develop a more or a less warlike mind in a race, a stronger or a lesser impulse and desire for conquest.

General Hamilton, a collaborator of the former Minister of War, Lord Haldane, in the organization of the Territorial Army, frankly admits in his book on compulsory general service, to which Lord Haldane has written the introduction, that England was unwilling to do away with its mercenary military system for the reason that it alone afforded the guarantee of a strong foreign policy which did not see its only goal in defense, but was at any time prepared to assume the offensive.

England needs, for world conquest, an army of mer-

cenaries who, torn away from family and native soil, live only for their profession and can be used for years at any time in any part of the world. Thus is made possible that ideal division of labor which Marine Minister Churchill announced with the words: "Business as usual," and which General Hamilton, too, characterized with the sentence: "And so the mass of the nation does not look upon the war as altogether too tragic."

Precisely in the reverse manner, there is a race with compulsory general service in arms think and act. It looks upon the war as something tragic, because it affects all, without exception, the prince and the workman; seizes equally upon the academician and the farmer, and brings the same sorrow into palaces and hovels. General Hamilton may say with the arrogance of the aristocratic professional soldier:

Truly compulsory general service is a terrible leveler of inequalities. The proud are humbled, the weak are made strong, the national idea is cherished, all other ideals are sacrificed.

We Germans know that this terrible leveler begets the true democracy of duties which is based not on Nietzsche's superhumanity, (*Uebermenschthum*), but on Kant's categorical imperative.

Above all, however, such a democratic army of compulsory general service is not an instrument that can be used at will for world conquest, but a means of defense that is taken up only in case of need in the protection of one's own country, the defense of all by means of all. In the English professional army, the world-conquering poor devils may sing in Rudyard Kipling's verses:

Walk wide o' the Widow at Windsor,  
For 'alf o' Creation she owns;  
We 'ave bought 'er the same with the sword an' the flame,  
An' we've salted it down with our bones.

But in the army of the German people there float the strains of the old song about the comrade, with the refrain which the people themselves have added to it: "In der Heimat, in der Heimat, da gib't ein Wiedersehen," ("In our homeland, in our homeland, we shall see each other again,")—for to guard the soil of the homeland they all stand embattled in the field.

The army composed of the German people is therefore peaceful by nature, and so has our policy been since 1871. The English professional army is by nature an army of conquest, and so was the English policy a policy of conquest in all times. But in America they permit themselves to be told by Englishmen

where the dangers of militarism to the peace of the world are embodied.

The auxiliary arrangements of the English system—the use of auxiliary peoples and colonial troops of alien races—make its disposition even clearer. Since the days of the Renaissance we see the leading races selecting from among various opposing forms of warfare those based on opposite philosophies of life. (*Weltanschauungen*.) With stern words, Machiavelli, the herald of compulsory general military service, maintained:

Hired soldiery and auxiliary troops are useless and dangerous. Whoever deems that he can guarantee his leadership by means of hirelings is not standing on firm ground and cannot stand safely, since such hirelings are at odds among themselves, hard to keep under control, without discipline, disloyal, overbearing toward their friends and cowardly toward the enemy; they do not fear God and they act faithlessly toward men.

Machiavelli knew that the national deliverance of Italy could be accomplished only by national military service. On the other hand, his contemporary, the Englishman Thomas Morus (*More*) the anti-Machiavelli of his time, explains how the island people of the Utopians, heartily detesting war, prefer the system of hired mercenary races; he pictures a race of mercenaries which is hired by the Utopians at a price so high that nobody is able to pay it; and he consoles himself with the thought that the use of this method has the edifying advantage that it will ultimately eliminate this pest from the world.

The recipe of *More*, however, stands at the entrance gateway of the entire modern war history of Great Britain. Of hundreds of examples let me mention only that one which is best known to the Americans. As is well known, the English, in the American War of Independence, used in the first place German mercenary troops, and even to-day we still see a degraded depth of our national history in the fact that German

princes sold themselves for that purpose, and we are still pained that the name of the brave Hessian tribe of our people at that time acquired for itself an ugly sound over there.

But the Englishmen did even more. They did not hesitate to hire bands of Indians to make war against the colonists, who, for the most part, were of their own blood. Even to-day there still lives in the memory of the German-Americans the heroic battle of the Pfälzer Herzheimer in the Mohawk Valley against Englishmen and Indians. Unforgettable is the bath of blood which thousands of Englishmen and Indians gave to the settlers in the lovely Wyoming Valley, made fertile by the silver band of the Susquehanna; unforgettable is the triumphant announcement of the English commander, Colonel Butler, that in this "feat of arms" 227 American scalps had been taken.

To-day the Englishmen are using throughout the world the tried methods of their system. They drag tens of thousands of Hindu troops to France and Belgium to figure worthily on European soil at the side of the French Turcos and the Russian Tartar hordes. They ship as freight upon their ships Senegalese negroes to the German colony of Kamerun and seek to hold Egypt, which does not belong to them, by means of coupling together unwilling Hindu regiments and Australian volunteers; they turn the Japanese loose against Kiao-Chau and the South Sea Islands.

Compare with that the manner in which, for the defense of our outpost which was lost to the overwhelming yellow odds, a few thousand men, true unto the death to the call of the Fatherland, hurried up from offices and factories throughout East Asia; and then you will clearly realize the moral difference between the German and the English systems; or, to use the formula of *The Morning Post*, the difference between "militarism and the abuse of militarism."

## Making the Rights of Man Mighty

FROM Eastport to San Diego the American people are now sitting in a Great General Council, to decide how to finish up the work of political emancipation that was begun in the revolutions of the eighteenth century. For four or five generations we have been striking off chains—the fetters of the mind. We have let all the minds in the western world run loose. That was good. But it was only half of liberty. Now we must tackle the other half.

Any wise father of a large family will understand that the youngsters can never grow to a real maturity, can never pull themselves together with clear will and energy, can never rally their mental forces into a competent unity and order, for the defence of the family fortunes—unless they are first allowed to run loose. It is necessary to risk the scattering and confusion, the quarrels and contradictions. What happens in the big world happens in a big family. History is a homely household tale.

The guns of Verdun are uttering articulate words. They are saying—in good German—that it is time for the western democracies to quit letting their minds run loose. The primary class in self-government may now pack its little satchel and go home. The teacher is ready to listen to the upper grade.

The upper-grade lesson in democracy is to mass our mental forces—i. e. to organize our intelligence, without giving up our intellectual liberty.

This is the secret of the strength of Germany—though, to be sure, Germany is only beginning to learn

the secret. The possibilities of social strength are immeasurable, and the United States may easily learn to be much stronger than Germany is. The secret is not patentable. And it is not German—has nothing to do with race. It is the spirit of this age, and it belongs to the whole world.

The discovery is that immense social strength can be made to consist with the mental and physical freedom of the individual—by turning the main drive of the intellectual forces away from the abstract speculations of philosophy, law and politics, that have mostly occupied the minds of men since Plato's day—and directing it toward the mastery of materials.

Of course a new philosophy, a new law and a new politics are bound to grow up out of this new direction of the human mind. The ideal goods will not be damaged—they will be greatly improved—by being made to harmonize with the demands of real life on this difficult planet. But that is another story. The point here is that the more practical people are, the easier it is for them to form a solid phalanx without giving up their personal freedom. Men whose minds are occupied with the advancement of the practical arts and the mastery of the natural difficulties of existence, are in contact with the realities of the universe. And they are bound to hold together—because the universe does. The process of free thinking divides people only when they think about matters that cannot be tried and proved.

You hear it said that the strength of Germany is massive and formidable because the Germans don't

think at all—that they are all cogs in wheels, that the Kaiser does all the thinking. But it is not possible that you should entertain this fashionable illusion—unless you are wholly without experience of the difficulty of maintaining fine technical correlations of personal force, in the face of an ever changing problem.

You hear it said that the Germans confuse Right with Might. Of course they do. That is the grand objective of all history—to make liberty and the rights of man, mighty.

The Great General Council of the American people must decide to conserve its liberties by improving its team-play in practical matters—the running of its railroads, the development of its water-power, the financing of its farms, the building of its cities. Private rights that are not based on public practicabilities must stand back. We are at the beginning of an unprecedented expansion of public power. The way is now open to us to be much stronger than we are. And much freer.

## You Can Get Peace, Mr. Ford, by Showing Us How to Make the Business System Human and Scientific

Open Letter to Henry Ford by Charles Ferguson.

Dear Sir:

**W**ITH reference to your published intention to invest your great personal credit in a peace-movement, I beg permission to suggest to you the following considerations:

First, that the vitals of social-control have passed from the legislatures and polling-places into the banks, bourses, clearing-houses and chambers of commerce.

Second, that the contradictions and collisions between classes and nations under these changed and as yet little understood conditions, are mainly due to the fact that the new centers of social-control are in large part manned by people who have no adequate conception of the nature of the social agencies they are administering, and therefore no proper sense of the social responsibility that is involved.

Third, that it is perfectly possible—considering the vividness of the demonstrations that are daily being furnished by the war in Europe—that a few months of deliberate and orderly explanation might make these people understand—or else might replace them by those that do.

We see that Germany holds off France and England as it were with the fingers of her hand—because those countries have been weakened by business-systems operated wholly in the interest of a creditor-class, and because the German business-system, though very imperfect and sorely handicapped by an antique politics, is approximately modern and democratic, governed by the intrinsic and self-vindicating laws of technology and social science, rather than by any kind of arbitrary authority.

Thus the truth now “leaps to the eyes” that the nation best organized for working, is by that very fact made most formidable and war-worthy. And the correlative truth will not be long delayed—that such a nation is by the very nature of its case most impatiently pacific. It appears that in this direction lies the end of war. It will be abolished not by wistful idealists but by the masters of materials.

I submit that we ought to think of the rise of the

business-system throughout the modern circle of commerce—this vast, silent reorganization of the world by means of instantaneous communications and through the development of credit-capital, free contract and the corporate principle—as a kind of apocalypse. A kingdom has come “without observation” and has woven the organic filaments of a new and creative civilization across all the frontiers of nations—while the preachers and reformers were sky-gazing or beating the air.

My point therefore is that a greater power than Bonaparte's or Caesar's—to wit, the limitless financial credit of the paramount organizer of creative forces—at this extraordinary moment lies quite open to any man who happens to have courage, intelligence and a million dollars. To be sure the combination is rare, but it is generally believed that you, Sir, possess all these qualifications in excess.

A million dollars intelligently and courageously applied to the public interpretation of the great news of these times, will put beyond denial a truth that lies so near the surface of ordinary observation that it has cost many millions to obscure it—rarely the truth that peace among warring classes and nations cannot be got by laying iron-bound statutes and treaties across the living and palpitant body of the working-world, the truth that peace is at bottom a business proposition and that the whole of the problem consists in working out a real community-of-interest across the boundaries of race and class, by developing **WITHIN THE BODY OF THE BUSINESS-SYSTEM ITSELF**, commercial and financial agencies of social responsibility and self-government, pivoted upon those impersonal considerations of science and humanity that all honest and sensible men agree about.

I am, Sir, with sincere respect, yours truly,

CHARLES FERGUSON.

Formerly Special Agent of the U. S. Department of Commerce in London, Paris and Berlin.

To Henry Ford, Esq.,  
Detroit, Michigan.

## The Unmastered Machine

DVOCATES of “preparedness” will find food for thought in some comparison drawn by Arthur Williams, president of the American Museum of Safety, based on statistics compiled by the museum showing the number of workmen killed and injured annually in American industries.

“The United States,” said Williams yesterday, “is continually waging a bloody war within its own borders—a war in which the casualties amount to 35,000

lives each year and in which the total number of wounded annually is 1,590,900. It sounds more like the returns from the battlefield of Europe, but, in reality, it is the number of workers killed and injured every year in our American industries.”

**Compares Industries to Vast Struggle.**

“In a sense, it is not unlike a great struggle in which men are constantly attacking massive steel machinery,

vast destructive forces harnessed by science and huge grinding wheels speeded to the utmost. It is appalling when we stop to consider 35,000 wiped out every year in times of peace. This would constitute an entire division of the army, or, in other words, the whole National Guard of New York State, with every unit recruited, to war strength. In two years it would then equal all of the Union soldiers killed in battle during the Civil War, which was 67,066.

The total number of workmen injured annually, 1,590,900, is still more appalling, for this number of cripples if left whole and sound would constitute a force sufficient to render the United States free from invasion from any nation in the world. If the advocates of "preparedness" would turn their thoughts to the problem of safety, and help us find ways and means of protecting the lives and limbs of the men we would have to fall back on in time of war to replenish our

armies and to make our guns and ammunition, they would be rendering the nation a great service.

#### Wants Work Made Safer.

"Although the American Museum of Safety is an institution of peace, we believe that, through making industry safer and conserving our resources in men, we are achieving a great deal toward "preparedness." The museum is using all of its energies to saving at least a large percentage of the 35,000 killed and the million and a half injured annually. I believe that more than 50 per cent of both can be prevented. We have actual proof at the museum of cases where accidents and fatalities have been reduced 50 per cent, and in many instances much more than that in a single year in the most hazardous industries.

"The museum is now planning the Third National Safety Exposition, which will take place in New York May 22-27.

## Eliot vs. Eliot

Harvard's Ex-President Turns White to Black. The Scholar, then the Villifier.

1913

From an address delivered by Charles W. Eliot at the dinner of the German Publication Society,

May 9, 1913,  
New York.

Published by the Irving Press,

New York,  
1913.

1915

From the book,  
"The Road Toward Peace"

by

Charles W. Eliot

Houghton Mifflin Company,  
Boston and New York.

1915.

Liberty.

"Two great doctrines which had sprung from the German Protestant Reformation had been developed by Germans from seed then planted in Germany. The first was the doctrine of universal education, developed from the Protestant conception of individual responsibility and the second was the great doctrine of civil liberty, liberty in industries, in society, in government, liberty with order under law. These two principles took their rise in Protestant Germany; and America has been the greatest beneficiary of that noble teaching.

#### Universities and Academic Freedom.

"The German universities to which the first American students resorted were in part recent creations and in part reconstructions on old foundations, but how rich they were, how free and how strong. . . The American pioneers in Germany brought back various knowledge, various skills, and many pregnant doctrines.

"The variety of knowledge and skill which could be procured at the German universities was something astonishing to these American youths, something indescribably rich and various. With their own personal experiences and gains they brought back also to America the structure of the modern German university, then young in Germany, and in

"The Government of Germany is the most autocratic in Europe. . . The German people do not know what political and social liberty is. They have no conception of such liberty as we enjoy."

"The Germans are fond of mentioning their 'Academic Freedom,' the freedom of their learned men; but that is much exaggerated in German description of their university life. The German universities are chiefly supported and ruled by the Government, and there are no free endowed institutions to compete with them. For any vital teaching of civil and religious liberty one must go back to individual

America not yet conceived of. They had, moreover, absorbed that noble policy of academic freedom, freedom for the student and teacher alike.

"This academic freedom meant emancipation from tradition and prejudice and from authority, whether GOVERNMENTAL or ecclesiastical."

German teachers and preachers of an earlier time."

#### Literature, Science, Art.

"The educational obligations of America to Germany are indeed wide and deep. They relate to literature, science, art, education and religion. . . The pioneers from New England in the first half of the 19th century have been followed by a stream of American youth, going over to enlarge their experiences, to make new observations, to put in practice the instructive method of arriving at truth, and to learn to think profoundly and accurately in the German universities. That stream has flowed backward all over this country, fertilizing it with German thought and German methods. These thousands have absorbed in Germany that splendid spirit of scientific research now developed in all fields of knowledge on the same method and in the same spirit. Scientific research has been learned through practice in Germany by thousands of American students and teachers. It is impossible to describe or even to imagine what an immense intellectual gift this has been from Germany to America. It is, of course, true that America is indebted not only to Germany, but also to other countries . . . but America is more indebted to Germany than to any other nation, because the range of German research has been wider and deeper than has been that of any nation."

"There is another field of human activity—the development of great pioneers in thinking and imagining—in which the Germans are accustomed to claim leadership; but that claim is without warrant. In the first place, German literature and philosophy are, like German industrial development, comparatively young. That they should become pre-eminent so soon was not to be expected. In the next place, the German race has not yet developed leaders of thought, in literature, philosophy, poetry, who can bear comparison with the supreme."



## Ethics.

"The Teutonic peoples set a higher value on truth in speech, thought, and action than any other peoples. . . . They love truth, they seek it; they woo it. They respect the man who speaks and acts the truth even to his own injury. The English Bacon said of truth: 'It is the sovereign good of human nature.' That is what all the Teutonic peoples believe. They want to found their action on fact, not fancy; on

"Germany has developed and accepted the religion of valor and the dogma that Might makes Right. In so doing it has rejected with scorn the Christian teachings concerning humility and meekness, justice and mercy, brotherhood and love. The objects of its adoration have become Strength, Courage and ruthless Will-Power; let the weak perish and help them to perish; let the gentle, meek and humble submit

the truth, the demonstrated truth, not on imaginations. I say that there is a fine bond of union, a real likeness of spirit, a community in devotion and worship among all the Teutonic peoples."

to the harsh and proud; let the shiftless and incapable die; the world is for the strong and the strongest shall be rulers. . . .

"The civil world can now see where in the new German morality—be efficient, be verily, be hard, be bloody, be rulers—would land it. . . . Germans do not know how free people's regard the sanctity of contract, not only for business purposes, but for political purposes, to say nothing of honorable obligation."

## Dr. Oberföhren's Letter to the Editor of the Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin

To the Editor of the Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin.

Sir:

In the Journal of Commerce of April 12, "Germany's Politico-Economic Mistakes" are treated at length editorially. The gist of the editorial is that Germany has shown a particular aggressiveness in alleged schemes of colonial expansion, disquieting to her neighbors and disturbing to the peace of the world.

It has become an established custom to consider Germany as the eternal trouble-maker in the peaceful waters of international politics. Her colonial aspirations have been particularly a matter of suspicion. They have been and still are considered as an absolutely unjustified and unjustifiable infringement upon the right of the Briton, the Frenchman, etc., to own the globe and to portion it out at will. Anybody is welcome to a share, down to Italy and Belgium, but the German must be confined to his small territory in Europe, excluded from all expansion, thwarted in his legitimate aspirations. In order to further that scheme absurdly unwarranted charges are brought as to Germany's purposes and deeds.

Wherever a German settler owns a homestead, for instance, wherever a German trader outrivals his competitors, wherever a German engineer builds a railroad, a campaign of slander and defamation is opened against him. Technically and commercially he cannot be beaten; consequently he is attacked as a political, international danger that must be rooted out. That is one of the basic reasons for this war; Germany's industry and commerce cannot be beaten in peaceful competition, consequently it must be eliminated by force of arms. The same mental attitude is at the bottom of the outcry against Germany's colonial activities, voiced for years in the English and French press and today loudly echoed in this country.

During the nineteenth century England, Russia, and France have built up enormous colonial Empires and lesser powers have acquired considerable territory beyond their boundaries; all have done so by means of blood and iron. Each and every one of these colonial nations has waged war after war in order to push its colonial expansion. France's conquest of Algiers and Tunis by force of arms, is a case in point, as is her recent insidious penetration of Morocco where, in 1913, more than 150,000 soldiers were busy "pacifying" the country. England's conquest of the South African Republics is another instance as are her frequent expeditions into Thibet, the partition of Persia in common with Russia, the illegal acquisition of Egypt. Russia's

proceedings against China and Korea leading to a sanguinary war against Japan; Italy's wars against Abyssinia and Turkey when the latter was compelled to yield, her hold upon Tripoli, these all illustrate my argument.

Now let us consider Germany's record. Her African possessions were acquired by peaceful negotiations with the natives, who voluntarily agreed to place themselves under the protection of the Empire. The islands in the Pacific were bought for cash from Spain after the Spanish-American War. The small foothold of Kiaochau was rented from China in order to make it evident that Germany was not willing to leave the destiny of the Far East in the hands of a Franco-British-Japanese combination.

Germany has been the only country which has acquired colonial possessions without waging war against white or native peoples. That is the record which hostile countries try to becloud by violently attacking Germany on account of her alleged colonial aggressiveness. They endeavor to focus public attention upon their neighbor in order to escape investigation of their own deeds, like the burglar who cries "stop thief" to divert attention from his own person.

To understand Germany's colonial aspirations it must be realized that Germany is no longer an emigration country, that her industrial growth and her intensive agriculture attract year after year very many immigrants. In years past, German settlers have gone all over the world and have built up uninhabited countries to the benefit of other nations. Now the type of German who formerly emigrated stays home and builds up Germany's productive power. Apart from that it will seem a strange contention indeed that a country like France, whose population is stationary, needs an ever increasing colonial empire, while Germany, with a growing population, is to be excluded from the partition of the globe.

The Journal of Commerce says that German colonial aggressiveness is evident in Turkey. Yet Turkey entered of her own free will in the alliance with the Central Powers, because she recognized that a victory of the Allies would mean her dismemberment. Germany has never harbored any plan to reduce Turkey to the state of a colony. She is willing to co-operate with the Musselman Empire in rebuilding its economic and productive forces, and it is just and right that both parties should benefit by such co-operation.

It is easy for the Journal of Commerce to quote some extreme German expansionist's dream of political domination of Turkish territory in order to destroy England's position. Any country has its political megalomaniacs. The procedure of the Germans in the mat-

ters of the Bagdad railway scheme proves the reverse of what the Journal of Commerce contends. Germany did not covet a monopoly even of this, her only Near-Eastern enterprise. When the Deutsche Bank obtained the concession for the line, it offered France and England a share in it. France accepted; England refused. Afterwards Germany succeeded through the restraint she put on her aspirations to arrive at a satisfactory understanding with England and Russia on the railway question.

Any kind of large enterprise by the capitalists of one state within the boundaries of another is bound to have some political influence in favor of the state whose citizens make the investment. But such investment does not necessarily indicate any schemes of political domination. As my opinion on this subject may be considered as partisan let me quote what the eminent Frenchman, René Pinon in his "L'Europe et l'Empire Ottoman" has to say of Germany's aims in connection with the Bagdad Railway:

"If the Bagdad Railway is to become an instrument

of domination it will be for the benefit of the Turks and of Islam. As for Germany, if she succeeds in carrying out her gigantic enterprise she will without doubt gain political advantage from it, but she will find it primarily a means of economic expansion, a market from which her products will be scattered throughout Central Asia."

Germany has proved in the course of forty-five years that she is not inclined to push plans of colonial expansion by force of arms. The present conflagration is a furnace in which not only the destinies of the European nations but also of the colonial possessions will be shaped anew. If the final settlement will give Germany a fair share of the world's undeveloped territory, wherein to find an opportunity of expansion such an arrangement will be nothing but the recognition of Germany's political equality with the other nations. Her victorious struggle against a world in arms entitles and guarantees Germany such a reward.

New York, N. Y., April 28, 1916.

DR. R. J. OBERFOHREN.

## The Struggle for Social Strength

This is the first of a series of articles by Charles Ferguson on THE WAR AS DESTROYER OF PLUTOCRACY.

These articles are in effect addenda to Ferguson's new book, "THE GREAT NEWS." They bring "the great news" down to date.

I AM an unwilling monopolist of precious and necessary goods. I have in possession news of the kind that makes the fortunes of men and nations. Authentic news is more than gold or lands. It commands every human talent and controls the future. It is the most valuable of all commodities.

Since the beginning of the century this news has ripened, as wines do in cellars. It is more exhilarating today, and more sensational, than ever before. Time and again, during the last fifteen years, I have tried to give it away—in books. The books have been printed and read in several languages and countries. But they have never really been published. The news seemed to be incommunicable—until the war came, with its immense advertisement of hidden realities. Now my news is in all the dispatches—needing still, however, some little gloss or commentary such as I offer here.

I make no boast of the fact that—among the people who put into print what they see and think—I have been very much alone for this decade and a half. I have not enjoyed the isolation. It was my job—and I stuck to it. I am glad I had lightheartedness, and scorn, enough to do it.

The great news of which I speak is the actuating power of the present century. It separates the twentieth from the nineteenth. It informs and vitalizes all current news. What is happening today in Chihuahua or at Verdun is unintelligible unless you have read the news that is written behind the news. If you read with a nineteenth century mind you will not understand anything that happens in the twentieth century.

An all-compassing world-change such as this we have now to deal with, can of course be described in an infinite variety of ways. For my own part I have heretofore undertaken to describe it in terms of business, of politics, of education, of religion. And under these several heads there are divisions and aspects of life so various and so novel to all past experience, that we shall need a wholly new encyclopedia to suit the transformed conditions of the age. The Chicago department store that is covering the country with the "Brit-

tanica" is—innoently enough, no doubt—dealing in badly damaged goods.

Today let us look at the great change from the point of view of **Military Force**—with special reference to our "punitive expedition" in Mexico. Accordingly let us set down the following propositions:

The Diaz regime in Mexico was a perfect specimen of the curious form of government characteristic of the latter half of the nineteenth century—which a writer in The New Republic calls "capitalism of the camp." That phrase calls attention to the fact that the kind of government in question exercises its military or police power mainly to protect the people that **Own** things from the people that **Do** things. Such a government is—from the point of view of productive science or technology—a government by the Ignorant and the Absent. Its constant tendency is to take the gigantic engineries of modern civilization out of the hands of men who understand them, and put them into the hands of other men, who don't.

Now the news that I have been trying so long to tell, is that this kind of government—plutocracy—is a preposterous absurdity for an age of high-tensioned business. The case of Lucullus or Crassus or Timon of Athens was altogether different. Plutocracy was practicable enough up to the end of the ages of small handicraft. But with the rise of the Great Industry and the development of Organized Working Nations, it became absolutely necessary that the control of the working processes should be kept in the hands of men of social sense and scientific ability.

The strength of modern plutocracy—its brave showing of "the camp"—is illusory. It is the weakest kind of government known to mankind. One might suppose that what has happened in Mexico is a sufficient exposure to the world of the sham of plutocratic strength. But a further demonstration was needed. And Europe has furnished it. It was necessary that half a dozen plutocracies should fling themselves at once against a people that had begun to put science and social sense into the machines.

As for Mexico, she has been punished enough. Her body has been made a burnt offering for the sin and madness of a dying order—this government by the

Ignorant and the Absent, which carried its banner of delusion and discord all around the world and prepared the ways of the great war. Besides, this idea that governments exist to reward virtue and punish wickedness, is not properly a twentieth century idea. It would seem that the only legitimate use of police and military power under modern conditions, is to remove obstacles that impede the earth-subduing and city-building process. Indeed the news is that any other use of "force" has become suicidal. The nation that absorbs its emotional energies in judging and dividing between evil saints and sinners, or in nursing its honor or dignity in foreign lands, will fare about as individuals do that preoccupy their minds with such considerations. Competent men of the modern spirit do not brood over their honor or dignity. It is an anomaly and an absurdity that the sentiment of the duelling code has utterly perished in private relations—where it was comparatively sensible—and has survived

only in international relations, in forms that are manifestly unworkable and grotesque.

However, one need not any longer argue the abstract question how the moral passion or social energy of a nation **Ought** to be invested. For the news is that a time has come in which this energy **Must** be used in the mobilizing of productive forces and the mastery of materials—on peril of complete ruin and collapse.

The rise of the grand-scale working organization in modern society has at last precipitated among the nations a new and infinitely salutary kind of competition, to wit: a struggle for social strength. In the increasing stress of this rivalry the legal codes that antedate this working organization—that impede it and cannot be adjusted to it—are everywhere in process of dissolution. They are being supplanted by new codes in which all documentary and traditional property rights are subordinated to the practical problem of getting arms and tools into the hands that can use them.

## Opinion of a Neutral on Burning Question

By F. VAN NALESAH.

**I**T is astonishing to read different war editorials and see to what extent the public's mind can be imposed upon. It might be of interest to you to get the opinion of a neutral (Hollander) on some of these questions. One of the most flagrant perversions that I have seen is that Germany is sinking neutral boats. Nobody knows better the value of neutral boats than Germany. They are the only means of getting merchandise indirectly into Germany, and it is just these boats that make the English blockade ineffective and illegal. The only neutral boats that Germany has ever sunk are those that are carrying contraband of war for the Allies. Germany is not so insane as to cut her own head off and sink these boats. England after having failed by coercion and continuous hold-ups and robbery to stop this neutral commerce has, in the opinion of the people of Holland, resorted to the dastardly trick of sinking these boats by throwing mines into the narrow channel that neutral boats have to travel in the war zone, shortly before the passage of an "Undesirable" and in the last instance by directly torpedoing our largest vessel, the *Tubantia*, that we had, and then putting the blame on Germany. By doing so she expects to "kill two birds with one stone." One is to make it impossible for any merchandise to reach neutral countries by neutral boats and then go to Germany, and the other is by blaming Germany for the sinking of these boats she hopes to create hard feelings in neutral countries against Germany. England may succeed in fooling Americans, but never the people of Holland. We may be slow, but we have not forgotten who destroyed and robbed us of our commerce when we were the leading nation of the world. One of the best proofs is that English statesmen will positively announce that a boat was sunk by a German submarine before they have any proofs whatsoever. This shows the system that has been agreed on in handling the matter. At the same time it proves their guilt.

England to-day, in my opinion, is playing her last game; her allies have been beat on land and she faces in a short time starvation herself. Her only hope is to get President Wilson to stop the submarine campaign—if necessary go to war against Germany. But how this can save her I don't see. She expects that the entering into the war by the United States of America will strengthen France and Russia morally

to such an extent that they will fight on to complete exhaustion. When that point has been reached she hopes Germany will be so exhausted that she will sue for peace, and England herself, safe on her island, will get off easy. How she herself expects to hold out that length of time against the German submarines I cannot see. No U. S. A. army is going to swim across the Atlantic and choke the German submarines, and the fleet can do no more than England's powerful fleet, twice as large as the American, has been able to do. So in time of two to three months we can look for serious bread riots in England, which most likely will bring about an overthrow of the Government by the people, no matter whether the U. S. A. enters into this war or not.

If the people of this country had been in Europe during the last year and seen what war means they would never permit themselves to be forced into it for the sake of a country with a record like England's. "Humanity" pretence may sound good to some old ladies, but how does it sound to fathers and mothers who have worked all their lives to bring up their sons to see them sent to the battle fields of Africa and Asia to be shot to pieces in company with savage allied troops? These are the only continents where they could be used to advantage; that they will not reach European soil, the German submarine will surely see to that.

I am willing to predict that if diplomatic relations between this country and Germany are broken off, within a month three or four boats with Americans will be sunk in quick succession. The boats to be sunk are most likely picked to-day already and the passengers are being engaged right in our midst, as I saw the other day in a paper, they were offering free trips on English boats and monthly pay to Americans. Leave it to the English that these boats will go down. What will happen then we all know. In the meantime England will do business just as before, while the nations of the world are sacrificing the best of their manhood in England's "slaughter house" so that she may rule the seas as before and fatten on the blood of the sons of broken-hearted people. Some people may be built to shine in such a glory, but we people of Holland pray with our whole hearts that this ogre of a nation may soon receive the fate that she so long has deserved.

# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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### PRESBYTERIAN DIPLOMACY.

LOOKING down from the press gallery in the House of Representatives last Wednesday upon the grave, earnest and withal modest figure of the President, as he spoke words that may be fatal to the peace of the country, one felt the presence of the spirit of Jonathan Edwards.

Princeton Presbyterianism—a scholarship molded on the lines of the Westminster catechism, a resolute helplessness, a sense of the feebleness of man in the presence of the foreordained drift of an inscrutable destiny—these were the characteristics of the President's speech.

He uttered no word of insult. He did not say that the Germans were to blame. At the critical point he seemed to say not that the Imperial Government would not, but that it *could* not do as the Government at Washington thinks it ought to do.

The Senate and the House sat like men under the spell of a kind of spiritual lethargy or enchantment. There were no eager faces, no expressive looks of approval or disapproval. Everybody seemed to feel that the lot of man upon the earth is to submit himself to the decrees of fate and take things as they come.

The President found his period, gave his hand formally to the Speaker and passed out. The thing had happened. It was not so very distinct a thing. The ultimatum was without date. It was not clear just how the Germans must change their "methods of warfare" in order to avoid a diplomatic break. But the idea of fatality, of drift and doom—had been effectually given to the assemblage, to the country, to the world.

It was all very solemn and paralyzing to the will, very presbyterian.

The President, as a thinking man—an intelligent, sympathetic and observing man—cannot fail to be aware of the fact that the position and conduct of the German nation in this submarine business are substantially what the position and conduct of any other nation would be in the like case. He knows that there is no country in the world in which a government would be supported by the people if it refused to take the risks that the Imperial Government is taking, and to use such military means—new or old, legal or illegal—as might promise to get food into its own beleaguered ports or to keep guns and munitions out of the ports of its enemies. He can imagine what the American people—placed as the Germans are placed—would say or do to a President who should allow legal scruples or the plea of humanity to thwart the intense human needs of the country and to strengthen the destroying arm of its adversaries.

Yet, knowing and imagining these things, Mr. Wilson does as he has done.

Looking down from the press gallery upon his self-repressed, half-ascetic, Presbyterian, Princetonian figure, he seemed a lonely, misplaced man—a man out of an older time that has passed and gone. It is possible to believe that if America now stood in Germany's place and the roles of the two governments were reversed, Mr. Wilson might hold to his scruple—his theory of absolute right, of unhuman humanity—might stand quite alone and steadfast—until the impatience of a suffering people had swept them aside.

It is a situation full of ironic tragedy. The most powerful forces in American politics are pressing for a breach with Germany. The spirit in which these forces operate is the very opposite of Mr. Wilson's spirit. They are ruthless, cruel, devoid of conscience. Mr. Wilson is neither ruthless nor cruel and his conscientiousness has been refined to a kind of religious fervor. Yet Mr. Wilson is moved to speak, in the name of morality and humanity, the very words of challenge and discord that his irreconcilable opposites—men who scorn his fineness and misunderstand his kind of courage—would have him speak.

### OUR BLIND PLUNGE TOWARD THE ABYSS.

FROM the point of view of our New England Puritanism, it doesn't matter where a man or a nation is going. It matters only that he or it should be on the way—the way that is supposed to be the way of the divine and unintelligible decree. Therefore, from this point of view it is of course impertinent and irrelevant—a kind of moral laches or mild blasphemy—to inquire what good it would do to break with Germany. The New England Puritans among us—with the Scotch Presbyterians and all the hell-fire fatalists—will go on insisting that justice, or what they suppose to be justice, shall be done in the Sussex case or some other case, though the dead come to lie about us in winrows, and the earth be melted with fervent heat and the heavens be rolled up as a scroll.

But, thank God, there are a good many people in the United States who are not New England Puritans or Scotch Presbyterians and who will therefore insist upon pressing the practical inquiry, **What good can it possibly do to break off all human relationship with Germany?**

What's the use of treating Germany as if articulate speech had suddenly become impossible between Germans and Americans? Does the fact that we cannot agree upon one point—even if it were a very important point—justify our acting as if the two nations had no common human heritage—nothing whatever in common? Shall we adopt the offended school-girl's formula, "So there! I'll never speak to you again!"

Obviously the immediate practical effect of a diplomatic breach would be to render the lives of American sea-travelers in the war zone not more secure but less secure. The chief moderating influence would be withdrawn and the continuing sea-fight for life between Germany and England would go on with increased bitterness.

Next it is to be considered that the American democracy—which now stands to witness for human interests that rise above and over-arch all the narrow national interests that are involved in Europe—would, by refusing to hold further converse with one of the parties to the European struggle, abandon all the interests of mankind that cannot be classified as English, French, Italian, Russian, Servian or Japanese.

We should not lift higher the standard of humanity. On the contrary, we should confess by one action that

American democracy offers no hope to the world except such as has been already realized in Europe and Asia. We should lower the standard of humanity and put out the light that has enlightened the world.

Inevitably we would, soon or late, drift into the thick of the slaughter. We should fight against an enemy that we know and admit has never *intended* to do us any harm—fight in company with allies not of our own choosing. With Cossacks and Singalese, with strange, uncouth peoples, yellow, black and brown, we should struggle for the destruction of the civilization of Central Europe and for the irretrievable humiliation of a people whose capacity for the arts of peace and human service is admittedly very great.

It is quite possible that such a struggle would devastate and destroy beyond repair the whole fabric of the power and pride of the white races. Our breach with Germany, our abandonment of our unique historical role as refuge for the oppressed of all lands, our participation in a European quarrel whose cause or meaning not one American in a hundred pretends to understand—might well signalize the end of an age of light and progress and the beginning of a Dark Age.

### RUSSIANS IN FRANCE.

**B**IG headlines have acquainted the public with the fact that Russian troops were landed on French soil and the pro-ally press has howled their appearance in France as if that were the final blow that is to crush the Germans once and for all.

No sane person will deny that the transportation even of an insignificant force from Siberia or Archangel over a distance of between 6,000 to 10,000 miles is a remarkable feat and full credit is due to the organizers who could avoid the vigilance of German submarines and information service thus bringing a surprise at the whole world.

The importance of the step, however, does not lie in the successful landing itself but in the reasons that prompted the leading statesmen of France and Russia to adopt this course. We can imagine but two reasons that may account for the presence of Russians in France and whichever may be correct, it is conclusive evidence of the dwindling strength of France having reached such a dangerously low stage that only superhuman efforts on the part of the British can postpone the total collapse a little longer.

The dissatisfaction of the French with the failure of Great Britain to furnish material aid in the defense of Verdun has been a conspicuous feature of the news from France in the past few days.

The first impression one receives is that the Musluks have been brought to France to strengthen the French fighting machine by adding new units to it which may either be used in the defense of Verdun or intended to bring pressure to bear on some other section of the line in order to detract the attention of the Germans. Yet, even if the undoubtedly exaggerated figures mentioned in the newspaper reports should correspond with the actual number of soldiers sent to France, it is more than unlikely that they could constitute the decisive factor on the Western front, less so because they admittedly were not equipped with artillery.

It will be some time before the Russians will be available for service. In all probability they will need training before they can be utilized in action.

The Allies cannot hope for a safe arrival of other transports; in the first place a repetition of the trick would be unproportionately more dangerous, it would also require additional means of transportation, which England cannot supply, and the all but too strong position of the Russians themselves would be weakened, not to speak of the time that would elapse before a fully equipped army of a quarter of a million men could be transported over a distance of thousands of miles.

We must therefore look for a more plausible motive for this theatrical performance. Remarks which have recently been passed in the French Chamber and some of the leading papers plainly indicate that France has called her last reserves and is using them up rapidly. There is likewise no doubt that France expects England to fill the gaps in her ranks, which England cannot do without compulsory service. Conscription on the other hand would overthrow the cabinet and with level minded men replacing the war plotters of Downing street, the whole edifice of the Allies' aspirations would collapse.

With France's demands growing more and more pressing and England's absolute inability to meet them, a remedy had to be found, and was found in the landing of Russian troops. For the French Russia spells an inexhaustible supply of men, England spells money and all it can buy. What more can an impulsive nation ask to be reassured of final victory?

Forgotten are the sacrifices, forgotten the disappointments and losses, the magnitude of which but few can estimate. Hope has been revived, France continues the project. England has scored another victory over one of her Allies. Will not France wake up before it is too late?

## Presidential Performances and Purposes

By WILLIAM KENNEDY.

**W**EDNESDAY, April 19th, was a gala day for Washington, D. C. The city was thronged with visitors in attendance on the annual convention of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and with thousands of excursionists brought in by the railroads with a shrewd eye to the Easter Holidays which the school children of many cities have. For the delectation of these multitudes two extraordinary events were staged.

At 12.30 o'clock Harry Houdini, the "Handcuff King," famous in vaudeville, permitted himself to be strapped into the most business-like strait-jacket in the world, and then to be suspended by the heels one hundred feet from the ground in front of Frank Munsey's Washington Times Building. Hanging there head downward, he wriggled himself free of the strait-jacket and waved his arms, upon which signal

he was lowered to safety amid the frantic applause of twenty thousand spectators.

Half an hour later Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, entered the Capitol to the feeble hand-clapping of perhaps five hundred people, and appeared before the two houses of Congress, assembled in joint session in response to a call which was intended by its suddenness to be a dramatic master-stroke. A clique within the House Chamber made an attempt at a prolonged demonstration, which failed, to use a military term, for want of proper support. After fifteen minutes of verbal wriggling which elicited not a single "hand," the Presidential performer withdrew; as he did so, half the members of Congress and hundreds of spectators stood silent, grim and disapproving, while the little ripple of applause from the confirmed Wilson-lovers died languidly on the air.



The honors were easily with Houdini.

As the Senate filed out of the House Chamber, Anglo-maniacs like Lodge, Williams and Wadsworth wore broad grins; but Americans like O'Gorman, Hoke Smith and La Follette had their faces set in expressions of anger, shame, worry and determination. And both houses of Congress immediately turned to the business of passing appropriation, pension and other routine bills.

Now this Congressional attitude has its hopeful and its discouraging sides. Congress obviously has no interest in furthering Mr. Wilson's plans for involving the nation in the war. But it has no program for frustrating him. It can be stated authoritatively, despite whatever the pro-British press may say, that the effect of the President's speech and his note to Germany has been merely to accentuate and strengthen Congressional disgust with him and his "neutrality" and "humanity." Congress seethes with resentment of his course and his plans. And yet, so far has the process of Presidential usurpation gone, that scarcely a member of either house has any plans for restoring the Ship of State to an even keel and heading her for a safe harbor. Many, perhaps most, Congressmen—elected by a trusting people to guide the nation—frankly feel that nothing can be done to stop the Administration's mad plunge to disaster. Congressmen after Congressman—Representatives and Senators—have met the questions of the present writer with a uniform "I don't know." Man after man has declared himself against the President, but to the question whether the President will get his way there is the uniform answer, "I'm afraid he may." These are not pleasant sentences to hear from the lips of statesmen. They bode no good to a country whose legislators can utter them in such an hour.

Yet the President's speech and note have distinctly intensified the opposition to him. There is resentment, of course, of his insulting evasion of the obligation laid on him by the House last month, to put his case before Congress before taking any steps that might endanger our foreign relations; what he did was to secretly send his note to Germany the night before he went to the Capitol. It is likely that after a little pause Congress will begin to voice its disapproval. But what a country threatened with disaster needs is action to promote its safety and firmness to resist the plotters of its downfall.

Mr. Wilson's address and note are characterized by that impudent disregard of truth which differentiates him from all other American diplomatic papers since the administration of James K. Polk. The latter, wishing to appropriate a large portion of Mexico for the benefit of certain classes of Americans, invented a fine line of legal and humanitarian justifications for his acts. Mr. Wilson has re-discovered humanitarianism, which would seem to have been forgotten by all the rest of the ignoble world, and has invented a system of international law by which Germany may be held to a strict accountability for any result which Mr. Wilson dislikes, while England is assured that we realize that conditions have changed, and she may therefore blockade the seven seas, even to the Lower Bay of New York, to her heart's content.

There is a dreadful possibility before the United States as a result of this culminating effort of Mr. Wilson's "loving service to England." That possibility is that this country may be hurled into the war to protect the tottering power of England. England is her ships. And to-day England's ships are going in ever-increasing numbers to litter the bottom of the sea. Freight rates, insurance rates and food prices are higher by hundreds of per cents. Portugal has been dragged into the war for the purpose of stealing Ger-

man ships, because English tonnage is so scarce that scores of articles have been barred from importation. One result of American participation in the war would be the turning over of the German ships interned in American ports to the English traffic. And the one big, chief result would be the placing of America's huge financial resources at England's service. As a well-informed German authority put it, this would prolong the war perhaps two years, perhaps four. Would that be serving humanity? American warships would be sent to protect England's shipping, of course, and would likewise be sent to join the Audacious, Aboukir, Hogue, Cressy, Bulwark and other victims of the U-boats. American soldiers might even be sent to Flanders—to charge to the death, like the Irish, Scotch, Canadians and Indians, while the English loafed in their trenches. Would this be serving humanity? Verily, there would seem to be men in power in Washington who are saying defiantly to the American people, with a sinister perversion of Patrick Henry's immortal phrase, "If this be treason, make the most of it!"

And Congressmen openly express the fervent hope that even if diplomatic negotiations are broken, even if Germany is insulted and irritated and dared to fight, the German Government will remain calm and carefully avoid war. That is to say, my fellow citizens, that your representatives confess themselves unable to guide this country, and call appealingly on the Reichstag, which is supposed to be Kaiser-bossed, and on the Bundesrath, which is supposed to be the council of tyranny, and on the Kaiser himself, who is supposed to be a war-hungry madman, to do what the free and proud American Congress cannot, dare not do. Oh, gentlemen!

Well, German-Americans need not, for all that, be in any hurry to pick out their concentration camps. Germany will doubtless make the best reply she can, and will go on with her submarine warfare with the greatest caution and care which the most efficient race on earth is able to exercise. Germany will not favor Woodrow Wilson with a war. And, despite the helplessness of Congress to take positive action, it may be predicted with almost absolute certainty that Congress will not give Mr. Wilson a war on this issue of protecting English ships. If Mr. Wilson severs diplomatic relations, I predict that a great and vehement wave of peace sentiment will sweep the country.

Meanwhile, preparations to get out of Mexico, where we have real business to do, are proceeding. In this connection it behooves every reader of this paper to sit down and write his individual Congressman at once to support the new McLemore resolution, H. J. Res. 199, which clearly and unmistakably directs that our pursuit of Villa shall proceed till its purpose is accomplished, and that anyone who interferes with that proceeding shall be treated as a national enemy. Also, support would be urged for the resolution of Mr. Rodenberg, H. J. Res. 202, prohibiting the sending of arms and ammunition to the Mexicans, who are using them to kill American soldiers.

The permission to ship bullets to Mexico at the very moment when American soldiers were being treacherously shot was given by Mr. Wilson, it is said, after a visit to him by Colonel House and Cleveland H. Dodge. It is very likely that the connection of Mr. Dodge with the business of selling munitions to Mexico, with all that that suggests in explanation of Mr. Wilson's policy of letting Mexicans exercise their right to kill each other to their heart's content, and even to kill Americans, will be investigated in the near future.

This review of the curious scene at the national Capital would not be complete without noting one

little, tremendously important, fact. On the day of Mr. Wilson's speech—and Houdini's hanging—the one constantly-recurring question, the one anxious inquiry at the White House was, "How is Henry Ford running in Nebraska?" The White House knows now; Henry Ford is running ahead. That is the talk of Washington. That is the biggest fact in contemporary American politics. The American people are breaking

through the coils wound around them by lying newspapers, bosses and politicians. They may next break the party system.

In which case Mr. Wilson and some others will find themselves bound in straight-jackets, metaphorically speaking, and hanging head downward, with no chance to wiggle out.

## When the Pogrom Came

By PAUL BARCHAN.

One day in the early part of summer we received news in St. Petersburg that a murderous pogrom had been raging in Bialystok for over three days. Hundreds had been slain and many wounded.

Help! came the cry.

The first Duma, that youthful, audacious and eloquent first Duma, which even now seems to persist in the memory like some bright impossible legend, at once despatched several Deputies. In those great but unhappy days the Deputies still possessed some modicum of power. I accompanied the party. I wished to see with my own eyes in what manner the Russian spirit had come to an eruption. As soon as the news of the intended visit of the Deputies reached the Bialystok garrison and police, both of which had instigated the massacre, a halt was called to the slaughter and martial law proclaimed.

We stalked through empty streets and saw doors barricaded with planks and piles of household goods and tattered feather beds strewn about. Soldiers with planted bayonets stood as sentinels at the street-corners—yesterday robbers and murderers—today guards. Here and there we encountered one of the surviving Jews—who had just crawled out of some hiding-place in a shop where he had lain without stirring for three days. These people would stand helplessly with wide and vacant eyes behind which all life seemed to have burnt itself to ashes—eyes that had looked on horror and then become petrified.

Crouched around the staircase and gallery of the "German House," the hotel in which the Deputies had made their headquarters, we saw the eye-witnesses—silent creatures who sat there brooding in the half-darkness, waiting patiently until their testimony was to be taken.

It was with difficulty that I recognized them—the young dandified commercial travelers and clerks of Bialystok whom I had known. Their hats were pressed down carelessly over their foreheads, their eyes had grown lustreless, woeful and old. That peculiar trait of fearfulness, patience and painful experience which gives so unmistakeable a cast to the eyes of the long-suffering Jews of Western Russia, had utterly destroyed the merry and mischievous gleams which were wont to shine in the eyes of the lively natives of Bialystok. Their backs which they had learned to keep erect, according to the excellent example of the Warsaw Jews, were once more bent and curved. There they sat, just as their fathers and grandfathers had sat before them, like ancient, tottering monuments of misery and long-endured affliction. That was their one expression—the stony patience of hopeless resignation—there was no flare, no flame of any feeling of vengeance, not a cry for retribution.

In one of the rooms of the hotel, two Deputies of the Duma, Taganzeff and Jacobsohn, were examining the witnesses. Among these there was a simple young girl of some twenty years and her little five-year-old brother. In a trailing, broken voice, in dull and dis-

connected phrases, as though she herself did not comprehend what she was saying, she told her story. Told how her old father, a teacher of penmanship named Einstein, was held down on the floor while long nails were driven into his forehead and nostrils, then how his tongue was cut out—the quiet, good-natured, harmless old man whom everybody respected. Told how eight out of the ten members of her family were slaughtered one after the other in every conceivable fashion in the presence of their relatives. Her sisters had been violated before they were strangled. But she and her little brother had escaped—she was unable to say in what manner. All this she told in a lifeless voice. It was only when she turned to her little brother—who was playing restlessly with his fingers, and took him to task—

"Will you behave now!—don't you see where you are!"—that her voice became vigorous and excited.

Some six weeks after this a young and dandified officer of the Russian gendarmerie was walking along the "Boulevard" of the city of Grodno, the capital of his "government." His cape was thrown picturesquely over the new and well-creased dress uniform he wore. This officer was Griboiedoff, a native of Bialystok, a former police officer there and now advanced to the position of Captain of Horse. It was he who in company with the corrupt police official Scheremetoff had arranged the pogrom and brought it to a glorious conclusion. Since these patriots had performed such invaluable services for their country, they had been advanced in rank, and transferred to distant towns, so that their precious lives might not be endangered by a shot from the pistol of some rash individual thirsting for revenge. For Bialystok is a manufacturing town and possesses an unruly outcropping element of demagogues, anarchists and devilish fellows of that sort. And the military and its myrmidons of murder, lust and pillage scarcely ventured to enter the narrow streets where these workmen lived.

The young Captain had come to the chief town of his "government" in order to bid farewell to his Colonel and his comrades. A farewell banquet was to be given in his honor. Griboiedoff had just been to the barber's. He was freshly-shaven, perfumed and curled. As he strode jauntily along, he turned for a moment to look at the old and pretty Catholic Parish Church, which may possibly have affected him almost as disagreeably as a synagogue. Just at that moment a young lad of some fifteen years who had been sitting on a bench on the boulevard, sprang to his feet, whipped out a Browning pistol, and aiming swiftly, fired a single shot at the strutting officer. Then, flinging the weapon into the grass, he fled and vanished in the direction of the suburbs. The hero of Bialystok, however, with a bullet in his head, stood tottering for a moment—his elegant cape fell to the ground. He made one convulsive gesture, then collapsed in a heap. There he lay on the pavement—a slight twitching of the shapely legs and shoulders and he was dead.

Specially translated by R. L. Orchelle.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### 500 AMERICANS SEND "ADDRESS" TO ALLIES.

Boston, April 16.—An "Address to the People of the Allied Nations," bearing the signatures of 500 Americans was made public today.

The names signed to the "Address" represent forty-two States of the Union. Of the total of 500, over 150 are business men or lawyers. These include former members of National and State governments, the Judiciary, and the Diplomatic and Consular Services.

The clerical profession is represented by thirty-two Bishops and other clergymen.

Many members of the faculties of Harvard, Princeton, Columbia, Cornell, Pennsylvania, California, Michigan, Illinois, Chicago, Northwestern, Indiana, Johns Hopkins, Yale, and Dartmouth, besides authors, actors, painters, sculptors, and architects, are also on the list.

The address reads as follows:

"To the People of the Allied Nations:

"We, the undersigned citizens of the United States of America, send to you, the people of the nations of the Triple Entente and your allies, this message:

"Our judgment supports your cause and our sympathies and our hopes are with you in this struggle. In saying this we are confident that we are expressing the convictions and feelings of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

"Since the beginning of the present terrible world-conflict there have not been lacking in America individual expressions of ardent sympathy with the cause of Great Britain, France, and their Allies, and horror and detestation of the methods employed by the Teuton confederates in the conduct of the war. Patriotic Americans, however, while individually in public and in private expressing their views—which have also found voice abundantly in the daily press in all parts of the country—have hitherto hesitated to unite in any more formal statement, at first because they looked to the Government to speak, and later for fear of embarrassing the Government in the difficult negotiations growing out of German offenses, and in

the endeavor to maintain that official neutrality which it has felt impelled to uphold, in the hope that through neutrality it could best support the tottering pillars of international law, and aid in preserving—to use the President's phrase—the foundation upon which peace can be rebuilt."

"The time has come, however, if indeed it has not long since passed, when Americans owe it to themselves to express more publicly and more formally their sympathies and their judgment. Even as we have always held ourselves as a nation free to express openly our sympathies with people struggling for their liberties, so now we have the duty of at least making clear our solidarity of sentiment with those who are struggling to preserve the liberties of the world and the highest ideals of civilization.

"In the face of the great moral questions involved, the right solution of which is vital to the whole future course of civilization, the American conscience cannot remain silent. It cannot run the risk of appearing to be neutral-minded without injury to its own integrity and its self-respect. For this reason it seems fitting and needful that American public opinion should receive some more collective expression.

"The main facts in the controversy have long been before us. The case of the Teutonic Allies, especially, has not lacked fullness of statement. The ablest German publicists and professors have presented the Austro-German contentions with great eloquence. Numerous German documents have been widely circulated, and an active, and sometimes insidious, German propaganda has been extensively carried on in the United States.

"The American judgment has been deliberately formed, and it is based very largely on a study of German documents, and of German statements as to the points of issue.

"The signers of this document are not unmindful of the great contributions, which Germany has in the past made to the common treasure of modern civilization; all of us acknowledge our debt to Germany; many of us have

had the advantage of German education; some of us are of German blood. But the welfare of that civilization for which Germany has done so much, the higher interest of Germany herself, demand that in this conflict Germany and Austria shall be defeated. We confidently and hopefully look forward to that result.

"The invasion of Belgium we regard as a crime which can never be justified. It will remain a blot upon the history of Europe. The conscience of the American people cries out and protests against outrages upon civilization committed by your enemies, and against their methods of warfare that break the international laws of nations and the moral laws of humanity.

"The sanctity of treaties, the rights of small nations, the question as to whether militarism shall dominate civilization, are all involved in the final decision.

"A peace which does not restore Belgium to the Belgian people and to their own government, which does not give them such indemnity as will allow them, so far as possible, to reconstruct their wasted cities and villages and restore again their ruined prosperity, a peace which does not recognize the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe, a peace which does not offer some guaranty that such a calamity as the present war shall not recur, a peace which does not insure these things, would be a disaster and not a blessing.

"It is because we believe that the success of Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia will mean the restoration of Belgium and of Serbia, and the suppression of militarism, that we ardently hope for that consummation. In that hope we believe the future of civilization to be involved."

Is this "Address" in accordance with "Strict Neutrality"?—Editor.

### RUSSIA IS SEEKING NEW TREATY WITH U. S.

Ambassador Francis Has Full Power to Negotiate It.

• Washington.—David R. Francis, new Ambassador to Russia, has among his official documents the drafts of a new commercial treaty to be formed between the United States and Russia to replace the century old treaty which was abrogated a few years ago because Petrograd refused to honor passports issued to American Jews.

Information that the new treaty is to be drawn up was obtained from an official of the State Department. The details of the proposed treaty have not been divulged, but Mr. Francis is known to have been given ample latitude in negotiations. The treaty will have to include, he has been instructed, clauses that will afford security of Jews traveling in Russia on American passports.

The American tour of the Russian trade delegation emphasizes Petrograd's desire to increase trade with this country. The delegation, which has been studying American business conditions, will be in Washington on Thursday.



Informal conferences will be held between this delegation and foreign trade officials of the American Government. The question of better trade arrangements between individual business interests of the two countries will be taken up between the delegates and the American Federation of Labor.

### U. S. TO PROTEST SEA SEARCH BY BRITISH.

Washington.—The State Department, on receipt of official reports that a British cruiser held up the American ship *Henry S.* in Philippine waters and removed two alleged German subjects, is preparing a strenuous protest.

The case is described as graver than that of the *China*. The details of the report caused State Department Officials to describe it as one of the most flagrant violations of American rights on the high seas so far committed by Great Britain.

British officers who boarded the vessel examined her from keel to deck, breaking open boxes and invading private property. These facts were reported to the State Department more than sixty days ago, but for some reason have been kept secret.

The whole of the Philippines is kept under close observation by British warships, according to officials familiar with England's operations in the Pacific.

It was declared the recent removal of thirty-eight Germans, Austrians and Turks from the American steamer *China*, was only one instance indicating that Great Britain has embraced the American possessions in the Pacific in her system of espionage.

The State Department admitted today that none of the many complaints this Government has made to England has been satisfactorily answered. No acceptable explanation has been made of the arrest of the foreign nationals on the *China*, and their removal to a British camp of detention. The *China* case, in several respects, is similar to that of the *Henry S.*, which is described by one official as "an intolerable outrage."

### VENIZELOS ASKS FOR FREE SPEECH.

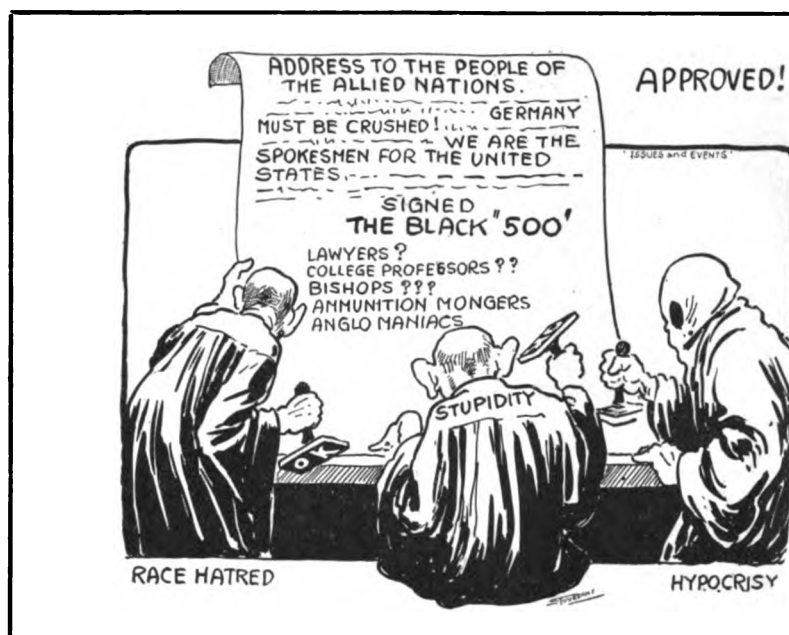
Athens.—The Liberal morning papers comment bitterly on the action of the police during the rioting, while the government organs throw the blame on the Liberals.

Liberal meetings will be resumed after Easter. Meanwhile the Liberals will take action against the police for allowing, it is alleged, the presence at their meetings of mob agitators.

"I beg you to bring the events of yesterday and the earnest protest of a majority of Greeks to the knowledge of the American people, who have struggled for so long to establish free speech as the fundamental right of free peoples," said ex-Premier Venizelos today.

"Here in Greece we are confronted by the question whether we are to have a democracy, presided over by a king, or whether, at this hour in our history, we must accept the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

"The present government represents in no sense the majority of the Hellenic people. We Liberals twice in the course of a year received the vote of the majority. At the last election, which was nothing more than a burlesque of the free exercise of the right of suffrage, we were not willing to par-



ticipate in a farcical formality, where, owing to the mobilization, it would have been possible—as, indeed, it was the government's intention—to keep the Liberal voters with the colors and not allow them to cast their ballots. Their opponents would be given every facility to crush the Liberal party by a vote which could not have represented more than a small minority of the Greek people.

"Now it is even sought to deny us free speech. The meetings organized by the Liberal party were not even those free and open ones to which we have every right. Our meetings were held in inclosed buildings. Those who came to them were invited, but the police threw out our doorkeepers, put in their own and let enter whomsoever they (the police) wanted to be present at our meetings.

"The moment has come when the position of the highest functionary, which every king of the Hellenes ought to occupy, must so strictly be defined that it will forever be impossible again to raise the divine right of kings."

### U. S. UNNEUTRAL SAYS STOWELL.

ELLERY C. STOWELL, professor of international law at Columbia University, in a statement recently declared that the Wilson Administration has been playing with American public opinion. He said:

"I think we should have broken with Germany in the first place when the *Lusitania* was sunk. But since that time it has been impossible for any one to know what position our Government was pursuing. There has been no indication of any intention to act upon principle. The Administration has been playing fast and loose with public opinion.

"A consideration of the early events of the war convinced me of Germany's inexcusable violation of international law when she invaded Belgium. But if our Government did not take the proper course to check or protest at least against Germany's action, the only other course befitting our dignity was to remain truly neutral.

"Instead of that we have favored England in a most unneutral manner. Germany, feeling the effect of these violations of neutral rights which we permitted in this unneutral fashion, naturally attempted to retaliate. I do not

mean for one moment to excuse the drastic measures she employed, but do feel that she had just grounds for complaint against our Government. After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, instead of breaking with Germany, as our self-respect required, we prolonged negotiations.

"Whether we break with Germany or whether we continue our present relations, I cannot but feel that we have made the biggest mess of our international negotiations ever recorded in history.

"If we do break with Germany and war results, it is a more honored position than that which we have pursued in allowing England to violate our rights of neutral commerce.

"Until all the correspondence is laid before us, we cannot know the real situation, but we must feel humiliated in our national pride, as a result of our diplomacy since the commencement of the war."

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## A Scrap of Official Correspondence

My Dear Mr. ———:

Referring to your letter of April 19th, I perfectly understand that even the most amenable of big business men—with all their talk of the need of conference between the rulers of business and the rulers of government—are inclined to make wholly inadmissible demands. That is just why I think a mission of conciliation is absolutely necessary. If their demands were moderate and reasonable, conciliation could be dispensed with.

As a student of society and of history, I should say that the present conflict between the political and the economic organization throughout the world is as grave as the conflict between the Church and the States in 16th Century Europe, a contradiction that wore itself out—without being adequately met or solved—in thirty years of war.

You would be the first to agree that a public man cannot refuse to treat with a great historic power merely because it is unreasonable—for great powers are usually unreasonable and usually half right.

The modern business system is tremendously right in the development of certain social principles that no political constitution-maker seems ever to have appropriated or understood—such principles, for example, as the correlation of creative forces by the use of bank credits representing values existing only *in posse* the evolving of rulerships and authorities by processes of contractual selection, and the working out of a wide community of interest by corporate organization.

It would be a ruinous mistake to underrate the intrinsic power of such principles or to suppose that their frontier has already been delimited. They have a spiritual and expansive quality, and are likely to make deeper invasions of the political field than have yet been attempted or imagined.

In short, it seems to me that the chief social task of our time is to discover and develop the regenerative ideas that are latent in the world's actual financial and industrial order—ideas of such energy and puissance that the misunderstanding and mishandling of them has exploded the civil fabric of Europe.

I think we have come to the end of an age—that the old social categories are utterly exhausted. I think it is no longer possible to deal with the working organization of society as if it were the lower half of life and reached only to the stomach. The working organization is now going to reach higher—toward the seat of inspiration and reason—or else it is going to be abased and trampled under foot. In the latter

case, the trampling will lay waste the business structure of the whole circle of commerce, and we shall emerge from something like a thirty years war—much more Cossack than Republican—with bureaucrats to furnish our food and clothes in standard dole and pattern, and with a State that shall be all in all.

The point I am trying to make is that nothing is so impossible as the attempt to maintain the old line of sharp demarcation between business and politics. What is inevitable is that the business system shall develop out of its own body new and unprecedented organs of political responsibility and self-control, or else the political powers will everywhere be compelled to make an end of free contract and personal initiative—because of the intolerable misery that a reckless, anonymous and irresponsible capitalism is now spreading throughout the world.

Surely it is vain to expect anything but deepened economic lassitude in a country that is bleeding unrequited capital and goods into the ocean, at every pore.

Our immense exports of fuel to the European flames may confer upon us for a season, a hectic and feverish semblance of prosperity. But the returning European debt certificates will not enrich the national life; they will in the main serve only to increase the power of our creditor class, to make its privileges more unassailable, and to solidify the present subservient alliance of Wall Street with Lombard Street.

Our whole system of finance is so terribly perverse! Its leaders seem to have no understanding of the fact that banking has become the most intimate and vital of social functions, that their towering and top-lofty credit structure is built not upon gold reserves or anything in tangible nature, but upon the incorporeal heritage of the race, its art and science, its skill with tools—and upon an actuarial estimate of a social creative power which the bankers themselves are doing their best to undermine.

Was not the great war caused by the passing of political power into the hands of incompetent and irresponsible credit-masters, and by their use of governments for the furtherance of private financial ambitions? These causes are in full operation here also, and I do not see how America can avoid the full impact of the great calamity unless we can improvise, with pretty swift expedition, a new kind of business.

The gist of the novelty should be a frank admission that the business system is a political fact, and a political force—that business men must take the initiative in rectifying business processes, and must accept full social responsibility for their exercise of the public powers that inhere in the administration of business.

I know a good many influential men in New York and elsewhere, who think just this; but they lack energy, will, and faith in their own vision. They will not lead off as they ought to do. They understand that the pretense that business has nothing to do with politics is hypocritical, but they find it easier to perish

in an old lie than to pioneer a new truth. They need moral and intellectual prodding.

If you would put the weight of your personal opinion on the subject behind the jab-iron, I think you could budge them.

Yours sincerely,

\* \* \*

## Duty of Congress to Declare Real Neutrality of America

By JOHN W. BURGESS.

**R**EPLYING to many questions concerning the submarine controversy between the governments of this country and Germany, I beg to say that, in my humble judgment, the administration has woven around itself such a web of fallacies in regard to the international duties of neutral governments toward belligerents that it has become practically helpless, and that Congress must take the matter in hand, extricate the administration from its self-imposed bonds and set it upon the right track again.

The administration made its first fatal mistake when it declared to the people of this country and to the world that this government could not, in the course of a war, prohibit the manufacture and export of arms and munitions of war without committing a breach of neutrality and thus giving the belligerent which considered itself put in disadvantage thereby a just cause of war upon us.

There is no such principle of international law as this and there are plenty of precedents against this groundless claim. To hold that this government is unable lawfully to prohibit at any time the exportation of anything it chooses from its ports is to deny the sovereignty and independence of the nation which has vested it with the power to regulate commerce without placing any such limitation on the power.

By all the principles and practices of public law this is purely a domestic question. The British government itself, through the mouth of Mr. Gladstone, expressly declared it to be such in the year 1870. We put it on or take it off, said he, in accordance with the interests of our own people. I am unable to understand, and have never been able to understand, how the government of the United States could make such a declaration. Even were it true, it would be the height of imprudence and indiscretion to make it. It certainly has proved itself to be such. It has apparently taken the only peaceable weapon out of our hands, with which we could have forced Great Britain to observe our rights of trade with other neutral countries and with her enemies in non-contraband articles, and has bound us hand and foot to the policy—the war policy—of Great Britain.

Happily, however, our constitution vests in Congress, not the President, the regulation of commerce.

It is Congress, and Congress alone, which can prohibit the exportation of munitions or anything else. It is Congress, therefore, which has the ultimate determination of the question whether the laying on of any such prohibition would be unneutral, and Congress, fortunately for us, has not yet, committed itself to any such view as that announced by the administration.

Again, the administration has proclaimed that no nation can change a rule of international law during the course of a war. It might have said that no one nation can change a rule of international law at any time, although Great Britain has been announcing to

the world almost every month during the course of this war some change which she has claimed to make in the rules of international law obtaining at the beginning of the war, and this government has acquiesced in them, either tacitly or under protests so mild as to be ineffective in all really important matters. It is, however, a principle laid down in all text books of international law that a sovereign nation may withdraw itself justly and rightfully from the observance of any so-called rule of international law or even from the express obligations of a treaty when it regards them as threatening to its own life and vital interests.

But this high sounding declaration of the administration about the inviolability of the rules of international law during the course of a war has no application at all to the matter which the administration is endeavoring to make it cover, viz., a warning by this government to its citizens not to travel on the armed merchantment of the belligerents. Pressed to its utmost limits, such warning is only an announcement to our citizens that the government will not be responsible for their safety on such ships, that it will not plunge this country into the hates and horrors of war in order to attempt to avenge the accidents to a handful of inconsiderate, reckless and unpatriotic men, who obstinately insist upon traveling on such ships.

Can any man with one grain of common sense left in his cranium call that the changing by this government of a rule of international law? Where is the rule of international law which requires any government to be responsible anywhere or at any time for the safety of its citizens? There is none and never has been. That is a question again of a purely domestic nature.

You may call it, if you will, the refusal of the government to attempt to enforce the enjoyment of a customary privilege. But that is just what neutral governments are always doing in times of war. What is the recognition by neutral governments of the right of visitation and search of neutral vessels by belligerents on the high seas, or of the right of belligerents to blockade enemy's ports against neutral commerce, except a refusal on the part of the neutral government to attempt to enforce the enjoyment of the customary privileges, or rights, if you prefer, of its citizens in reference to the freedom of the high sea or of entering the ports of a friendly nation?

The manifest anxiety of the administration to work this domestic power of the government of every sovereign nation over its relations to its own citizens around into some sort of a duty to the belligerents under the behests of international law is the thing of sinister import which no patriotic American citizen dare allow to escape his eye. Stripped of all the sophistries of rhetoric and presented in the full nakedness of its iniquity, it simply means that this government and nation shall acknowledge an obligation to Great Britain, Russia and France to deliver safely in their ports the arms and munitions of war sold to

them in this country under the cover of the imperiled persons of American citizens.

This pseudo obligation is termed the right of American citizens, and the maintenance of it is called a question of national honor! Was there ever such folly manifested before in responsible places? To me such a course of argumentation is making straight for national dishonor. It is making straight also for national catastrophe. No government dare bruise the intelligence, conscience and the sense of justice, fairness and truth of its citizens by any such legal fallacies. That conscience and that sense of truth will, sooner or later, revolt against such bonds and rend them asunder.

"You cannot fool all the people all the time."

These are the reasons of my conviction that Congress should now take the submarine warfare con-

troversy into its own hands for solution and should at once set aside this fictitious international law which the administration has invented; to the serious impairment of our national sovereignty over our own domestic questions.

Congress, and not the administration, is under our constitution, the determiner of international law and international obligation for our citizens. The administration, by its erroneous interpretations of both international and constitutional law, has bound itself hand and foot to the policy of Great Britain. It has rendered itself impotent to act freely. Congress, however, is as yet uncommitted, and should, therefore, exercise its full power and authority to save the country from foreign war, which, once entered on, will not, in my opinion, cease without a thoroughgoing internal economic revolution, as likely to be destructive as constructive.—Evening Mail.

## Trusts in Europe

By CHARLES FERGUSON.

IN the autumn of 1913 I was commissioned to go to Europe for the purpose of investigating and reporting upon the development of industrial, commercial and financial monopolies in European countries. I carried a letter from the President to the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States, also a letter of general address from the Commissioner of Corporations.

I was not charged to collect statistics. It was expected, instead, that I would note the various types of trustification and the various legal measures that have been taken, in the several countries, to check or regulate monopoly. I was also to observe general social tendencies having a bearing on the trust problem.

It was thought possible that my errand might afford suggestions useful in framing legislation at Washington.

I sent home weekly reports to the Bureau of Corporations. These reports described conditions as they existed before the war, in Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Switzerland.

The calamity that has lately fallen upon Europe has changed every economic fact. No record of the details of business organization as they obtained in Europe two years ago, can now have much other than an historical value.

The details are lost. They have become relatively unimportant. But the study of the broad outlines of the shattered business system of Europe has become more interesting than ever before, and has acquired an extraordinary importance.

The thing that has befallen Europe is at bottom an economic catastrophe. It is important to gain, if possible, a clear conception of the economic condition that caused the catastrophe. With such a conception well in mind, the United States may be able to rectify its own business system. If we address ourselves to that task, we can keep out of the war. We can also do something to countervail the tendencies that produced the war and that keep it going. We may perhaps help to bring the war to an end, and may then propose terms of reconstruction for the organization of business throughout the whole circle of commerce.

Politics in the large sense—meaning sociology or political economy—is the art of making the interests of many persons coincide. Small politicians do this on a small scale. Great statesmen do it on a larger scale. It is left for a deeper social science, a finer social art, to accomplish the identification of human interests on a scale so large that wars will cease and social prog-

ress become uninterrupted.

Within a century, or a little more, Europe and America have developed a new and marvellous social method—a new way of unifying the interests of multitudes of people. This new method is the business method—the system of credit and contract, of capitalization and corporate enterprise.

This development has transformed all the terms and conditions of the political problem—the problem of peace and progress—in a manner that is, it seems, imperfectly understood by most public men.

Before the rise of the modern business system the question how to bring to working unity a multitude of personal interests, was always posed in very abstract terms. Take for example, the idea of "the social contract" as expounded in turn by Hobbes, by Locke and by Rousseau. This was the nearest approach of old-fashioned political philosophy to modern business principles. But the notion that a permanent community of interest can be maintained upon the fact or the fiction that an ancestral generation signed or accepted a particular constitution, was vague and theoretic. Over against such a notion the modern sociology of business sets the vital and practical conception of a society knitted together by a complex of real and personal bargains and reciprocities.

But this is only a glance at the contrast between the old sociology and the new; the business way of binding men together does not end with the idea of contract; it contains many other conceptions, of wide-reaching moral purport. The point here is that the old methods for the identifying of interests were too abstract. They did not really hold.

The business system in Europe has been corrupted and has spread ruin through the nations, because publicists have been wedded to antique and abstract conceptions. They have refused to treat the business organizations seriously, as a moral agency for the unifying of the interests of mankind. Nevertheless this modern way of doing things is deeply rooted in nature and in the minds of modern men. It has become more practicable to effect a close-knit and wide-spreading community of interest, in the business way, than in any other way. The business system will not be abolished.

We have arrived at this succinct dilemma:

We must socialize the business system, or else the business system will knot itself up into malignant monopolies that will poison politics and destroy society.



# The Continued Surrender of Our National Rights

An Invective Editorial by the Washington Post.

WHEN Thomas Jefferson was Secretary of State and George Washington was President of this republic Great Britain and France were at war, and it was proposed by representatives of Great Britain that this country should withhold supplies of provisions from France, and Jefferson wrote thus: "Were we to withhold from France supplies of provisions, we should in like manner be bound to withhold them from her enemies also."

What would Jefferson have written and George Washington have said if Great Britain had seized our ships laden with the products of our farms, the outputs of our mines, bound to the peaceful and neutral countries of the world and refused to pay for the cargoes until the American citizens owning the seized cargoes agreed to sign a contract that all their future shipments to neutral countries should be regulated by Great Britain—should have the O. K. of the British crown?

What would James Madison as President have said, or Andrew Jackson, or Franklin Pierce, or Grover Cleveland, or Benjamin Harrison or Theodore Roosevelt? What would any of these eminent Americans have done to prevent such a shameful humiliation of our citizens engaged in peaceful commerce by the officials of a foreign power?

On July 15, 1915, the present administration of this government informed Great Britain it would recognize no action of its prize courts acting under "orders in council" and not under the recognized principles of international law.

Has it carried out the policy it announced in that note?  
Has Great Britain condemned vessels and cargoes

under "orders in council" and in defiance of recognized principles of international law?

Has the administration taken any decided and positive action to maintain freedom of the seas for our commerce with neutral nations, or has it continued to blow a tin whistle when it should protect the national rights and the rights of our citizens with the guns of a fleet?

Does the administration propose to continue to write notes while Great Britain regulates the shipments of all meats under the shameful agreement recently signed by the meat packers of the United States when they received their \$15,000,000 for the seized cargoes, which cargoes should never have been allowed by this government to remain in British possession?

Does the administration approve of the British regulation of our commerce with the peaceful neutral nations of Europe, and does it propose to see to it that the agreement of the packers is lived up to by them?

That agreement of the packers is with a foreign government, and by its limitations and provisions and under existing conditions the cattle raisers of this country are deprived of the markets for their cattle, which markets they are entitled to under international law and by our treaties with foreign nations.

How long is this submission to the illegal acts and insolent demands of Great Britain to be continued by the government of the United States?

Are the interests of this country to be sacrificed constantly by surrender after surrender to the unjust dictation of Great Britain, and is it to go on record that all the rights of the republic which three generations of Americans contended for are to be lost in the brief term of four years?

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## The Greatest Calamity

By the Wife of an English Member of Parliament.

A SIX-MONTHS' tour of the United States, undertaken, primarily, to discover what America was thinking about the European war, and to report on the other side what radical England is doing during the war, revealed an unexpected and somewhat disheartening state of affairs.

It is particularly saddening to see America straying from the high paths of its idealism, denying the democratic principle on which it was founded, forsaking its Americanism, to follow after the false fashions set by decadent European statesmen, diplomats and militarists.

The present war has brought to the world more sorrow than the men and women of the world could have believed themselves to bear, but there has been nothing in the war so distressing nor so fraught with menace to the world's future peace than the spectacle of the world's greatest democracy moving towards a state of military and naval preparedness on a great scale.

With the suddenness of the coming of the war this movement for preparedness sprang into being, the most perfectly organized thing of its kind in America at the present moment. The great Hearst newspaper syndicate from end to end of the continent, proclaims in its headlines: "Our first duty is to maintain peace; our second, to prepare for war." Lecturers of note and great speaking ability are devoting all their time

to educating the public in the alleged need for preparations for war. Women's organizations have been captured for the work. New organizations have sprung into being, with the sole avowed purpose of stirring up public feeling and opinion upon the subject. A ghastly moving picture show, whose misleading title, "The Battle Cry of Peace," would lead one to believe it a peace subject, is really a call for preparedness; and night after night, in every city in the land, great audiences are worked up to a frenzy as they see the bombardment of New York and the sufferings of women and children at the hands of the enemy—the alleged victims of unpreparedness.

The greatest calamity which the present war has brought upon America does not appear to be such at present, but the reverse of that. The enormous extension and terrific development of war industries of all kinds is pouring wealth unmeasured into the pockets of those who have investments in such concerns.

In the meantime, as far as armaments are concerned, the legitimate business of firms now producing these things is neglected, while manufacturers give themselves to the exclusive business of shell making, powder manufacturing, gun and car building, etc. The interest on investments in these concerns is enormous. Is it unreasonable to suppose that investors will require their interest when the

European war is over, and that, in order to provide it and keep business going, wealthy corporations will have special reasons—those employed for years by armament firms in Europe—for urging upon the country great schemes for preparedness?

In America there is an ever-present and ever-growing industrial restlessness. America is continuously menaced by internal revolution on the part of the over-driven, cheated and underpaid masses of her immense, cosmopolitan, industrial population. It is entirely within the realm of probability that this fully recognized fact adds pith and point to the appeal which is everywhere being made by well known capitalists for more ships and more soldiers.

But whatever may be the private reason of the individual citizen for his support of this movement it is a most discouraging thing for those who were hoping that at the conclusion of the war something substantial might be done in the direction of persuading the nations of Europe toward an all-round reduction of naval and military armaments. It is particularly unfortunate that the President of the United States should have committed himself to the support of this movement at this particular juncture, as it prejudices his position as a probable mediator for the conditions of a permanent peace at the end of the war.

The American people might at least wait until the end of the war. No danger can touch them for a period of forty or fifty years after the signing of the peace treaty. Every country in Europe will be too completely exhausted for that length of time at the very least to be a threat and a danger to America or to any other country in the world.

At the end of the war strenuous efforts will be made by lovers of peace all the world over to induce the governments of Europe to abandon their mad competition in armaments and to turn their attention to the very necessary preliminary of a permanent peace, the political democratization of their respective countries.

But the efforts of the democrats and peace lovers may fail. The peoples of Europe may show themselves willing to wear their chains a little longer. The ignorance of causes and effects in these matters of international statesmanship may be too great to be dispelled in time, and the war makers may get their own way when the peace terms come to be discussed. The nations of Europe may display every inclination to play the old mad game in the future. It will then be time for the United States to make up its mind whether or not it will take a hand in the game and prepare itself more skillfully than the rest of the players. If the United States should so decide in such an eventuality there are very few who would or could blame.

As it is, the situation threatens to be this: That Europe, poverty-stricken and exhausted, her children crying for bread in millions of homes, out of her poverty and wretchedness will be compelled to pay for more ships and bigger armies with which to meet the militarism of the United States, pay for out of the blood and tears of slaughtered Europe. And to those who have loved America, such a phrase—"the militarism of the United States"—is a contradiction in terms.

#### THOSE VERDICTS AGAINST THE KAISER.

At Barnstable Quarter Sessions, the Recorder went out of his way to remark that coroners' juries returned "absurd, ridiculous, and illegal verdicts" when they "talked about murder, and brought verdicts of murder against the Kaiser." The coroner thanked the recorder for his remarks, "especially," he said, "as he was an authority on International Law." He may be all that and a lot more—but he is no authority on the feelings of the British people. International Law has been torn to shreds by the Kaiser, and the laws of humanity also. Profoundly disagreeing with the remarks of the learned Recorder, and of the most polite and subservient coroner, we trust juries will continue to return verdicts of "Wilful Murder" against the Kaiser, whenever plain fact justifies them in so doing. One of these days—who knows?—such verdicts may yet be useful in indicting the Imperial criminal.

All the World is Watching With Keen Interest

# The Revolution in Ireland

Attributed to

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ISSUES AND EVENTS

21 Park Row, New York City

# Germany in the Eyes of Japan

## The Fatherland Should be the Model for Nippon

By PROFESSOR MASAO KAMBE of Kyoto Imperial University.

IT IS NOW evident that Japan's position in the world will be rather enhanced than retarded by the present war, while most of the European powers will be more or less weakened by the disastrous struggle. America, to be sure, will derive many important advantages from the war, but perhaps not so many as Japan. But Japan has not yet obtained all the advantages that are her due.

The higher a nation rises the more conspicuous a target does it become and the more violently will the storms of international jealousy beat about its head. Japan must be careful lest she become the envy of the white nations, among whom it is only necessary to be strong in order to excite jealous rivalry. In the case of a yellow nation the jealousy of the West would be only all the more fierce.

Even the nations that have entertained the most friendly feelings for Japan will come to hate and fear her if she comes into any inordinate degree of prominence. Many of Japan's present friends are such only because it is advantageous to them, and on these, of course, she cannot depend. And now a new enemy has been added to the list in the person of Germany.

Germany may indeed enter into friendly relations with Japan after this war, but we can rest assured that it will be only a temporary convenience to both sides. In the opinion of many the fact of having created a new enemy in the all-powerful Germany is sufficient to nullify all Japan's gains in the war. Now that the thing is done it cannot be undone; and all Japan can do is to prepare to meet even the mightiest that may attack her, so as to avert the catastrophe.

Some regard the extraordinary activity of the Okuma Cabinet in expanding the army and navy as unnecessary, but they little understand the situation. In the final issue it is the nation that is responsible. A Cabinet may escape the result of its errors by resigning, but a nation cannot resign.

A nation must be wise enough to supervise the acts of its Ministers of State and see that they make no mistakes or lead the nation into danger. Such mistakes as happened in connection with the negotiations at Peking would not have occurred had we been a people able to oversee what our officials were about.

The main thing is to make the nation strong; for a powerful nation need fear nothing. Our officials must be careful not to isolate us among the nations either by rashness of policy or making others envious of us. Let every hostile country be a whip to urge us on to greater defense strength and thus be an assistance to us! Thus our dangers will accrue to our advantage. All depends on the nation itself, how it can accumulate and conserve its power. Our worst enemy is always within.

If Japan is to meet the responsibilities that the outcome of this war will thrust upon her she will need all the power she has, and more too. To maintain her position it will be necessary for her to imitate Germany; she must cultivate the spirit of philosophy which the Germans show, a practical philosophy.

They are a people who know that without power nothing can be done. Right without power to sustain it will go for nothing. It is necessary to have the power to uphold what one believes to be right. In the days when the Germans lacked this power they were trampled under foot by other nations. But during the last fifty years Germany has been accumulating and hoarding power, so that now she is not afraid to face more than half a dozen great nations.

Having gained power, she determined to exert it to gain the position she had lost through lack of it. To do that there was nothing for it but to fight; only thus could her ideals of right and justice be maintained. She is asserting herself with might; and she thinks she is right.

Now it should be borne in mind that the foundation of Germany's strength is her education; all her grand organization is due to education; by this she has forced the nation to serve the State and make it great. This is the kind of education we want in Japan. At present we are notoriously individualistic and indifferent to the safety and welfare of the State.

The Germans not only train the mind and the spirit for the State, but the body also. So perfect is their mental and physical education that their youth are always ready for exertion, for war if need be. They are a people who know that

there can be no sound mind without a sound body, and they act upon their knowledge. And their system teaches patience, without which nothing great can be accomplished.

Physically the Germans are away beyond the Japanese. To avoid weakness and effeminacy the Germans have been cultivating even savage ways of life, thus saving themselves from the errors of civilization. Japan has indeed much to learn from Germany.

Having equipped themselves with a sound mind in a sound body, the Germans have devoted themselves with great assiduity to science, which is largely the basis of their power. Their Government has encouraged this in every way, and the nation has been conspicuously successful in applying science to practical life.

The German is always delighted and happy if he can use the achievements of science for the good of the State. So jealous are they in this respect that they are very reserved lest foreigners learn to utilize their achievements against the Fatherland. Japanese students have found that the Germans always keep certain secrets of science a secret. It is on the basis of science that the German Army is organized and perfected; and this, combined with mental and physical discipline, has made them invincible.

Not only in the realm of mechanical industry but in chemical industry also they have changed the world, successfully competing with all their rivals. It is remarkable how well they have managed their finances and their industrial interests in the midst of this colossal struggle.

In the matter of organizing provisions and labor they have wonderfully manifested their organizing powers. They show that they possess the power necessary to a great State and to do a great work; the spirit of self-help and the capacity to continue the war indefinitely. If Germany dies she will die hard!

In Germany, therefore, we have a picture of giant power carefully and intelligently built up and proficient. In the present war Germany may have lost the sympathy of the world, but no one has any doubt of her strength; all can appreciate the greatness of her power! With such marvelous resources she will soon recuperate after the war; and, as has been suggested, may be friendly to Japan for a time, as convenience serves; but she is a power with which Japan has to reckon. Who can say that some day she will not unite with Russia or America against Japan?

At any rate it is our duty to be prepared for any such emergency. Japan must not waste her time and energy by intestine dispute and strife, but proceed to get into a position where she can make her own necessities and be independent of foreign countries. She must be able to supply the demands of the South Seas and bring them commercially under her sway.

We cannot do better than follow the German method by relying on ourselves and ceasing to depend on outside assistance. We should strive to create a powerful national spirit, and produce citizens with sane minds in robust bodies, regardless of expenditure or hindrance! Then we should utilize our knowledge and strength for military and economic purposes so as to be successful in competition with other countries. Such preparation cannot be left to individuals; it must be a State duty and concern. Japan must be perfectly prepared either for honorable peace or triumphant war!

There are those imbued with the doctrine of non-resistance who think we should be just as well off as cosmopolitans under a foreign rule. Even if we retain our independence we must yet be prepared to endure ill-treatment from the world. We boast that we are a first-class power; yet we are excluded as undesirables from America; in Europe the yellow race is not regarded on even terms. If we are so treated while in possession of our country and our independence, what would our treatment be should we lose either or both?

So it is clear that our only hope among the white races is power; if we are only strong enough, and then only, we can move freely from country to country as convenience serves. Without seeking to domineer over others we can cultivate our strength, laboring to promote peace and equality among men as well as the happiness of the world. Japan must be determined to uphold and promote justice, come what may! In the mistakes Germany has made we must not imitate her!

In adjusting her relations with the outside world Japan must, of course, be careful not to isolate herself from the sympathy of the powers; she ought to do all she can to maintain her alliance and entente cordiale and enter into mutual exchange of advantages, sincerely splitting differences. If

in spite of this the powers press her unjustly, through envy and hatred, she will be obliged to resort to extreme measures; and for that ordeal she must be well prepared.

Japan is quite aware that she must pursue her quest of power and prosperity in a manner consistent with peace and

justice; a preponderance of military power might easily lead to danger and injustice inimical to the good of the nation. While realizing that strong military power is indispensable, she must increase her army in a quiet and unaggressive manner without making too big a spread.

### THE YAMATO DENOUNCES BLIND WORSHIP OF ENGLAND ON THE PART OF THE JAPANESE.

**T**HE YAMATO denounces the Japanese who worship England. It says:

"England has exposed her weakness most in the present great war in Europe. Those Japanese who have been educated in England and look upon the world from the point of view of their English knowledge still fail to see this point. They do not give up their tendency to worship England. Why?

"We have pointed this out often. But this misguided portion of the Japanese people seem to think that we are working against England and that we are cursing the Anglo Japanese alliance. But we neither blindly worship England nor do we bow before the Anglo Japanese alliance in a slavish manner. We must reject the policy of enduring when our rights and interests are interfered with. We must certainly keep our faith regarding the alliance. Even if our interests be opposed we must not refuse to sacrifice. Besides we should not forget the debt we owe to England for the assistance given at the time of the Russo Japanese war. But we cannot subscribe to the idea of subjecting ourselves beyond what the alliance treaty calls for, thereby allowing England to be haughty and to extend her power unduly. When our honor and rights are damaged as the result of this, we cannot help thinking that the alliance is a one-sided one and denounce it.

"British diplomacy in the past has been based on the selfish interests of England as the chief object; that is, it has been a John Bull diplomacy. British diplomacy has lost standing among the powers. Only because Sir Edward Grey is Foreign Minister is England maintaining the standing now left to her. The British capitalists neglect the improvement of their own cities and country districts and invest their money abroad. This is something that intelligent Englishmen complain about. The users' spirit shown by the capitalists has often been pointed out by intelligent men. It would be out of place for the Japanese to be astonished by the plentifulness of capital in England.

"England at first declared that she would not rest until German militarism had been crushed. But now England is fast losing her principle of liberalism. Day by day, month by month, England is taking factories under government control. By means of conscription she is trying to make war preparations, which is another sign of the change in England.

"England cannot take an offensive attitude on the Continent. She withdrew from Gallipoli. She was driven from Serbia. Threatened by Germany and Turkey, she is now busy trying to defend Egypt. These things unmistakably show how little the British fighting forces are worth. They show the weakness of England clearly. If these England worshipers cannot see this, they are blind men who cannot see the light of day. The worship of England in Japan has been exhibited in politics. Our rights and privileges have been damaged. A British warship has insulted our steamers and carried away the passengers. The result of England worship was also shown in industry, in that the spirit of usury was shown in

Japanese industry. England does not respect science, so that those who follow England cannot secure the best results from industry. On the whole the business done is not systematic. These are evils which poison Japan. The Japanese should know these defects of England, and should reflect a little."

### NEUTRALITY:

#### The Crucifixion of Public Opinion.

By S. Ivor Stephen.

When the war started Germany and her allies found themselves in conflict not only with the powers of England, Russia, France and later Italy, but also with the dominating power of the American press. The American press was "on the job" to hinder the dissemination of truth.

If you want to know the truth, if you want to understand the real issue hidden among the billions of black letters of American newspapers discussing the world-war you must read the book "Neutrality: The Crucifixion of Public Opinion" from the pen of the well known author S. Ivor Stephen.

You might read hundreds of war books but you will never be able to grasp the truth unless you read this publication, which deals with the attitude of the American press and the part it played in the crisis now raging in Europe, attempting to mould public opinion. The author in 74 chapters, with strong hands tears off the English clothes from the American Press in order to show it to us in its nakedness and how instead of moulding it has crucified American public opinion.

The author dedicates his book "To the immortal memory and sublime spirits of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, this great triumvirate of American patriots, fearless, sincere and unfettered fighters for the American ideals of liberty, freedom, justice and equality," showing also how the sublime honor of these great American heroes is now sold at a bargain by the English hirelings of the "Al-Lies" press.

The book is an exceedingly truthful and brilliant review of the great war which rages in the American newspaper trenches almost as savagely as in the real war trenches of Europe.

If you are an American and don't simply pretend to be one you must read the book. It is your patriotic duty! See advertisement on page 327.)

Mr. F. Dorl:

Only a man who has, like I, chased after the quest of gold in the desert lands of Australia and other countries can appreciate fully the goodness and beauty of clean spring water when one happens to find any, and so it is with our present day American press. One staggers and wallows among filth and dust and sand, mostly filth, looking in vain for a bright spot and something that is more palatable than the filth that's being dished up daily by these scavengers, but, like in the desert, there are spots that offer refreshment and rest. **Issues and Events** is such a spot in our press desert. May it grow and spread its refreshing influence among the many millions who crave an antidote against the stagnant and polluted cesspools they have been drinking from. Good luck to you, dear sir.

Sincerely,

F. A. GEFFROI.

# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912.

Of Issues and Events published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1916.

State of New York } ss.  
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Francis J. L. Dorl, who, having duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor and Managing Editor of Issues and Events, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, &c., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, . . . to wit:

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Editor—Francis J. L. Dorl, Park Row Bldg., New York, N. Y.

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3. No bondholders; no mortgagees; no other security holders. (Signed) FRANCIS J. L. DORL.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this first day of April, 1916. [L. S.] (Signed) ALEX. GILCHRIST, JR.

(My commission expires March 30, 1918.)

### AS TO "GERMAN PROPAGANDA."

**T**HIS newspaper has had a great deal to say about Germany and will have a great deal more to say. The reason why Germany occupies so large a place in the world's thoughts is that Germany stands today where France stood in the time of the Napoleonic wars.

France at that time was aglow with an ideal—an ideal that was partly a reflection of the American Revolution and partly a composite work of original genius struck out by Rousseau and Diderot, Lamennais and Voltaire. France offered the world a new kind of life—a life full of new perils, abuses, disasters—but full also of an energy of recuperation for mankind.

That is precisely the way the case stands with Germany today. Germany happens to be the only nation in the world that has, within the last fifty years, attempted new and exhilarating moral, intellectual and economic adventures. In Germany during this period the Spirit of Renewal and Transformation has had its headquarters.

Great Britain, France and America have lodged this spirit at several other historic times. But during the last half century these countries have given the world no new impulse—no beautiful, dangerous inspiration.

To all people who are awake to world-movements, and who love for its own sake motion, action, the quest of fresh experience—Germany has for the present moment become the center of interest and expectation.

After the world has grown tired of arguing the fruitless question who began the great war and is most to blame for it, the intelligence of the race will settle down to the fact that Germany—by whatever means you please and however blamelessly or blameworthy—broke the spell of moral paralysis and intellectual mortification that had settled down upon our cruel, complacent, hypocritical Western democracies. She forced the hand of our sluggish history and compelled us to make a new appraisalment of our politics, our religion, our culture, and our physical strength.

The day is close at hand in which the question: Are you pro-German will be seen to be a silly question to ask of any half-way intelligent citizen of the United States. In that day every man of sense among us will understand that the interesting and important things about Germany are the things in it that are not German, that have no racial character—but are merely discoveries of new practicalities in civilization which the world not only may, but must accept.

### THE REBELLION IN IRELAND.

**B**ERNARD SHAW may toss his pleasant jibs about the native and causeless belligerence of the Irish character, but after the mouths of all the critics are stopped with lust the broad fact will remain that British democracy on the nineteenth century model, broke down at Holyhead. It was unable to cross the Irish Sea.

Those who attempt to explain large historic facts by resort to the hypothesis of pure cussedness may succeed as entertaining paragraphers, but hardly as historians or practical publicists.

The business of democratic politics is somehow to work out a living community of interest among the several parts and classes of a nation. It will not do to say that the people are absurd and impracticable. Things must be taken as they are, and men as they are. Great Britain has failed steadily and for many generations to find political means for the uniting of the human interests of its two big islands.

The entente between Ulster and England is at bottom not political; it yields no credit to British political talent. Belfast is bound to Liverpool, Glasgow and London by the "cash-nexus"—a community of interest that is mainly commercial.

The Irish Rebellion that broke out last week means exactly what it appears to mean, to wit: that a good many people in Ireland are not willing to risk their lives against Germany, but are eager to risk them against the British government. The number of Irishmen who are fully ready to stand up and be shot at for this cause, may be comparatively small. That is always the case in rebellions.

### A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS.

**L**AST WEEK an economic conference of the several belligerent nations allied with France, was begun in Paris. The problem presented to the conference is the consolidating of the material interests of these nations in such a way that they shall, during the war and after the war, present a solid front of opposition to the Central Powers.

This "big business," having become more definitely and more consciously belligerent than it ever was before, is by the very fact of its intensified belligerency—its deepened sense that trade can be turned into deadly war—driven to earnest international thought as to how



the commercial industrial interests of friendly nations can be thoroughly amalgamated.

Now there is of course nothing new about the idea of a Zollverein or Customs union, a scheme of free trade this present international conference at Paris is not limited to any such idea as that. On the contrary it is supposed to squarely face the fundamental problem: How can opposition of economic interest among the several nations concerned, be entirely abolished, so that the material welfare of each shall involve the material welfare of all?

And, decidedly, this is a new era. Of course the professional economist in the universities and every competent thinker on economic subjects knows that, in the nature of things, there can be no necessary opposition to economic interest across political frontiers. He knows that the business of subduing the Earth, building cities and advancing the practical arts is, on the contrary, necessarily a common human concern, in which the success of one nation naturally helps toward the success of all.

Indeed every thoughtful person knows these things. And yet the mass of mankind, in colleges as well as in Chambers of Commerce, have yielded their minds to the notion that there is some fixed disability or incurable perversity in human nature which must always work to make measures of economic discord between nations "practical" and measures of economic concord "idealistic" and "impractical."

Probably we should have lived on indefinitely under the spell of this universally epidemic illusion, if the big war had not furnished our "practical" men with a means of hanging on to their illusion in the very act of abandoning it. The financiers and economic experts of Western Europe have now been brought to the point where they are willing to work out a profound and thorough-going identification of interests across certain international frontiers—in order to keep up a crueller and more cleaving contradiction across certain others.

How ironical are the lessons of history! And how stubborn is the stupidity of "the wise and prudent!"

It is easily obvious to those whose fortunes do not depend upon the maintenance of mental confusion, that if it is possible for five or six nations, with lands scattered over the face of the whole earth, to harmonize their material interests; it must be possible for all nations to do the same. Unless indeed it is to be understood that the five or six are planning to live a distinctly predatory life.

Thus the wrath of man is likely to be turned to the praise of God. The way to a world-wide community of interest that shall cross all political frontiers and put an end to war—is being pioneered by men whose ob-  
sessing thought is the humiliation of their enemies.

#### CONGRESS AS AN ANTI-SUICIDE CLUB.

ONE needs only to move about a little in the Capitol corridors in order to be amply assured that Senators and Representatives—however superficial they may mostly be in matters of political philosophy—are gifted with a fine national life-preserving instinct. The sentiment that associates itself with their seventy-five hundred dollars a year is not wholly self-  
fish. It is partly social. And it is very strong. At present it is working night and day to keep the United States from making war on Germany.

It is felt instinctively to be an over-strained and unduly perilous proposition to declare war on a friendly nation and thus to enter into the vague *mésalliances* of the European mix-up—for a legal cause that only a learned pundit can state and that no other equally learned pundit is likely to agree to.

*The President of the United States Should Be a Practical Man—a Thorough Business Man.*

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## AN AMERICAN DUTY TOWARD IRELAND.

America has a duty to perform to-day. Every line of American history teaches it; the traditions of the Republic with one voice demand it. It is a duty toward human freedom; a duty toward Ireland.

America, out of the quickness of her sympathy and the depth of her generosity, has fed and clothed Belgium, Servia and Poland, and has staunched their wounds. Without regard to party or opinion on the war, Americans have joined in that humanitarian work. And America has pleaded with conquerors and governors to mitigate the rigors of military rule and the sternness of punishment. We have done in each case as much as we could in the particular way demanded by that case.

How much more, then, must we be ready to do for Ireland, which has such especial claims on us? Ireland has contributed the second largest element of our flesh and blood. Irishmen were the backbone of the Revolution, they were among its most brilliant generals, its greatest statesmen, its most generous financiers. Irishmen have toiled and bled in their millions to advance our frontiers and solidify our civilization. They have led in every field; they were ever first to volunteer when the drums began to play and the cannon to thunder.

To-day the remnant of the Irish race who, with dogged courage, have clung to their land through seven centuries of unparalleled persecution, have risen in arms to defend themselves from extermination on the battlefield, enslavement under taxation and political annihilation. Whether the fight they have begun leads to success or is promptly crushed, these patriots should be accorded belligerent rights, especially by the United States. They should be recognized as soldiers engaged in public war and entitled to the rights and immunities of that character. Those who are taken prisoner must not be court-martialled as rebels; they must not be shot as rioters; they must not be sentenced to life imprisonment or exiled as criminals. Their leaders must not be hanged. In the hour of battle or in the hour of captivity, they must be treated as the soldiers of any other nation are treated. It is a privilege for America to demand this, and a duty.

Belgium and Servia at the beginning of the war were independent nations; belligerent rights were theirs as a matter of course. The soldiers of the Irish Volunteers, merely because their land was so much more unfortunate than Belgium or Servia, being a conquered land under a tyrant's heel, lacked these rights; but the essence of their case is the same. Servia, Belgium, Poland, needed food and clothing and we sent them what they needed. Ireland needs belligerent rights; let us accord them to her.

This will be the acid test for some Americans. We shall see whether the hearts that have bled for human woe can bleed only for Allied woe. We shall see if the voices raised for freedom are raised only for Allied freedom. We shall see if Belgians and Serbs are human beings, but Irishmen are something less.

Nor must we permit too strict an enforcement, against Americans of Irish blood, of the laws prohibiting the use of American territory for intrigue against a foreign power. So strict a lawyer as William H. Seward said that there is even a higher law than the Constitution. There is indeed a law of the American spirit which is superior to the statutes prohibiting exiles from an oppressed land from helping to free their kinsmen. Here liberty in modern times was born. Here liberty must be honored.

Americans! Write your Congressmen to-day to grant belligerent rights to Irishmen, and to express American abhorrence of any attempt to treat them as criminals!

## THE TRAINING MAGNIFICENT.

Writing under the head of the "Serious Situation in Ireland," the editor of the Evening Sun last Friday struck the lowest note yet recorded in the New York anglophile press campaign. After comparing the English home guards with the Irish insurgents, and rejoicing over the fact that the former outnumber the latter at least ten to one, the writer prophesies that the struggle will be brief and negligible in retarding the operations on the continent. "Meanwhile," he adds, "the green British troops will be winning experience in actual campaigning on the easiest terms. Their losses will be trifling, the training magnificent."

He winds up his "cheer up England" message by an unctuous warning to the friends of Ireland in this country against mischievous sentimentality and impracticable dreaming. What do the Irish readers of the New York Sun think about this pot hunting renegade American? Are Irishmen rabbits that they are driven, corralled, and clubbed to death by Auzac recruits, American legionaries and Whitridges? Here is a splendid opportunity for our English led editors to win Victoria Crosses at safe odds. At two to one with "the Training Magnificent" thrown in, fresh from the batteaux around Dublin their bayonets wet with the blood of some Irish patriot, the smell of the burnt rick and cotter's thatch upon their garments we can imagine these jaded scribes returning to their New York easy chairs laden with Robert Carter material. Perhaps spoils and trophies of the chase, a charred skull, some trinket made in America, found in the ashes of a ruined Irish home.

How flat, tame and interesting will then seem this former Teuton-baiting, the daily plot, the nightly headline victory or atrocity. But there is an additional adventure to which we shall then commend them. Let them attend some meeting like that held in the Cohan theater last Saturday. Let them describe "The Training Magnificent" before an audience of the United Irish Societies, and may the Lord have mercy on their souls!

## THE PLOT THICKENS IN MEXICO.

THE drift of events on the other side of the Rio Grande is following the general line that this paper has foreseen and repeatedly indicated. There is no possible solution of the *Embroglio* that does not take account of the fact that the Mexican people are hungry. Their distress is primarily economic. And until we begin to tackle the case on an economic basis our exertions and sacrifices will be vain.

The sniping and ambushes that were so easily foreseeable are now in full evidence. It will not much longer be possible to maintain the diplomatic theory that Pershing's columns are a sheriff's posse in search of an outlaw. We shall be obliged to mark out a territorial jurisdiction on the hither side of some conveniently defensible frontier line—and to treat that territory as a neutral zone, within which we must find a way to assure the people that they may plant their fields and work their mines in peace.

## A WARNING FROM RUSSIA.

AT the moment when the state and army chiefs of the entente are in conference in Paris, perfecting their plans for a closer co-operation for the remainder of the war, a significant drama is enacted in Petrograd. Selecting the time when the issues of the war, including possibly the terms of peace, are under consideration in the French capital, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, M. Sazonoff, lays a rough finger on one of the sore spots of the entente—the future status of the Dardanelles.

That important strait, which once was the main road-

way of commerce and civilization, is not to be neutralized, M. Sazonoff informs the duma in reply to a question. No agreement for such a neutralization has been made, announces the minister, and none will be made with the consent of Russia, he adds more significantly. It is not neutralization that Russia seeks. It is not neutralization that she expects from her two major allies whose fleets are cruising about at the mouth of the straits. It is possession that she will insist upon—not only possession of Constantinople but possession of the sea-way, without which Constantinople is of little value as the depot of Russian commerce.

And the selection of this moment to make the announcement is not the least significant circumstance of the declaration. The conference in Paris is smoothing out the last wrinkles in the international situation as it affects the entente powers. While it is using the flat-iron of diplomacy on the international linen, along comes the plain-speaking Sazonoff with something that looks very like a threat to spoil the whole job. Lest the rest of the powers taking part in the conference should fail to apprehend the full meaning of his position, he takes pains to commit himself publicly before the duma. Russia will have no neutralization of the Dardanelles—if she can prevent it.

Behind M. Sazonoff's little talk before the representatives of the Russian people is a bitter Russian disappointment with past performances and an apprehensive suspicion of present conditions. Russia noted with misgivings that, at the beginning of the Dardanelles operations, Great Britain seized the islands of Imbros, Lemnos and Tenedos, with the Rabbit archipelago.

By these seizures the British navy secured control of the mouth of the Dardanelles, a control so complete that even a seagull would be taking a serious risk if it undertook to fly in or out without leave of the British guns.

The islands thus seized were needed, ostensibly at least, for use as bases for troops and supplies during the Gallipoli operations. The Gallipoli operations ended, and still the islands which guard the gate to Constantinople and the route of Russia's commerce with the outside world, remain in British hands. This is a circumstance which was bound to produce intense irritation in Russia, especially in view of the fact that Russia could have been intrusted with the task of temporary caretaker of the islands after the Gallipoli adventure had been abandoned—and was not.

So now, in the last stage of the completion of a comprehensive agreement covering all points among the powers of the entente, Russia comes forward with her claim in an irretrievable form.

Will Great Britain yield for the sake of maintaining unity with her allies? Or will the traditional rivalry between Great Britain and Russia assert itself and move British diplomacy to an express denial of Russia's express claim?

Upon the answer to that question, if the entente is victorious, will depend the peace of Europe after the battle-flags shall have been furled at the end of the present conflict. For Russia is exigent, jealous, persistent and imperious despite defeats, and she will not be denied the achievement of an historic triumph.

—Evening Mail.

## 1776—1916

**S**TERN "Minute Men" of Concord,  
Would you were here to-day!  
Your precious, blood-bought liberties  
Are being thrown away;  
Your children,—grown emascuate—  
Disgrace your honored graves  
By yielding what you died to win,  
The freedom of the waves!

Strong, simple folk of Lexington,  
'Tis well that you are dead;  
You do not see the spineless snobs  
By Britain "ruled and led";  
Not theirs the courage to destroy  
One pound of British tea;  
They kiss the hand that buffets them,  
Though claiming to be free!

They rave at so-called "Hyphenates,"  
But, tell me, what are they,  
Who try to stultify the soul  
Of Independence Day  
Who calmly see their cargoes seized,  
Their trade with Neutrals checked,  
Their merchants forced to buy and sell,  
As England may direct?

Brave men, who fought the Britishers  
With old Nathaniel Greene,  
What think you of a President  
Who shunned the stirring scene

Where, cast in bronze, that hero's form  
Was once again displayed?  
Of breaking his "neutrality"  
He was too much afraid!

What say you to your nation's chief,  
Too loyal to King George  
To join his fellow-countrymen  
In storied Valley Forge,  
When ardent patriots unveiled  
Von Steuben's statute, where  
The German trained our freezing troops  
And saved them from despair?

Shame on the canting Anglophile  
Who rules by Britain's grace  
And seeks to keep his sullied post  
By cleaving race from race!  
Shame on the blood-stained Britonettes  
Who toast the King and Tsar!  
The people yet shall come to see  
The "creatures" that they are.

Great Spirit of Mount Vernon,  
With Monticello's sage,  
And Franklin, Adams, Hamilton,  
Rebuke this servile age!  
And you, old time Americans,  
Arise, from sea to sea,  
And once more make our starry flag  
The banner of the free!

—John L. Stoddard.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### A JAPANESE VIEW ON GERMAN INFLUENCE.

The *Sekai* comments on an article which appeared in the *Review of Reviews* in London on the subject of "Our Ally, Japan." The editor quotes the *Review's* article in parts, which says that German influence is at work even in Japan and has made a success, in so far as influencing the Japanese to believe that the Central Powers are victors. But the *Review of Reviews* writer says that Japan has forgotten that her sphere of activity has been extended by participating in the war, although the Japanese papers complain that Japan has not secured any compensation for the participation, etc. The *Sekai* editor pities the British journalist who cannot understand the situation in Japan, so much so that the British journalist thinks that German influence is at work here. Journalists, if they make mistakes as to facts, will lose much in making their arguments valuable. That the German and the Austrian armies have been winning in the battles so far is a fact which no pen can change. The pen is powerless to turn victory into defeat. The editor wishes that the Entente armies would take lessons from the enemies in the science of war. The editor is aware that the Japanese navy has been active in participating in the war. But while the peace of Far Eastern waters is being maintained by Japan, what compensation has Japan got for it? In China England has been trying to hinder the diplomacy of Japan. England has otherwise been hindering Japan from legitimately extending her power. The British journalists are only confessing their selfishness and lack of freedom of thought when they charge the Japanese journalists for being influenced by the Germans.

### JAPAN MUST PREPARE, TOO.

The *Kokumin*, in its *Outsider's Letter From Tokyo*, says:

"Russia and Japan should be congratulated because of the increase of friendship between the two nations. But we must at this time take note of

the fact that in America the fever for expansion of the means of defense is growing. The Republicans and the Democrats, excepting a small number of Bryanites, are all united in advocating an increase of defense. Japan must not look at this disinterestedly, although it seems a natural thing for America to try to increase her defenses. Mr. Wilson, who was elected President as a peace advocate, has now disclosed that he stands for increase of defense. He said that anyone who cannot learn great lessons from the war of the last twenty-four months is a fool. We do not look with wonder on the lessons which the Americans have learned from the war. A certain Chicago paper wrote a song with Mikado, Bryan, Rosebery and Kaiser in it, under the caption, 'America Need Not Prepare With Arms,' which was written as a suggestion that preparedness is necessary. But this song conveys a wrong idea of Japan, at least. We, however, have no complaint to make if the Americans make their own preparation for eventualities. The question with us is one of strengthening our power of self-protection. We do not expect that America will forever be a merchant nation without any military strength at all. America's preparedness from now on will not only be for defense, but it will be for offense. This has been shown. We may expect this policy to develop in America rapidly. We do not ask others to be weak. We are concerned about preparing ourselves. America is a friendly nation. But we should not rely upon America's friendship so much as we should upon our own preparedness. That would be a safer thing. That is the reason why we are strongly advocating the replenishment of our navy."

### PROFESSOR YANDELL HENDERSON CALLS THE WILSON POLICY "HYPOCRITICAL."

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—That the United States government is standing for more infringements of rights from England than from Germany and that if President Wilson

had been really sincere in his "humanity" utterances he would have stopped the munitions shipments from this country, were statements of Professor Yandell Henderson, of Yale.

"I for one shall do everything in my power up to the day that war is declared to develop public opinion against the policy which the President is pursuing," Professor Henderson said. "It is said that it is a patriotic duty to support the President at a time like this. If the country, if our government, were actuated by a small fraction of the 'humanity' which is forever on President Wilson's lips we could bring the war to a close now by threatening an embargo upon arms until our rights are respected."

"The hypocrisy which has been the principal feature of the policy of Wilson and Lansing is shown by the fact that the British Government many days ago notified Washington that Red Cross supplies to Germany will not be passed hereafter. This virtually overthrows the Geneva convention and the Red Cross principle. It is a barbarity exceeding anything that Germany has done. I have myself seen the official notification circulated by the Red Cross. Yet our State Department has carefully suppressed this news while Wilson has continued talk about our 'humanity' and Germany's breaches of international law."

### HOW THE TOI-Y PRESS CREATES CRISES.

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### GERMAN NEWSPAPERS SET GOOD EXAMPLE

WE are bound to say one thing about the German press. The serious and dignified tone in which the German newspapers have invariably discussed the progress and the problems of the war is an example which the American press might follow with benefit to itself and to the public.

We do not see in any German newspaper opprobrious epithets applied to the American people. We do not see any cartoons ridiculing or picturing the President of the United States as a ruffian and murderer.

In fact, we have not seen in any German newspaper a single word or a single picture which was intended to express hatred or contempt or bitterness against America.

In the face of the bitter, and ugly, and vulgar, and unmanly billingsgate, abuse and pictorial ridicule and hatred heaped by so many of our newspapers upon the German people and the German Government, we are bound to say, in common fairness, that the dignity and self-control of the German press are highly to its credit.—N. Y. American.



**TRADE FOLLOWS THE FLAG**

We all recall that during the last months of 1915 Great Britain swept from the seas most of the vessels of the American Transatlantic Company, owned entirely by American citizens. The British excuse was that some of these vessels at some period in the past were under the German registry.

Over 50,000 tons of shipping, most of which the American Transatlantic had transferred from the Danish to the American flag, were thus frightened off the ocean or seized by British cruisers and nominally sent to the prize court to have their "innocence" passed upon.

None of these American ships has yet come up before the court. It will be many a long day before they do. Britain has requisitioned them.

The elimination of these ships from our use served another purpose. They were about to extend our coal trade to Buenos Ayres. England cannot spare ships nor coal to continue to supply South America with fuel. But South America can starve before we shall be allowed to supplant the British coal trade. The British know too well the economic significance of their vast coal exports to all the world. These coal ships, rather than return light, offer unexampled low freight rates on raw materials to England, and so form a pillar of that country's industrial supremacy. America shall not now disturb that pillar.

It is not we who say this hateful thing. It is South America who says it. In the Argentine congress Dr. Zeballos, in a recent speech, spread out the situation clear for all who can read.

Great Britain is so severe in her new conduct that at the present moment



the Argentine government has not sufficient coal for her navy, and, having bought some in the United States, cannot get freight, as the American vessels available were formerly German vessels. The sellers of the coal have telegraphed to the Argentine government informing them that they cannot fulfill the contract unless they obtain from the British government permission to transport the coal. The English government has answered that they cannot renounce their right of seizure. They offer to send the coal to Buenos Ayres with sailors of the English navy, but they will take away the steamer afterward. Thus the new policy comes to isolate us and deprive us

of provisions that are badly wanting, just as if we were in full war blockade.

Trade follows the flag. Trade is swept from the seas when the flag is swept from the seas. So much of our trade remains as Great Britain chooses to let continue—mainly a temporary trade in war supplies for her and her allies.

But we are not to be allowed, in these golden hours of opportunity, to lay the basis for a larger share of the peaceful trade which will endure when this war is a memory. That trade is held in abeyance for the subjects of his majesty's government.

Do our men in Washington know these things?

## A Buffalo Newspaper Editor Sank 19 German Warships in One Day.

A New York Newspaper had the German Crown Prince Assassinated Four Times, Killed in Action Thrice, Commit Suicide Four Times, Wounded Six Times, Gone Insane Once, Buried in Berlin Once and in Potsdam a Week Later, and Finally had Him Alive Again.

A Middle-West Paper Had the U. S. Pacific Coast Almost Completely Invaded by Japan. It Turned Out to be a Reporter's Pipe Dream.

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## An Open Letter to President Wilson

By WILLIAM KENNEDY

Washington, D. C., May 4, 1916.

Mr. President, The path to power leads through Parral.

To you, guided by that political idealism which has made American diplomacy, throughout your Administration, such a shining exception to the diplomatic standards of the Old World, this would have no appeal if the path to power did not coincide with the road of righteousness. But they do coincide, and both lead past Parral.

Your Mexican policy, first and last, has been subjected to such criticism as seldom assails any measures undertaken by the responsible heads of government. Innumerable selfish influences have united to make your path hard. That you have made mistakes you, of course, would be the first to admit, but the great masses of the simple, straight-thinking people of the country have credited you with full justice. I, for instance, a plain citizen, disagree with your course in many matters, yet feel that you are right in refusing to recognize the assassin, Huerta. You may have been hasty in sending the fleet to Vera Cruz, and you may have sacrificed something of national pride when you withdrew our forces from that city, and yet history will acknowledge that you served humanity and advanced political standards by bringing Huerta to an end by patient insistence, with a minimum of bloodshed. Many of us felt uncomfortable as you negotiated with the arrogant and stubborn Carranza on the one hand and the blood-stained Villa on the other; but future generations of Americans will acknowledge that you did what you did in the spirit of a sincere friend to a stricken sister-republic. History, too, will sustain your recognition of Carranza. Every calculable circumstance indicated that he had got a firm grip of power, was actuated by high ideals and supported by able men, commanded the greatest support among his people and was most likely to advance that people in prosperity and peace. Your decision on that point was unassailable; the question is, has not Carranza failed—failed miserably and culpably? And if so, is not a sharp turn in our national policy necessary?

No one can doubt that you have the courage to acknowledge a mistake. The nation looks to you now, its patience with Mexican conditions exhausted, to acknowledge and to rectify it. The path of just and legitimate national prestige leads through Parral.

Carranza has not mastered Mexico, and never can. Many states of his country do not know his power at all, or yield it merely a mock homage. The humane

causes which he was expected to advance, to the good of the long-suffering peon, have not been advanced, but a ruinous and unjust confiscation of property and of industrial plants necessary to the development of Mexico seems to be on the program. Liberty has not been re-established; no elections have tested the opinions of the people, and a bitter assault has been made not merely on one church, but on all religion. Banditry has not been ended; and as a result of the weakness and indifference of the Carranza government, the outlaw, Francisco Villa, found the opportunity to actually raid American territory, killing American soldiers, murdering and wounding American men and women, and burning an American town. Your instant action to punish the perpetrators of that deed was worthy of a vigorous Chief Executive and guardian of the Nation. Without a dissenting voice the people approved of it. They approved, too, your determination not to infringe the sovereignty of Mexico. But since then events have moved swiftly and tragically. The world and the American people have learned much. They have learned that Mexico is indeed distracted and disrupted, a widespread anarchy with no sovereignty to respect, with so much gone irretrievably wrong that only action by you on an even higher plane of courage and idealism can restore that sovereignty, and recreate, by American labor, even by American blood, a something which we can call Mexico and acknowledge anew as a Sister-Republic. The proof was given at Parral.

If the attack upon our troops at Parral had been merely a tragic outbreak of irresponsible people, we could have overlooked it. But it was an attack made by the military forces of the government of General Venustiano Carranza. Possibly no one high in authority ordered it; but the people of this country are only too painfully impressed with the obvious fact that after the act it had and has the full approval of General Carranza and his lieutenants. They have vouchsafed no word of sorrow, they have made no apology. The blood of our brave soldiers does not haunt their minds. The only comment they have made on the occurrence is an impudent demand that we recognize in it a compelling reason to suspend the national purpose, to give up the chase of the invader of our borders and the murderer of our people; and to that argument they add the sinister threat of an all to obvious mobilization of their barbarous armies before and behind our punitive expedition. They little understand Americans, Mr. President, or Americanism as embodied in you. The path for America lies through Parral.

The exact measure of General Carranza and his

"government" has been given. No matter who refuses at this time to recognize it, the treacherous shots which greeted our unarmed and trusting troops at Parral have sounded the death-knell of that "government." The American people infinitely prefer that you should recognize that fact; they prefer your conduct of the necessary business, which opens in prospect before us to the conduct of some other aspiring citizens. They rejoice at the decision you have already taken not to order our brave soldiers, in whose splendid conduct they take a legitimate pride, to turn tail and slink home under the orders of General Carranza. But the American people demand yet more. They demand that the word shall be "Forward—forward through Parral!"

Beyond Parral is Pancho Villa. Far from being in any danger of capture or death at the hands of the Carranza "government," he is deliberately sheltered and aided by the military forces and the officials of that "government;" and so he will be sheltered and aided until the mad hatred borne by that people toward Americans is ended by whatever means may be necessary. We are in no danger, at least under your guidance, of turning our operations into the conquest of tyranny and greed. One thing we may have to do: hold northern Mexico for awhile and re-establish civilization there. But one thing we **MUST** do: go onward through Parral to kill or capture Villa.

Whatever that may involve we must accept. Murder, arson and military attacks within our own borders we cannot, with the sublimest magnanimity, permit. The perpetrators of those crimes we should and we must punish, if it takes us not merely past Parral but to Tehuantepec. Any other course would make us traitors to that course of human rights which you have given and new meaning and a new dignity and power in international affairs. You need not fear that the American people will read in such a determination anything of that selfishness which you have repudiated as a guiding motive in the conduct of nations. The American people will be with you if you go on through Parral—with you as never before.

To-day the people are uneasy in their minds; only

their confidence in you keeps uneasiness from being a great fear. The whole people approve of your services to humanity in curbing war-inflamed nations across and on the ocean, recalling them to a sense of the rights and immunities of non-belligerents. But millions of the American people feel that you have done all in that way that is humanly possible. A further step which, as you admit, might lead us to the verge, nay over the verge of war, is sincerely dreaded and abhorred by millions. The American people will credit you with the great and inestimable results you have accomplished; but the shadow of a tragic error will cloud your fame if now, by insisting on more than nations battling for their lives can grant, you permit us to be drawn into that very war which your attitude has done most to rebuke. The American people would prefer that individuals forego some modicum of unessential privilege rather than that the whole nation should sever an historic friendship and enter the ghastly arena of the great war against a people who have injured us only inadvertently; in which case, too, we would inevitably become the allies of other nations whose equal wrongs against us you and your Secretary of State have so thoroughly exposed. But in Mexico we have a real cause, a National cause, a cause about which there is no difference of opinion from one corner of the country to another. Pursue that labor unflinchingly and every able man will be at your service, every State will gladly call on its militia to assist you, every mother will gladly send her son.

Beyond Parral is Pancho Villa. After him our troops must go. Whoever blocks our way must be treated as a national enemy according to the rules of war. The blood be upon them if they force the shedding of blood.

And if the dictates of duty, nay of idealism itself point past Parral, may one not point out to you how other reasons support that plan? Past Parral lies the end of the criticism which has assailed your Mexican policy. Past Parral the clamor of the selfish interests which have tried in vain to swerve you from your course, cannot sound. Past Parral lies the end of all doubt and all division.

The path to the Presidency leads through Parral.

## Let Us Move

**T**O get rid of the old-world aloofness and arbitrariness of law, and to show that the law of a democracy is simply the best way of doing things that the people can understand and will back up;

To clean the old-world aloofness and arbitrariness out of our educational system also—making the public school the social center of American communities—the local ganglion of governmental thought and emotional force in a national political system that moves and acts in the spirit of the University and with a brain and heart of diffused, though coordinated, powers;

To vindicate the democratic character of the modern business system in its ground-plan, and to restore it to self-consistency—showing that the vast fabric of credit, contract, capital and corporate organization stands in natural correlation with democratic government, that the business system is by rights the strongest enemy of privilege, that it lives by laws that are intrinsic to the nature of man and the nature of things—and hates all arbitrary laws, that it is capable of establishing a community of interest that can cross all political frontiers, bind the nations together in fraternity and put

an end to wars. That the thing thus fitted to redeem the world, is frightful in its present corruption, that the immeasurable calamity that has fallen upon Europe is due to an inversion of the laws of finance and trade and that America can keep clear of that calamity and become the agent of peace and restoration only by rectifying the system whereby it does its work;

To declare that this rectification of the business system must in the main proceed from a better understanding of the nature of the system on the part of the men that work in it, that the Administration at Washington should not seek to impose upon the business system laws foreign to the business world, but rather to clarify the laws that are essential to it;

To deliver the minds of the people from the superstition that business depression is an act of God or a fatality beyond human help, and to prove that the fortune of the Nation is in its own hands, that political economy is a matter of the will as well as of the intellect, that minds now turned against one another and thus cancelling their force, may be turned suddenly in a week, a day—against material obstacles—with an astonishing increase in the voltage of productive enterprise;



To announce that there is no economic disease that does not have its source in the low vitality of the business system, that the antagonism of labor and capital and every other economic dead-lock would be dissolved if the volume and current of enterprise were increased—as they can be and ought to be.

And finally—for the increase of the enterprise of American communities—the local groups of citizens

devoted to this cause, should especially concern themselves with the two most vital functions of modern society to wit, the news-service and the credit-service. They must develop agencies of information that comport with the purpose and meaning of the public school. And they must put the business of banking on a level with the most exacting traditions of the ministry, medicine and the bar.

## British Failure

This editorial, published in the New York Tribune, May 1, 1916, has aroused so many comments pro and con, that we gladly reprint the salient points for the benefit of our readers.—Editor.

**A**T the moment when Dublin is in ashes and a rebellion in Ireland is demonstrating the fatal folly of the domestic policy of those who rule Britain an army sent foolishly to certain disaster surrenders, not to the Germans, not to the Austrians, but to the Turks. Gallipoli is followed by Kut-el-Amara, and a British army has laid down its arms to the troops of the Mahometan Sultan.

Who can exaggerate the decline of British prestige in the world?

Suppose the war were to end to-day on the basis of status quo ante, suppose Great Britain were to keep the German colonies that she has taken, what would be the moral estate of the several powers? France would emerge from the storm greater than ever in her splendid history. No German dreamers would ever again in this century fancy France decadent or venture to attack France as an easy way to world power. Germany would stand forth as the marvellous nation which had for many months faced and, on the whole, bested the world in arms, performing miracles but failing to conquer Europe because the thing could not be done. Russia would be stronger, because Russia has been reorganized upon a national basis; the people have taken over the war, and after the war they will take over the nation.

But what of Britain? Her fleet has kept the seas, she remains the ruler of the oceans, but on land wherever her armies have gone to battle they have gone to defeat, ignominious defeat, regard being had for the generalship, splendid defeat, regard being had for the soldiers. French's failure at Mons, not to win, but to retreat in time; the subsequent peril of his army which eliminated it as a factor at the Marne; the British failure at the Marne, which spoiled Joffre's magnificent combination and nearly ruined his battle; French's indecision at Ypres, followed by his decision to retreat, a decision only just blocked by Foch in that terrible night when, having lost a son and a son-in-law and being nearly spent with weariness, he went to French and by moral force compelled him to reverse his decision to retire; the butchery of Loos, where men won a battle and their victory was thrown away and they were left to die unsupported—this is the story of Britain on the Continent to date.

And at home? There is Ireland blazing into revolt. We have had strike after strike; we have had, and there remains, the struggle over conscription, the quarrel about married men. We have seen a civil government that cannot deal with a situation because it cannot understand it, because it cannot deal with facts at all, because it can only talk. It lied to the British people over all the years before the war came. It almost lied the British people out of the war altogether and left France to perish alone. It has been lying ever since.

To this very day, when British prestige has become a byword in the market places of the world, the British press and the British rulers are talking about what is to be done to Germany, about crushing Germany, about putting the people of Germany in control of their own country. But does any one suppose that the people of Germany would care to change the German for the British method? Does any one suppose that there will ever be a real chance of crushing Germany—a foolish thing to talk about anyway—if the same spirit, the same method, the same men continue to lead blind men through the darkness without vision?

"Is England awake?" is the question that is asked of every returning traveller; it is the question that is asked in France and in Russia. Yes and no. England is awake, terribly, horribly awake to what is happening, to the shame and the disgrace of what has happened, not in the sense that men have failed to march and to die, but in the sense that they realize that alone of the countries of the world their country has failed to meet the crisis, not at the moment when it came, but ever since. England has made tremendous sacrifices; it has given of its best and its bravest. England is in mourning, not yet to the extent of France, but beyond that of America in the Civil War; but France has the Marne and Verdun, England has Gallipoli and Bagdad. What it has given nobly has been wasted hopelessly and shamefully.

The censorship of the British press, the public utterances of the British statesmen have from the beginning deceived the people. The leaders told them two years ago that no war was conceivable. The war came, the English went to the defeat that was inevitable, and the leaders who had deceived them suppressed the fact, clothed defeat with the garments of victory, never for a moment gave the British people a real vision of the conflict or a real appreciation of the fact that the war was to be long, the issue doubtful and the sacrifice enormous.

The English people have had to find out for themselves and in the depths of agony and suffering what this world war was. The Colonies, far more alive to the fact than the Mother Country, have sent their sons to Flanders and to Gallipoli, and they have been slaughtered as they were at Anzac, at Ypres. Talk with Australians or Canadians in England or on the Continent and you will get a real and a saddening view of British conditions. These men see, they have suffered, they are ready to suffer more, but there is a despair in their hearts because they feel that the British will not see, will not understand.

Talk with the Frenchman and there is no difference. His effort to praise the British is almost painstaking. He will tell you that England has done more than she promised, much more, that she fights with cleaner hands than any nation. But he will say also, "They

always come too late; they do not understand this war that we are fighting. Their generals are brave, their soldiers are splendid, but they never arrive and they never learn!" These Frenchmen will ask you anxiously about the true meaning of all the British talk about crushing Germany and continuing the war until Germany is crushed and reorganized from the outside. The Frenchman is willing to fight until the German idea is crushed. He will never lay aside his arms until he is beaten or Serbia and Belgium are liberated, but crushing Germany is another matter. \* \* \*

In France men talk to you about the strength of Germany, but if you read the British press you must conclude that Germany is starving to death, bankrupt, that her people are on the point of rising to expel the Kaiser and request Asquith or Grey to accept the German crown. You hear of British successes which were British defeats; you hear of how Britain has saved France and saved Russia and is about to save Belgium; you know that Britain has never yet been able to save anything on land, and that the whole war waits until the British can at last get ready. \* \* \*

A whole system has broken down in England, a system of empire, of life, of government. A handful of insignificant and selfish politicians, long in control of the fortunes of the nation, have managed to keep control despite their failures, which in France would have brought them to the lamppost; they have deceived the British people, and they are continuing to deceive the British people, and the result is seen in Flanders, in Asia, all over the world, and it is flaming up in Ireland.

The whole atmosphere of London to-day is an atmosphere of unreality, of apprehension and of a nation wandering in darkness, conscious that its leaders are shams, that it has neither statesmen nor generals. The London fog and the shaded streets, where the lamps are darkened against the Zeppelins, where the people go by oblivious of traffic, their eyes fixed on the clouds from which the Zeppelins may emerge at any moment, because the air defence is a failure, that is, it has failed so far—these are symptomatic of England.

The Allies may win the war, and yet England may fail to readjust herself, to find herself. The odds against Germany are great, but the thing that every friend of England must feel is that without a readjustment, without something that approximates a revolution, that sweeps out of office and out of public life the little men with their fluent speech and their purblind eyes, their elegant phrases and exquisite verbal regard for the moralities of life, England will end the war in worse shape than a beaten Germany, than a France

ravaged from the Marne to the Moselle, and numbering her dead by the hundred thousand.

The French expect to win the war, but they expect to win it by hard fighting, by terrible sacrifices, and they recognize at all times that the Germans are skillful, brave, strong. But the British press and the British public seem still to believe that the war will be won by a miracle because the Germans are wicked; that God will do for the English what they have not done for themselves; that Germany is going to curl up and go generally to deep damnation of a sudden because of the wickedness, the essential sinfulness of "the Hun."

Kut-el-Amara is a sign and a symbol, blazing Dublin is an evidence and a revelation. They are equally evidences of the utter failure of Great Britain to deal with things as they are, to face the facts, to accept the stern, the terrible material out of which human life must be made to-day, and to deal with the material. To go from London to Paris is to go from a nightmare to a world of hard, terrible but splendid reality. It is to go from a fog-ridden city, literally and figuratively, to a city where the lights are bright, the air clear and men and women see their fate as it is, and look upon it without misapprehension or misgiving.

But always in England you have the sense of these little men, these empty politicians, this eternal talk, the words that disguise the truth, these words of the men who told England that no enemy was in sight when the German army was already on the road and could be seen not alone from the watch tower but from the streets. These little men who fight among themselves for office and for influence, who cling to salaries and to prominence and answer each other with words that are as empty as the very ashes of Belgium's ruined cities. They cannot understand. Nothing of all that has happened since this terrible world tragedy began has affected them. They denied that it could come, they deny that it has come.

Over there in France a million British are under arms. All over the world men of English race and tradition have responded to the call. There has been something of commanding splendor in the response of the men of Australia and Canada and South Africa. Never in the long story of British history have men died more splendidly or lived more nobly. But to show for it you have just the shambles and the shame of the failures, those unnecessary failures, the waste and the sacrifice; you have the loss of prestige, the decline of that tradition which since Waterloo has been the real force of the British Empire. The men who yesterday felt themselves competent to rule the world cannot manage England or Ireland or even Wales at the hour of supreme crisis.

## The Tragedy and Glory of Ireland

By PAUL MANNING.

ONCE again, as so often in the course of seven centuries, Ireland lies bleeding under the heel of her tyrant. But when has Ireland not been under that heel? Only for a few brief years, after 1783, when the Irish Volunteers secured the liberties of the country, was Ireland permitted to breathe the air of liberty. In those few years Irish industry and trade, Irish wealth and happiness, increased more rapidly than has happened in any other land, at any time. The lesson then learned was that by Irish efforts as a nation self-reliant, Irish good luck be advanced; but by relying on any other nation, the life of the country was sacrificed.

The Irish Volunteers of 1916 were organized in the same spirit as those of 1783. They sought no quarrel with anyone; but they were determined to defend Ireland against the world. The English attempted to cajole the Irish people, through a treacherous Parliamentary Party and by stories of German "atrocities" into supporting the blood-stained Empire. The attempt failed. Once the corner-loafers and ne'er-do-wells had enlisted, recruiting in Ireland stopped. And England, determined to send the 400,000 Irishmen of military age to die for her alongside Belgians and Frenchmen, resolved on conscription. But between England and her

brutal purpose stood the Irish Volunteers—an army of soldiers, drilled, disciplined, officered and armed, sworn to defend their country. These men had publicly notified England that they would resist conscription to the death. So the English authorities began to arrest their leaders. It was obvious that the organization was to be disrupted, and then suddenly, some day, the 70,000 English soldiers quartered in Ireland would seize all arms—and the country would be helpless.

It was in the realization of this impending fate that the patriots struck first. It was no riot by a mob, it was no hare-brained folly. It was the deliberate effort of men who realized their position to free their nation by a sudden blow, in military force. They followed the glorious tradition of America and proclaimed a Republic. How well they fought is even now apparent, and time will tell the glorious tale. In Dublin they were hemmed in by ten or fifteen times their number; and six-inch guns were turned on them and brought the very homes and public structures of the city tumbling down about them, crushing them under the debris. In Galway the English navy was needed to subdue them. In Enniscorthy they held out over a week in isolation. The toll they took of their foes will prove to have mounted to the thousands. Then at last, the bright hope of the centuries once more fading before their agonized vision, they surrendered at the command of their superiors, as an organized force of soldiers.

And once their arms were down and they were helpless, how did the English government treat them? Like the embodiment of sheer brutality and ignoble tyranny which it is, that government treated its helpless victims as a tiger treats its prey. Three of them—one already wounded—were shot within forty-eight hours of their surrender; four more a day later; a score of others condemned at once to ten years imprisonment; and a thousand are yet to learn their fate. And these men who were shot were the flower of Irish manhood and intellect. They had done what Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Franklin did, but they had field artillery to meet and they had failed. And England, which of late has pretended to admire Washington and his fellow-patriots; England which rejoiced in Italian freedom and lamented the sorrows of Poland; England, still dripping tears for Belgium and Serbia—this England could not treat them as patriots and soldiers, but lined them against a wall as traitors and shot them in guilty haste. And the “democratic” people of England, like jackals with mouths dripping for the blood of the lion’s victim, yelped their approval!

The writer of these lines has held the hands, looked into the eyes and spoken with Clarke and MacDonagh, now dead and beyond this world’s harm, and has also known Connolly, who lies wounded. The writer of these lines has followed the career of Padraic Pearse, a shining young soul, a brilliant scholar, editor and educator, a man of original ideas, the very embodiment of the new Ireland, basing itself on old Gaelic culture and reach out toward a new industrial era. These men will not be set down in the histories of the future as criminals, but as heroes of humanity; and their brutal executioners will be the scorn of all lovers of freedom.

The writer of these lines has also met Sir Roger Casement, so unfortunately captured when a German ship with a load of munitions for the Irish was sunk. The English are saying that he is insane, but that is not the reason that restrains their hands which are itching to choke him to death. They fear to recall to the world of how the English government tried to bribe his servant with \$25,000 and a promise of immunity if he would kill Sir Roger or lure him into English hands in a neutral country. Far from being crazy, Sir Roger Casement is a brilliant constructive statesman. He it was who, two years before the war began, wrote that for the freedom of the seas, the freedom of Ireland was necessary, for as England lies off the coast of Europe commanding its trade-routes, so Ireland lies off the coast of England commanding her trade-routes. He advocated an alliance between Germany and Ireland, by which Germany would get naval bases in Ireland from which German cruisers and U-boats would guard the seas and watch England, while Ireland, liberated and assisted by German capital and science, would flourish, developing water-power, mineral resources and mines, and supporting a population of 20,000,000 prosperous and happy people. He went to Germany, where the government officially circulated his pamphlet and issued a proclamation of friendship for Ireland. Still, we can excuse the English for considering a man crazy who gave up position, pension, power and pleasure to devote his life to his people.

But where is the voice of the American press, which lately lamented the fate of Belgium and Serbia, and rang with denunciation of German tyranny and cruelty? Nothing so much exposes the press as truly the slave of England, as the evidence it gives that pity is only for the allies of England, but for her enemies and victims there are only sneers and lies and the thumb turned down!

## One Man Beats Woody, Teddy and Pommy

### The Great Success of Frank Monnett in Ohio Indicates Tide Against Wilson

ONE of the outstanding features of recent political events is the big vote pulled by Frank Monnett in the primaries of Ohio during last week. The result was so remarkable that it has had as much attention in political circles in Washington as the surprising strength shown by Ford in a number of States.

Monnett entered the campaign with only a 2 cent postage stamp and an indictment—a strange combination indeed. Besides these drawbacks he had hardly had any time—only two or three weeks to organize, but he has quickly shown Senator Ablee Pomerene who always stands against the people, but for the reactionary plutocratic pseudo-democratic administration and who is often described in congressional circles as “the tail end of nothing whittled to a very fine point.”

The dreaded events of the Ohio primaries are well

set forth by a correspondent of the Washington Post, who writes as follows:

The primaries held in this State on Tuesday last have resulted in determining that former Gov. Cox, of Dayton, will undoubtedly be the Democratic candidate for governor this year, and that Gov. Willis will be his Republican opponent, and this has been brought about by the primary vote for delegates at large to the Democratic and Republican national conventions.

But these primaries have done far more than that, for reports from three-fourths of the precincts in the State show that out of a total approximate Democratic vote for delegates of 86,000 nearly 25,000 Democrats voted for Frank Monnett, who is known to be opposed to the policies of the present Federal administration, and who, in his race for delegate, was supported by the Democrats now out of touch with the policies at

Washington. The fact that Senator Pomerene, who desires to succeed himself and is booked to make the race this fall for the senatorship, polled the least vote of any of the delegates selected is regarded here as a conclusive sign of his defeat at the polls in November.

#### Democrats Amazed at Results.

Upon the basis of the returns received up to this time Senator Pomerene in the entire State appears to be some 14,000 votes below former Gov. Cox, about 9,000 votes below former Gov. Harmon and nearly 8,000 votes below the vote received by former Gov. James E. Campbell.

These results have amazed the Democratic leaders in the State, and many of these who desire the election of former Gov. Cox for governor are now dreading the effect upon the State election of the pronounced opposition to President Wilson and the primary index of the unpopularity of Senator Pomerene.

They fear that these factors may drag down Cox, and while they recognize they must face the opposition to the Federal administration, they are seeking ways and means of strengthening themselves on the senatorship.

#### Slump in Wilson Vote.

With nearly one-third of the Democrats who came to the primaries voting against the Wilson candidates for delegates at large and with an average cut of fully 10,000 votes of his own party upon Senator Pomerene, the Democratic forces of this State are staring defeat in the face upon the electoral vote and the United States senatorship.

An analysis shows that Monnett received his largest votes in those counties and districts that were

favorable to Wilson's nomination in 1912, and that the senator was cut the heaviest in those same counties and districts.

It has been known for many months that many of the leaders who made the fight for Wilson in this State, as against Harmon in 1912, are now hostile to Wilson, some openly, others silently, others watching and waiting for their opportunity to show their power, and they have been especially hostile to Pomerene, who was given the patronage of the State after voting 45 times against Wilson in the national convention.

#### "Antis" Show Great Strength.

No one dreamed, however, that these men could possibly show such power at the primaries as they have done, and these primaries have disclosed an organization that is formidable in its numbers and powerful in the silent influence of the quiet men at its head, and that bodes no good to either Wilson or Pomerene.

These primary results in the Democratic camp are the sensation of the hour. The popularity of Senator Harding was once more in evidence by his leading the poll of the Republican delegates selected, while the fight within his party upon Gov. Willis accomplished nothing save to demonstrate that the governor has cordial support of the vast majority of the Republicans of the State.

It seems that he has run second on the list, his vote being exceeded only by that given Senator Harding.

Ohio is bound to be one of the sensational States at the next election. Many Democrats here are hoping to repeat the results of 1908, when Taft carried the State for President, but the State was carried for a Democrat for governor.

## Mr. Husting Will Get His

By a CONGRESSIONAL CLERK

NOT long ago the State of Wisconsin, in an absent-minded moment, elected a Democrat to the United States Senate. The particular choice would have been tragic if it were not so funny. The Hon. Mr. Husting has contributed much to the gayety of the national legislature in his few weeks of service, and his star performance was his great denunciation of the diabolical plotters who sent nearly a hundred thousand telegrams to Congress in favor of peace.

It was announced in all the leading newspapers, soon after these telegrams began to arrive, that the American Embargo Conference was behind them, and the active organizer of the movement talked freely and frankly about his work. Nevertheless Mr. Husting and some others, several days later, made the solemn announcement that they had "discovered" the source of this dreadful propaganda. Their indignation knew no bounds. Far be it from them to attempt to abridge the sacred right of petition; but to have anyone organize citizens to exercise that right—it is almost treason!

We need not stop to argue the point with the absurd Mr. Husting. A telegram in favor of peace, so long as it comes from an American citizen who means what he wires, is just as genuine a petition if the idea has been suggested to him as if he thought of it himself. One might as well argue that no political party should be organized, but that every voter should go to the polls and vote for any man he happened to think of, as to argue that a movement to petition Congress may not be organized. The fact is that millions of citizens are forgetful of their rights in that matter, and it is a legitimate and a patriotic duty to

organize them to exercise it. No one who opposed the movement to preserve the peace would have used any of the forms of telegrams suggested. The flood of messages was a sincere and genuine expression of a great national emotion; and for every telegram there is, as Mr. Husting and others will learn, a vote.

But Mr. Husting came near practising a fraud upon the country when he denounced this organized petition. There is not a session of Congress which is not flooded with similar propaganda. The present and last previous Congresses, for instance, have been in constant receipt of petitions of organized movements in favor of prohibition and against it; against the Catholic Church and against anti-Catholic newspapers; against polygamy; for an embargo; for preparedness; against militarism. All these and other organized movements have poured a constant stream of petitions, memorials, letters and telegrams into Washington, and they have borne all the ear-marks of their organization. Neither Mr. Husting nor any other Senator has denounced them. No one, for instance, is denouncing the petitions for preparedness.

Mr. Husting may revel awhile in the thought that he has fooled some of the people. He will get his reward. He is a new Democratic Senator, the only Democratic Senator from a state which has had no Democrat to represent it in many a year. This new Democratic Senator has numerous postoffices to fill, numerous appointments to secure; and for each appointment the favor of Woodrow Wilson is necessary.

"Mr. Husting will 'get his.'" He will get his postmasters and other jobs for his friends; and at the next election he will get something else.

# Henry Ford as a Presidential Possibility

**T**O the Editor: Rank and file Republicans in Michigan and Nebraska have indicated the path of political wisdom to the Republican national convention. If the men who sit in that convention are equal to their opportunity, they'll give us these results:

**For President**—Henry Ford of Michigan.

**For Vice President**—An Eastern man of presidential calibre, a stalwart American free from either racial or pocket ties with any European faction.

**Platform**—Peace and prosperity.

A gigantic struggle is now in progress for possession of the government during the next four years. It is the Anglo-American East against the all-American West. It is the vast network of powerful agencies of Anglo-American finance against the unorganized American rank and file. It is war for profit against peace with honor. It is the international plutocracy against America's rising industrial democracy and Germany's social democracy, which menaces all of Europe's ruling groups and classes.

Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt are frantically bidding, each in his own party, for the backing of the Anglo-American financiers and their numerous newspaper organs.

Root, Lodge and others, coldly implacable Tories and loyal servants of Anglo-American finance, conspire for a result that would send American men and money to rescue the English oligarchy in the hour of its direst need. They damn Wilson when he falters in fear of the American majority, and they applaud him when he drags us a step nearer the precipice. They encourage Roosevelt, crazed with egotism and furiously ambitious for a third term, each time he lifts his shrill falsetto voice in screaming hatred of Germany and the Germans. They pat him on the back each time he, like a Pancho Villa, swears he will rule or ruin the Republican party. They would be wholly satisfied to have Wilson and Roosevelt the opposing party nominees.

Roosevelt is the one Republican whom Wilson can certainly beat in November, regardless of foreign issues. Roosevelt's nomination would make Wilson's election certain, if the race lay between them. The Anglo-American conspirators know it. If they can force Roosevelt's nomination at Chicago, their task will be done. We'll have Wilson at the helm next winter, when in all human probability the cry for American intervention to "save England from the Huns" will be uttered by the Anglo-American organs with an intensity as yet undreamed of.

We are being poisoned with the factional hatreds of Europe, and drawn toward the pit in which Europe's war-crazed peoples are slaughtering each other. Never before in our history was it so vitally needful for this people's diverse racial elements to be rallied and unified around our own American standards, for the preservation of our American ideals and interests, as it is today. We need as we never did before a leader who is unequivocally and wholly and typically American—a man who is neither pro-Ally nor pro-German but altogether pro-American.

With native wit that worries the war propagandists, the plain people of two great states, given opportunity by the presidential primary, have picked Henry Ford as the man for the job. Against his protest that he doesn't want public office, they gave him the Michigan delegation and came within a few hundred votes of giving him Nebraska's. Ford alone among rich and powerful Americans has made a sincere effort to recall Europe's warring nations to sanity and peace. He

exhibited the highest moral courage, so doing. He spent time, toil and a huge sum of money in an undertaking which he knew the world would regard as quixotic. He doesn't want the presidency or any other office. He says he wouldn't lift a finger nor spend a dollar to finance a political party in his behalf. If the people want him, and send for him, he'll quit his business and serve. But he's content to be a builder, an organizer of business, a creator of honest wealth, the humane employer of an army of the best paid workmen in America, and a pioneer of advancing civilization.

The Anglo-American press calls him a fool and a joke. It once called Abraham Lincoln an ape. It hates Ford because he is for peace. But so are 90 per cent. of the people. It is only the Anglo-Americans who are howling for war—and mighty few of them would enlist. If they wanted to fight, they would join the English army. Nobody is holding them. They cry out about our "national honor." What they mean is that they want the rest of us to go and get killed on the battle fields of France, while they sit safe at home clipping coupons off the Anglo-French bonds, and raking in the fat profits from the sale of war munitions.

Henry Ford is a great businessman with the vision of a great statesman. He fought his way up from the ranks to undisputed leadership of one of the country's greatest industries. He is a practical economist of the first order; he cut prices and raised wages simultaneously, by eliminating waste. He democratized the motor car and influenced the building of more miles of good roads than any thousand other Americans. He is in the prime of life—cool-headed, warm-hearted, superbly courageous, sanely and single-mindedly patriotic, far-sighted, a born leader of men and master of materials. He is a law-abiding rich man; he has never needed to be whipped into line by any court or commission.

But he knows, too, that in a world most of whose peoples are still subject to exploitation by ruling groups, war is an ever-present possibility. Put him in the presidency, and he would instantly perceive and act upon the need for adequate preparedness against war. We should be sure he would not betray us into hazardous softness with a Bryan's moony sentimentality, nor drag us unwillingly into a senseless war with stubborn, partisan, legalistic hair-splitting, as Mr. Wilson constantly threatens to do.

As the nominee of a third party, Mr. Ford would probably only contribute to assure Wilson's triumph, as Roosevelt did in 1912. He might outrun both old party nominees. It may be that by autumn the deeps of Americanism will be sufficiently stirred to give us such a result. As the nominee of the Republican party, he would carry every state north of Dixie, and might even break the Solid South, on these four propositions:

All in favor of attending strictly to our own business, playing no favorites, and staying out of the world war unless ourselves attacked, stand up and be counted!

All in favor of making every branch of the federal service, including the army and navy, as efficient as the Ford factories, stand up and be counted!

All in favor of higher wages and a higher living standard for the working men and women of America, stand up and be counted!

All in favor of AMERICA FIRST, with no entangling alliances, stand up and be counted!

Can't you see it? Why, the election officials would be a week counting his majority.

McCORKLE McNABB.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, May 4th, 1916.



# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, &c.

Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912.

Of Issues and Events published weekly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1916.

State of New York } ss.  
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Francis J. L. Dorl, who, having duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor and Managing Editor of Issues and Events, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, &c., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, . . . to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

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(Signed) FRANCIS J. L. DORL.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this first day of April, 1916.

[L. S.]

(Signed) ALEX. GILCHRIST, JR.

(My commission expires March 30, 1918.)

### THE GERMAN NOTE.

Germany's note has again manifested her desire to remain on friendly terms with us. The spirit of sincerity that prevails throughout the document would put any intellectually honest man to shame, but unfortunately, there are men who have no sense of decency left in them. Germany is offering everything short of surrender. What more can we ask for?

Germany's note, on the other hand, imposes a duty on us, the sacred duty to be as just to her as we want her to be to us. The duty to hold to strict account-

ability all nations who tamper with our rights, and to abolish Favoritism. Will we live up to our duty?

### MEXICO AND GERMANY.

On comparing the attitude of the administration towards Mexico and Germany, one cannot help thinking that our Government is craving for a cause for war with Germany, whereas it would not dream of war with Mexico, or to put it plainer still, that the Government would rather sacrifice the nation's interest, safety and honor to avoid complications with Mexico, in order to keep its hands free for action against Germany for an imaginary offense which, if branded as such, may be working against ourselves before the world grows much older.

### FOR THE SAKE OF HISTORICAL SIMPLICITY.

It is regrettable that diplomatists are rarely gifted with a dramatic sense. That is why the history of the quarrels of nations is hard reading. The issues are not stated sharply—as good playwrights would state them.

Thus Bethmann-Holweg and Von Jagow have missed a great opportunity.

In place of the columns of print that they have poured out in response to Washington, the cause of historical simplicity would have been subserved, and the present issue between Germany and the United States would have been made intelligible to future generations, if the foreign office at Berlin had wirelessly to Sayville somewhat as follows:

"We accept and adopt your definitions of the law of nations as stated in your several notes to London and Berlin. Where those notes fail in self-consistency we choose the view most favorable to the United States and other neutrals.

"During the next thirty days from date we are going to subject our methods of warfare to these narrow limitations of confidence that you will, within that period, compel the British Government to do the same.

"In case our enemies refuse to be bound by the law of nations, it is of course impossible that we should be bound.

"Accordingly we must at the end of thirty days decline further discussion of the subject."

If the British Foreign had sent that kind of a reply they would have made it exceedingly difficult, if not quite impossible, for the Anglican press on this side of the ocean to sophisticate the issue.

Certainly, with such an answer spread before the American public, there could be no popular support for a breach of diplomatic relations with Germany.

### AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY.

THE Government of the United States is constructed on business principles. Its constitution is a contract, and all the elaboration of its legal system is an attempt to work out a wide community of interest based on a fair exchange of services.

The "faith of the fathers" is the belief that this kind of government—with its careful exclusion of all arbitrary authority and all transcendental sanctions—with its rigorous insistence upon matters of fact and of

merely earthly and human considerations—is good for all mankind and is fit to overspread the world.

The government of the United States is not without romance. But it is romantic about realities. It assumes that the arts and sciences and all the spiritual goods are necessarily involved in the mastery of material things. And we desire nothing from any other race or nation that we do not pay for with good measure.

Our fathers gave us a mission to pioneer a new world. We are to establish here a form of social order so true to the nature of man and of things, so rooted in intrinsic and self-vindicating law that it is capable of being universalized. Thus we shall not do all that we were sent to do, unless we assist in the reorganization of all-America and of Europe and Asia.

The modern business system with its sensitive relation of credit and contract and its swift communications, has reduced the world to a small compass, and has demonstrated the practicability of a universal common law and an unbroken mutuality. The motive and method of this system was mainly derived from the political and commercial spirit of the United States.

Ours is the principal responsibility in history for the detaching of the affections of men from kings, and from the arbitrary sanctions of social authority we made the original motion toward the reorganization of the world on a contractual basis—the consent of the governed.

If Europe had learned the lesson we tried to teach, the Great War would not have happened. The war is due to our failure to adequately present the principle we stand for. The immediate cause of the war was the attempt of rival European nations to reestablish empires in a world that was definitely committed to the democracy of commerce and credit—but only half organized on that new and modern plan.

This rivalry expressed itself primarily in financial and commercial terms. For a generation an economic war has been raging in Europe. This war was in its nature a solecism, an absurdity—since it is really impossible for one nation to get soundly rich by making another nation poor. The intrinsic laws of business are outraged by such an effort.

But the nations of Europe, under the guidance of incompetent statesmen, strove against each other to impenalize the democracy of business to win a crushing hegemony over the whole circle of commerce. It was inevitable that this preposterous economic war should turn to fire and blood.

America forged the weapons of disastrous economic war when it launched into the world its government by contract.

Terrible evil may come of a supremely good thing—if the good thing is only half understood. The corruption of the best is the worst corruption. We took away peace from the old-world empires and made them forever insecure when we projected into the universal mind the idea of a government on business principles.

There is only one way to disburden ourselves of our partial responsibility for the great war; and that is by giving our principle its full-orbed manifestation.

We must make our government move business-like, and our business system move like a government. We must make haste to exemplify here in the United States a system of mutuality and reciprocity that is fit to restore peace and reorganize the world.

The ways and means of accomplishing this aim is the study to which we invite your attention.

The present political task is the establishment of a complete accord between the government and the business system of the country—by squaring both to the straight edge of the democratic principle.

## *The President of the United States Should Be a Practical Man—a Thorough Business Man.*

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Theodore Roosevelt, Oyster Bay, N. Y.

From press reports it is certain English army has devastated large area Dublin ruthlessly using artillery against homes and public buildings. Many innocent non-combatants must have been killed. In view of your outspoken denunciation of destruction of Belgium cities and killing of Belgian snipers by German army, will you now with equal vehemence denounce destruction of Irish city and slaughter of Irish patriots by English army? Millions of Americans expect you as fearless champion of humanity, justice, liberty, to voice American indignation at this atrocity. Would appreciate prompt reply wire.

Francis J. L. Dorl,  
Editor Issues and Events,  
New York.

Congress Hall, Washington, D. C.

### NEW CREDIT CENTERS.

**T**HE big banks in Germany—such as the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank and the Disconto Gesellschaft—have two remarkable characteristics: first, they are not merely supporters and conservators of enterprise, they are investigators and organizers of it; and, second, each maintains a kind of library with an elaborate card catalogue and wide correspondence—which amounts to a scientific news-service concerning opportunities for new undertakings.

In these great concerns **banking has become militant. It has become creative. It has become the main driving force of society.**

This idea of creative finance armed with organized intelligence should be put at the service of the mass of the people in the United States. I think it is **impossible otherwise to break the yoke of monopoly.**

\* \* \*

Modern banking is of such intrinsic power that nothing can prevail over it—except itself. It is impossible for a democratic political society to frame repressive statutes faster than organized finance can circumvent them. The way to overcome organized finance when it has fallen into the hands of a privileged class, is to **raise up against it a better, a more democratic organization.** It is a mistake to suppose that we have only to repress or weaken the existing financial oligarchy, and that then a new and wholesome business system will spring up of itself out of the very ground.

Now that our democracy has come face to face with an organization of financial monopolists it can save itself from the domination of this new feudalism in only one way, to wit: by becoming itself an organization for scientific enterprise, and **by being more scientific and more enterprising than its oppressors have ever been.**

The way to create in the United States a new era of myriad-handed enterprise, is to establish in every local community a bank administered by men whose interest is public, and who know how to make more jobs than there are people to do them. It is simply a matter of the organization of economic intelligence and engineering will as applied to particular circumstances.

We want a new kind of bank in New York and in Clroversville and Peoria—not a meek-spirited Ruffeissen or Schultze-Delitsche bank, but something representing a high-tempered Deutsche Bank or Dresden Bank

—i. e. a bank having mastery of all accessible, technical and scientific knowledge concerning the human and material resources of that town, and what is doable there, and the right tools to do it with; and having the confidence of the citizens in such manner that its chief capital or credit-power would not be money, but technical skill, brains and the prestige of success.

It should be understood that the capital of a community can be quadrupled by increasing in that ratio the rapidity of the turn-over; that it can be quadrupled again by multiplying effective knowledge, and quadrupled yet once more by substituting reproductive production for the production of the means of distraction or destruction.

In short there is no assignable limit to the power and volume of credit-capital under the administration of men who know how to evoke the latent forces of the human mind and spirit.

I mean to say that organization of creative enterprise and of opportunity—news around a credit-center, is **an epoch-making sociological invention.** This invention should be appropriated to the uses of democracy. It is the right engine to knock the bottom out of our plutocracy.

The working credit-center must become the social center in any democratic community that is resolved to maintain its democracy under the stress of modern times. This is the same as to say that democracy cannot live in these great days unless it shall arouse itself from its political passivity and shall become enterprising and scientific.

The financial legislation accomplished by Congress goes perhaps as far as legislation can go in this direction. But as things stand, financial legislation cannot of itself accomplish very much. Our society is first of all a working society, with its center of gravity in financial credit. It is only secondarily a voting and legislating society. And it cannot vote or legislate to any effectual purpose, **until its political center is made to coincide with its working center.**

There is need of a party to be made the special agency for the propagation of this truth. Its spokesmen should go through the land preaching in every village that the kingdom of heaven is not at Washington, is not in courts or lawyers, that it waits upon the enterprise of towns and villages; it is **"up to" them.**

They must be told to raise their own defences against monopoly, to rally to their own social center, to create for themselves a stronghold of productive knowledge and power.

This idea of the organization of practical knowledge and working power from a public credit-center should be set before the people as the substantial thing toward which they ought to strive.

### SPIKING OUR GUNS IN FUTURE WARFARE.

**T**HE one great war which we are sure, sooner or later, to have to fight will be with Japan. Japan, like England, is an island empire, dependent for her very existence upon imports.

With three or four hundred submarines to torpedo every freight vessel which tried to carry munitions and supplies to Japan, we could reduce that empire to submission in a few months.

That is the exact course which common sense, duty to ourselves and a really humane desire to end the war as quickly as possible would all dictate.

But when that war does come, we shall find Germany and England, and Russia, and Japan loudly appealing to Mr. Wilson's definitions of international law in order to prevent us from whipping Japan in short order with a submarine blockade.

In his anxiety to protect England from defeat by

submarine attacks upon her food and arms supply, the President is setting a precedent which will return to plague and to curse us when our own safety and victory will depend upon cutting off Japan's supply of arms and food.

There never was such an exhibition of cutting off one's own legs in order to help another cripple.—N. Y. American.

### DEVASTATING FINANCE.

By Charles Ferguson.

Formerly Special Agent of U. S. Dept. of Commerce  
In London, Paris and Berlin.

**W**HAT has happened in Europe is an economic catastrophe. In every European country the existing financial system has laid an intolerable burden on the backs of unprivileged men. That financial system is in its nature a system of privilege. Everywhere it separates the interest of a small creditor class from that of the great mass of the people.

By an historical process the virtual sovereignty of modern societies has come to rest in the Bank. The power of the Bank is the power to give or withhold credit. It is the power to determine what wheels shall turn, whose projects shall be carried out, who shall have his way—and who shall be thwarted in his plans. It determines every man's place and power in his community.

The financial systems of Europe have split every European nation in two and have created in every country the conditions of internal strife and class war.

As William H. Seward in 1860 is said to have deliberately planned a collision with England in order to close the widening gap between the North and the South, just so the temptation of statesmanship in Europe during the present century, has been to accentuate foreign antagonisms in order to integrate the national life. But it is not craft of statesmanship alone that makes men eager to escape from the strain and torture, the dull ache and hum-drum, the sickness and general sordidness of social dissolution. It is to the credit of common human nature that it prefers the shock of international war to the baseness and moral desolation wrought by a senseless money power.

Principally, what is the matter with the financial system of Western Europe is the lack of earth-gripping practicality. They are "all in the air;" the great bankers have no special interest in economic processes. They are interested in the accumulation in their own hands of legally enforceable claims against society at large. The stoppage of the productive process is often a direct means to their ends. A big banker is often in the rôle of a Pretender Prince making a dash for a throne; he is ready to devastate the provinces if so only he may arrive at a place of arbitrary power.

During all the years of this century, civilization in Western Europe has been steadily running down hill; that is to say, that for fourteen years at least—before August 1, 1914—an ordinary unprivileged man in France and England found it increasingly hard to get a living. That fact is the bottom fact of the present European situation, and the situation is inexplicable unless one takes account of that fundamental fact.

The most marvelous creation of modern times is the cosmopolitan system of business. It is a world-wide organization, it crosses all frontiers, it proclaims the relatedness and mutual dependence of all nations within the circle of modern commerce. This system has now broken down, all of a sudden, in a day—as the roof of a house caves in. It has broken down because the financial ideas which sustained it, were feeble factitious and unpractical. They were uneconomic ideas. They were out of drawing with civilization.

They had little or nothing to do with chemistry and physics; they were careless of the engineering problem that lies at the heart of civilization, to wit: how best to make human beings at home in the material world.

This international finance was like a man without a country; its capital moved free from the trammels of locality; it followed the lure of profit to every corner of the world; especially, it is to be noted that capital sought those places where privilege was strongest, and democracy weakest. It put a premium of prosperity upon political servility and obsequiousness.

### IS CONGRESS CLAY IN WILSON'S HANDS?

After Woodrow Wilson's latest inflammatory address to Congress, the National Legislature, disgusted with his tactics and wearied of the whole business, turned to its routine business. For two weeks there has been no word spoken in either house about international affairs.

Meanwhile the newspapers of the country have sedulously inculcated the idea that the German reply to Mr. Wilson's note would be favorable. Germany was pictured as being ready to eat dirt and lick Mr. Wilson's hand. By these means the country and the Congress have been lulled into a lethargy.

The object of this is now become apparent. The German note is not an abject surrender of the vital rights of a great nation to the "Neutral" whims of Mr. Wilson. This will give the administration an opportunity to be shocked and outraged, and the people, and the statesmen on Capitol Hill, through having been led to believe that the German note would be a surrender, are expected to share in this shock, and to fall easy victims to Mr. Wilson's next act, which is expected to be the dismissal of the German ambassador, and possibly the prelude to war.

Congress should have spent these two weeks passing bills to safeguard the future use of American submarines by over-ruling Mr. Wilson's principle that they may not attack an enemy vessel, loaded with munitions, until the enemy vessel has had a chance to get in several shots at close range. Congress should have passed a resolution declaring that Americans may travel on armed belligerent ships only at their own peril. Congress having failed, the people must rise to a final declaration that we will not go to war with a friendly power in defence of English ships.

Write your Congressman to-day!

Lately we published the famous historian's, Prof. Dr. Schiemann's booklet "The Slanderer."

Some one in the interest of spreading truth had the courtesy of sending a gratis copy to the Librarian of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Canada.

The copy was returned to Issues and Events marked "Refused" and across the wrapper was written in red ink, "The Literary and Historical Society wants no dirty German stuff." COMMENT SUPERFLUOUS.

Our  
I Want War.....I Want Peace  
(Cover Vol. IV, No 18)

has created a favorable impression with many readers and the great number of requests for reprints we have received has prompted us to republish it in leaflet form.

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# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### England Now Vanquished, Says Cohalan.

At a meeting of the Friends of Irish Freedom recently Justice Daniel Cohalan, of New York, speaking for the organization on the revolt in Ireland, said:

"The central outstanding fact of the whole situation is that England is beaten in this war. The rising in Ireland is the greatest and most effective blow that has ever been struck at England.

"All of her campaign of deceit and misrepresentation has completely collapsed, and in the eyes of the world, her enemies, her allies and neutrals alike, she appears again, not as the protector of the weak and defender of small nations, but as the same old tyrant.

"Can one imagine a more contemptible figure than that cut by Redmond? Lost to all sense of decency, he alone has been acting as the chief recruiting sergeant for England in Ireland, and now in the hour of crisis he calls upon his deluded followers to take part with England's gunmen in shooting down their fellow countrymen, who are fighting for freedom.

"England has but three alternatives—to get America into the war, to fight or to make peace. Whether she does the first depends upon us, for this country will stand true to its old ideals if we insist upon it.

"Do the second, she cannot, and to do the third must mean her retirement from the rank of first-rate powers."

### The Ford Peace Party Is Busy.

STOCKHOLM, Sweden.—The Ford peace party, reduced now to a working basis, with delegates present from the six neutral countries of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland and the United States, has recently been very active here and has enjoyed the official recognition of having been received by the foreign ministers of the three Scandinavian countries. To each of these were presented appeals addressed in diplomatic French to the kings and the parliaments ask-

ing that the neutral governments organize an official neutral conference to offer its services in bringing about peace. The Ford party is now known as an "unofficial peace conference of neutral nations."

The peace representatives were graciously received here, at Copenhagen and at Christiania. No definite hope

for consideration was held out to them, however, for the ministers declared their countries could only act when requested to do so by the belligerents.

The same appeal, addressed to the President and to the "parliament" of the United States, also was offered to the American minister here, Ira Nelson Morris. Mr. Morris held, how-

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ever, that it did not come within his diplomatic province to accept appeals directed to the President and to Congress, so he advised his visitors to present the matter direct to Washington.

The Ford appeal, which is to be presented also at Berne and The Hague, says in part:

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"Has not the moment come to act? If, by an opportune step, an intervention of neutrals, the war could be shortened by a day, by a single day which destroys thousands of lives, ought not the step to be taken, no matter how difficult, how hopeless it appears?"

"History will severely judge the neutral countries if they remain mere spectators of the terrible conflagration. They, too, suffer by the war, and the belligerents themselves have submitted their cause to the judgment of the neutral nations."

#### A Japanese View of Uncle Sam's Trouble.

The "Tokyo Nichinichi" thinks the United States has never before been beset with so many difficult foreign and domestic questions as at present. Only to name a few of them, there are the German submarine embargo, the British blockade dispute, the preparedness problem, the customs tariff question, the hyphenate Germans affair, etc. Especially ugly is the outlook in Mexico, for the American expedition may at any time come into collision with the acting President General Carranza. In such circumstances, the party in power, more especially President Wilson, has little time to attend to the presidential campaign now open. The Democrats have developed no definite plan but a general one to nominate President Wilson at the national conference to be held at St. Louis in June. Ex-Secretary Bryan and Garrison may rise against the President; but influential men like Speaker Clarke of the House of Representatives, and Senator Underwood are in favor of Mr. Wilson, and in the "Nichinichi's" opinion, there can be no doubt of his nomination. But whether he will be re-elected President



is another matter. He with Mr. Bryan, once strongly opposed ex-President Roosevelt's attempt to be elected for a third time, and even went so far as to come out for single-term presidency. He has now recanted his erstwhile advocacy. That is one point against him. Then his chances depend largely upon developments in America's relations with Germany and England between now and the election time, upon whom the Republicans bring forward as their candidate, and how the expedition fares in Mexico. On the Republican side ex-Senator Root is very popular. his recent speech at New York on America's foreign relations having increased his influence. The "Nichinichi" does not see much chance for Judge Hughes and Gover-

nor Johnson. Should Mr. Root be nominated there will be reconciliation between the Republicans and Progressives. On the whole, it thinks the prospects are more favorable for the Republicans than for the Democrats, and the latter will have to make a very hard struggle.

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"Do you get plenty of sleep?" said the visitor to small Edward.

"Yes, ma'am," he answered. "Mama puts me to bed every night at eight o'clock."

"To keep you healthy?" he was asked. "No, ma'am," was the reply. "It's so she can mend my clothes."—Chicago Daily News.

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A New York Newspaper had the German Crown Prince Assassinated Four Times, Killed in Action Thrice, Commit Suicide Four Times, Wounded Six Times, Gone Insane Once, Buried in Berlin Once and in Potsdam a Week Later, and Finally had Him Alive Again.

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I am the word the prophet spoke  
While yet the world was young;  
The vision which on Fulton broke,  
The phantasy of Verne.  
From ocean's deepest bed I come,  
Behold, Leviathan.

I am the cloud and thunderbolt,  
Prometheus and the fire;  
A sword where feeble folk revolt,  
The answer to their prayer.  
I bring to bondmen a great hope,  
To tyranny despair.

For I'm a brother to the sea,  
Her playfellow and lord.  
Thou shalt not speak soft words to me,  
Nor draw me with a cord.  
I break through iron easily  
And brass as rotten wood.

No more shall fleets like monsters fling  
Their shadows o'er the land.  
I am the stone in David's sling,  
The nail in Jael's hand.  
Seas shall be free henceforth for aye  
By right and my command.

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## Corrupting an Empire

By RAYMOND RADCLYFFE

This article, which appeared in "THE ENGLISH REVIEW," February, 1916, written by a radical Englishman, portrays vividly causes of the interior decline of England and of her failure in the present struggle.—Editor Issues and Events.

**W**HEN war broke out the whole nation was at a white heat of enthusiasm. It was prepared to make any sort of sacrifice, submit to any kind of compulsion; surrender all its rights. Rich people discharged their men servants, and tramped round gas-works with a badge on their arm and a flask in their pocket. The patriotism of the poor was pathetic. They crowded the enlistment offices, and a citizen army of a million men was soon enrolled. The Colonies gave everything they had. But the enthusiasm soon cooled down, and today we find a very mild Compulsion Bill fought line by line in the House of Commons, whilst in the country the temper of the working class is distinctly unpleasant. Why has this change come over the country? The rich man drinks more champagne than ever; the workman buys jewelry and pianos for his women-folk, and bottles of whiskey for himself. The war is not forgotten, but it is now looked upon as a means of livelihood, a way to get rich quick, an easy road to pleasure. All idea of suffering and self-sacrifice has gone and left in its place a selfish desire to make the most out of a conflict which many people think of as a blessing in disguise. The talk is not now of battles, victories, or repulses, but of exports, and imports, rates of exchange, prices of commodities, tariffs and taxes. The war is no longer a struggle to destroy the German soldier, but to annex his money. The nation is lashed to fury because the United States shipping hundreds of millions of dollars worth of goods to neutral countries. But it is really angry because a competitor has taken its trade. Mr. Runciman makes a long speech and threatens Germany, not with defeat on the field of battle, but in the counting house. She is to be crushed, not by 17-inch shells, but by stupendous tariffs. Sir George Buchanan addresses the New English Club in Petrograd and promises a trade combine between Russia and England which shall settle the hash of the German trader in Russia once and for all. Now these speeches would not be delivered unless they were popular. They are. Everybody, when the war began, was all for kicking the German out of Belgium. That was not found very easy, as someone had forgotten to supply the necessary shells. So the Turk was to be kicked out of Constantinople; which looked a simpler job. But it didn't begin kicking at

the same time. Today the public doesn't want to hear of the war on land and sea. It wants to hear of the awful ruin that will come to our enemies, thanks to an elaborate system of tariffs. I am not going to argue the good and the bad sides of a tariff war. If we could smash the German by a tariff, by all means let us have one, and the bigger the better. But it seems to me a quite unmilitary person who has dwelt in the City some thirty years, that before we adopt the horrible measures of Mr. Runciman we must beat Germany in the field. We must destroy her armies before we can tackle any trade she may still have when the war is ended. For until her armies are defeated there is always the chance that they may defeat us, and then where will our wonderful tariffs be?

Why has the whole mind of the public dropped from the high-strung and pure patriotic tone it adopted when war began to a lower and more sordid note? The whole blame must be laid upon the political lawyers who govern the country. They did not respond to the passionate outcry for self-sacrifice, economy, and efficiency. They took no measures when by any stretch of the imagination could be called heroic. They closed public houses a little earlier to please the teetotaler. They darkened the streets of London. But they omitted to provide arms or equipment for the recruits, and they neglected to give the artillery the shells they required. They asked the nation to drink less, but they refused to limit their own supplies to the House of Commons. They preached economy, but declined to cut down their own salaries. They refused to declare cotton contraband, or to intern aliens, and only gave way when they found themselves and their salaries in danger. The nation grew tired of nagging. It found the Ministers taking the war in a leisurely fashion; it followed its leaders.

There was much method in the Ministerial policy. Mr. Asquith had the remarkable example of Sir Robert Walpole always before him. Sir Robert kept in office by the very simple process of bribing the members of the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith has kept in office by flooding the country with money. He knows only too well that no prosperous man can long remain discontented. Therefore he allowed millions to flow through the manufacturing districts. The total expenditure is said to be about five millions a day, and perhaps two-thirds of this has been spent in Great Britain. Soldiers were billeted in



every town, and every small cottager found it profitable to feed the recruits. There was no fixed scale. Some women got 25c. a week for feeding a man, others got only 15s., but even at this price the profit was large. Allowances to married men were on a grand scale, and a poor laborer with seven children found his income doubled the day he joined the colors. Thus the very poorest were made comfortable. Boots, clothing, arms, horses, ammunition, and all the hundred and one necessities for a great army were ordered from factories, and thus the workman was kept fully employed and his wages raised. He could get as much work as he liked, and it is well known that in the North of England a capable mechanic has been able to earn up to £10 a week ever since war was declared. I need hardly point out that the average wages of such a man would not exceed £3 a week even in boom days. The owners of workshops, the proprietors of large factories capable of supplying the goods needed, made fortunes very quickly. War did not pinch them, it caressed them. But anything suitable for either Army or Navy. Such places languished until a bright idea struck that acute lawyer, Lloyd George. Why not nationalize such workshops? It was done; and when done there was hardly a factory left in Great Britain that was not twice as well off in war as it was in peace. The newspapers were placated by huge advertisements given out in the most lavish manner by an agent whose services have been rewarded by a knighthood. In their eagerness to spend money the Government gave some papers the same advertisement twice in the same day and paid twice over. Indeed, the lines upon which the advertisement campaign was run were the same lines as those which paid a washerwoman 25s. for a week's board of a soldier. It speaks well for the honesty of the Press that, in spite of the huge orders at scale rates, many newspapers still continued to criticise. The advertising of the Financial Loans was conducted upon the same extravagant lines as those which asked for recruits. When the war has ended the most stringent inquiry will have to be made into view of the German population in the United States, to spend large sums in that country also, and huge orders, at fabulous prices, were given out. Every American newspaper is full of lists of orders, presidents of companies boast as to the amount of profits they are making out of the Britisher whose money they take and whose business capacity they sneer at. \* \* \*

Now I submit with great seriousness that we are on the wrong lines. I cannot consider the huge expenditures which have resulted in such unparalleled prosperity in any way justified. We are at war. It is the most serious business human beings can possibly be engaged upon. We were wont to pray, "From battle, murder, and sudden death, Good Lord, deliver us." Who would thus pray to-day? Not the shipowner, whose boats earn enough in one voyage to repay the whole cost of the ship. Not the maker of boots, who can see enough profit to apply for £50,000 in War Loan, and still have £50,000 left in his till, when a few years ago that same bootmaker was not earning £20,000 a year. Not the iron and steel maker who has doubled his profits, but hidden them away under the head of depreciation. Nor the tool-makers, like Greenwood & Batley, of Leeds, who in three months made enough to pay at the rate of 50 per cent., whereas a year or two back the same firm could not pay any dividend at all. But why continue the list of phenomenal profits? We remember the flour millers, Messrs. Spiller & Bakers; Thorneycrofts, the engineers; John Brown & Co., the ship-builders. They stand out unconcealed, honestly telling the world what they have made. Thousands have hidden their gains. The bald fact that five millions a day has been handed out cannot be hidden, for we all of us must one day foot the bill.

That is where the Government has been so clever. It pays away five millions every twenty-four hours, and knows quite well that not one person in a million will ask where the money comes from and who is going to pay it back.

That is where the Government has been so clever. It pays, knowing that those who get the money will keep their mouths shut, and that as long as the money is poured out the nation will wax fat and smile at such trivial incidents as the abandonment of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro; the loss of the Pacific fleet, the retreat from Bagdad, and the horror of the Dardanelles.

But I still believe that England will awake some day and insist upon economy, efficiency, and honesty. We cannot win this war till such an awakening does come—no! not though we spend ten millions a minute and wallow in champagne and motor-cars. No war was ever won by mere waste. But many have been lost through it.

## Loading the Scales of Justice

The United States Secret Service is in a fair way to become more efficient than ever before, since the working arrangement subsisting between it and the English Secret Service (Scotland Yard) has settled down to a permanent basis of close co-operation. His Britannic Majesty, it seems, has been good enough to rent quarters for his "bulls" right next to the headquarters of Woodrow Wilson's faithful "dinnies," and the increased efficiency of this double service is already perceptible in the columns of the New York World.

Whenever one of the sharp-nosed scandal-hounds of either branch of this Anglo-American agency gets the scent of some savory story, a pink-tea is arranged to which little "Rough-Neck Joe" Tumulty and the rat-eyed Louis Seibold, chief character-assassin of the "World," are invited. There the purloined private letters of some public man or private citizen are pawed and pored over, and soon the "World" breaks out, like a fever patient with a rash, in hectic headlines, displaying to an amused public the latest evidence that American citizens dare to

exercise their right of free thought, speech and action, even if some ancestor of theirs had the bad taste to choose a German or an Irish name. And then, startled by this "revelation" in the World, the Department of Justice, under Gregory the Great, institutes an action before a hand-picked Federal Grand Jury, and the echo of the terrible conspiracy is heard in the perfect phraesology of some solemn speech by "Rough-Neck Joe's" boss, Woodrow Wilson.

It is very kind of King George to lend his world-infamous Scotland Yard operatives to Uncle Sam, and to go to the expense of hiring a house next to the Department of Justice. In time, if a grateful people will only continue Woodrow Wilson in the White House, your uncle will be educated out of all his uncouth democratic ways, and will be fit for the company of King or Czar. The working arrangement between the secret and irresponsible police of the "two branches of the Anglo-Saxon people" will be continued, as a successful deterrent of free speech and free government.

# F. Sheehy Skeffington's Speech

## FROM THE DOCK

### Eloquent Defense of the Rights of Free Speech

For forty weeks, every Sunday, Mr. Skeffington held meetings in Beresford Place, Dublin, at which he discussed the war and pledged the people passively to resist Conscription. On the 29th of May he was arrested for a speech made on the 23rd of May, the substance of which was admitted by the Crown to have been similar to all the previous speeches, save that passive resistance to Conscription was more strongly emphasized.

He was tried, convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Skeffington at once started in on a "hunger strike" and was paroled a few days after his imprisonment. He then came to America for the purpose of lecturing, raising funds and obtaining support for his opposition to Irishmen filling the ranks of the British Army.

During the late trouble in Dublin Skeffington, at the risk of his own life, went to the rescue of a wounded officer outside of Dublin Castle, the crowd being afraid to venture near. When he arrived at the spot he found that soldiers already had taken the officer away.

Skeffington was arrested, although unarmed and unresisting, and on Tuesday he was taken to Portobello barracks and shot without a trial.

Mr. Skeffington refused to be blind-folded and met death with a smile on his lips, saying before he died that the authorities would find out after his death what a mistake they had made. He put his hand to his eyes and a bullet passed through his hand and into his brain.—Editor's Note.

I do not think it will be necessary for me to detain you very long in my defence. I do not propose to call any witnesses, for, though there are certain textual errors that do not materially affect the case, the police report is a very fair one of what I said, apart from some small details. I shall not have to detain you very long and I am sure you will understand that I do not intend any personal discourtesy if I begin by complaining against the form of this trial—of having been deprived of the right to appear before a jury. I perfectly understand why the military authorities, who, in pursuance of their war against German militarism are exercising an absolute military despotism in this country, did not choose to bring a case of this kind before a jury. They have recognized that it is not possible to get a jury, in Dublin at all events, to make themselves the amenable instruments for the enforcement of this most iniquitous of the Coercion Acts—the Act known as the Defence of the Realm Act—and they have decided, perhaps mistakenly, that they will have a better chance before a tribunal less amendable and responsible to public opinion. That action of theirs is a confession of defeat. It is an admission that they have not got the popular sentiment behind them in this country.

Whatever may be said with regard to the motives actuating me—I do not expect you will look on them favorably—but, whether you agree or not with the views I put forward, I claim as an **elementary right of a citizen in a free state** the right to put forward those opinions. It is clearly a matter of constitutional right to tell the people of Ireland that they had a right to take no part in a war as to which they were not consulted. When I say the people of Ireland were not consulted, I do not wish to imply that the peoples of other countries under the same rulers were consulted. It is notorious they were not. To take that portion of the population which suffers most in war time—the women—no pretence ever was made of consulting them. As regards the men who do the actual fighting, there is a pretence that they were consulted; but that it is merely a pretence is proved by the action of the Government. They found themselves quite unable to

face an election in their own constituencies and have passed a special Indemnity Bill absolving Members of Parliament who have been appointed to the Cabinet from facing their electors. So evident is it that the war was brought on by oligarchs that even in Great Britain the cry has gone out for the impeachment of Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey. In England a "Stop-the-War Society" has been formed for the purpose of getting the people of England to bring pressure to bear on the oligarchs to stop the war. If I lived in England I should still deem it my duty to join such a society and to insist on the propaganda to stop the war in the only way in which the people can stop the war, namely by stopping recruiting, by ceasing to provide the food for powder. It is true that some friends of mine, both in England and in Ireland, say that while opposed to enlistment in the Army, they prefer to leave it to the free decision of individuals whether they should join or not. I should agree, if it were really left to the free decision of individuals; but in a time like this, when every force and influence both in the Press and on the platform, and every kind of social and economic pressure is being brought to bear upon men of military age to join the Army, it is the right and duty of every person of articulate speech to do what he can to produce the contrary pressure so as to give real freedom of decision to the people on the question. So much is true even of England, and of Ireland it is strengthened and intensified. Whatever may be said of the English people, the Irish people never at any time gave the slightest mandate or authority to their leaders, or representatives to commit them to a European war. No leader has any right to pledge the Irish people without such a mandate.

Everything I have said at these meetings fits in with what I consider my constitutional right and moral duty. It was necessary. In order to prevent the pressure being brought to bear on the weaker and more cowardly section and individuals being coerced, it was necessary to go into such questions as the origin of the war. Here I have based myself largely upon the literature published by the Independent Labor Party in England. I have shown, by quoting from a pamphlet entitled "How the War Came About," how the war was forced on by Russia against the wishes of Germany. I have also had to go into the

causes of the war (going further back than the immediate year) and have based myself here largely on a book published in England "Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy" by E. D. Morel, in which the whole of the plot by which the war was brought about is laid bare—the plot for the encirclement and final crushing of Germany. It was necessary for me to go into the question of the progress and conduct of the war for the benefit of those weak individuals who are liable to be attracted by success, and to show that there was no prospect, no probability—one might even say, possibility—of England winning a decisive victory. It was necessary to expose (as was done by *Forward* in Glasgow) the infamous cascade of lies poured forth in the papers of so-called German atrocities in Belgium and elsewhere. It was also necessary for me to expose the humbug of the saying that Ireland had a special right to fight for Catholic Belgium. If it is true that Ireland had a right to fight for Catholic Belgium then it is true that Ireland had a right to fight for Catholic Galicia against the Russians—

Mr. Reardon: I am most unwilling to interfere, having regard to the fact that Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington is defending himself, but I think a great many things he is referring to are irrelevant.

Mr. Mahoney: I think it is better not to intervene. (Inaudible.)

Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington: I have lastly dealt with the special Irish case: that Ireland has no direct quarrel with Germany. Ireland, from its depopulation, from its impoverishment, requires peace more than any other nation in Europe. That is one of the strongest points in the case I present. On the basis of that claim for "small nationalities," which is assumedly the basis of this war, it is now taken for granted that it is right and rational for the people of Bohemia and Transylvania to rejoice in the defeats and break-up of the Austrian Empire; that it is right and rational for the people of Alsace-Lorraine and of Posen to rejoice in the break-up of the German Empire. It used to be taken for granted that the people of Poland had a right to rejoice in the break-up of the Russian Empire, but that opinion is no longer—

Mr. Mahoney: You are wandering very far away. You must be brief. The only point I have to consider is whether you spoke against recruiting in his Majesty's Army, and I know nothing about Irish politics, or Austrian politics, or Transylvanian politics.

Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington: I claim that to put this argument before the Irish people in the form which I have shown, and to tell them that it was just as right and natural for them to rejoice in the danger of the British Empire was a constitutional right.

Mr. Mahoney: I cannot allow you to go on in this way.

Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington: You will say that is a breach of the law. What of it? We have had distinguished law-breakers before in Ireland. I am sure you will not prevent me referring to them, as you allowed Mr. Healy to do in a previous case.

Mr. Mahoney: I did not wish him to do so.

Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington: It is not necessary for me to refer to the cases of passive resisters in England, who refused to obey the law at the dictates of their consciences. It is not necessary for me to refer to the imprisonment of Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon on behalf of the welfare of the people. It is only necessary for me to refer to Sir Edward Carson—

Mr. Mahoney: It will do you no good to talk about that. It will not affect your position.

Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington: It may not affect my position as regards your Worship, but it may have a great effect on my position as regards the people. If Sir Edward Carson, as a reward for saying that he would

break every law possible, gets a Cabinet appointment, what is the logical position as regards myself? (Laughter and applause in court.) Your Worship cannot make me Attorney General for England, nor even Lord Chancellor for Ireland, and it may even happen that your Worship may think it necessary to send me to prison for a small breach of an infamous law—

Mr. Mahoney: Strike out the word "infamous" and I accept your description as accurate.

Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington: I think the word "infamous" adds to the accuracy of the description. You may think it necessary to add to the eleven days I have spent in prison a few days more. If so I will serve them, provided I can do so under conditions suitable to political offenders, but I wish it clearly understood that I will serve no long sentence under any conditions, and I will serve no sentence whatever which does not recognize my rights as a political prisoner.

I am prosecuted, not for the attacks on recruiting, on voluntary enlistment in the Army—but for my attacks on Conscription. In attacking Conscription not only were my moral duty and my constitutional right equally strong, but here there was no breach of law whatever. To say that "if Conscription comes we will not have it" is no more a breach of law than it was treason for Sir Edward Carson to say that "if Home Rule comes we will not have it." In England an anti-Conscription League has been formed whose members declare their intention to resist to the death. In this case you will not find it possible to condemn me for breaking the law. I have only advocated passive resistance, because I believe that that form of resistance is sufficient to smash any Compulsory Military Service Act that may be put in force. It is because I have advocated passive resistance and because as Conscription came nearer, I have pledged an increasing number every Sunday to resist Conscription, it is because of this that this prosecution is brought against me, after holding similar meetings for forty weeks. For twenty or thirty weeks I have pledged audiences of from 500 to 1,000 that they would passively resist Conscription. That does not mean that 30,000 were pledged. No doubt many of them were the same each Sunday; but take it at the lowest figure, suppose it was 500, suppose there were only 100 who will keep the pledge to resist Conscription in Ireland, that 100 is enough to kill Conscription in Ireland. Whatever happens to me to-day, the work is done. If those men keep their pledges the enforcement of Conscription becomes impossible in Ireland.

In doing this, I have done what I regarded both as a duty and a right, both in opposing recruiting and conscription, and in the latter case I have broken no law. This prosecution would be intelligible in a country ruled by an autocrat, in a country under the iron heel of military despotism; in a country ruled by a narrow oligarchy fearing the smallest breath of criticism. It would be intelligible above all in a country held by force by another country, the rulers of which would fear to allow any expression of opinion amongst the subject people. If you condemn me, you condemn the system you represent as being some or all of these things. Any sentence you may pass on me is a sentence upon British rule in Ireland.

Mr. Mahoney: Mr. Skeffington admits the offence and glories in it. The chances are that he will repeat the offence when he gets his liberty. I know nothing of political offences. I am a long time here, but I do not know what a political offence is. The only offence I know is an offence against the law, and this is a grave offence. I will sentence him to six months' imprisonment with hard labour; and, at the expiration of

that period, he will have to find bail in £50 or, in default, go to prison for another period of six months.

Mr. Skeffington: I will serve no such sentence. I will eat no food from this moment, and long before the expiration of the sentence I shall be out of prison, alive or dead! (Loud cheering in Court).

Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was released on the following Tuesday (June 15th) in a state of collapse on the seventh day of his hunger strike. He was released under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, his license expiring on June 30th, from which date he was liable to re-arrest.

## Letter from George Bernard Shaw on Sheehy Skeffington's Sentence

Dear Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington:

I have naturally been interested in your husband's case, and have carefully read not only the newspaper accounts of the proceedings before the magistrates, but the transcript of the speech which you have sent me. I have also noted the references that have been made in Parliament and elsewhere in England to the contrast between the Government's treatment of Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington and the complete immunity with which Lord Northcliffe not only endeavored to stop voluntary recruiting by refusing to insert the War Office appeals, but actually—with the same object; that of bringing about conscription—published a letter from the Bishop of Pretoria conveying the impression not only to the English, but to the German public, that the British Army in Flanders was out-wearied, out-numbered, and must presently fall a prey to its enemies unless conscription were at once resorted to.

Now, it is clear that if Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington deserves six months for his speech in Beresford place, which would not have reached a thousand people but for the prosecution, Lord Northcliffe must deserve somewhere about sixty years. I can only congratulate him under the circumstances on being still at large.

However, there is nothing to be done. The Defence of the Realm Act abolishes all liberty in Great Britain and Ireland, except such as the authorities may and have to leave us. Even if the powers given by the Act were insufficient, the Government could act arbitrarily without the least risk, as there is no remedy for such arbitrariness except a revolution. It may be within your recollection that before the Act was amended it did not give the Government power to put German

spies to death. Nevertheless, they shot one and amended the Act afterwards. Therefore, if they should decide for any reason to hang your husband you will not have any practical remedy.

Protests are quite useless. The Opposition in the House of Commons will not oppose. The Press will not defend public liberties. England is thoroughly intimidated by Germany so far as her civilians are concerned; and sentences of six months hard labor are being dealt out here for the most trivial oversights and the most innocent suppressions in complying with registration regulations.

Under these circumstances I think your husband made a very grave mistake in putting his head in the lion's mouth as he did. Something can be done with a tyrannical Government: Nothing can be done with a terrified Government and a cowed people.

As for me, personally, I should only make matters worse by interfering, even if I had any effective means of doing so. As it happens I am not afraid of the Germans, and have very little patience with the Englishmen who are. If they cannot win at the present odds without putting Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington in prison for depleting the British army to the extent of half-a-dozen men or so they deserve to be beaten. Unfortunately this confidence of mine sends the British alarmists into ecstasies of fright. They commonly allude to me as a pro-German; and if they knew that I sympathised with your husband they would declare that nothing but his imprisonment for life could save England. I can fight stupidity; but nobody can fight cowardice.

Yours faithfully,

G. Bernard Shaw.

10 Adelphi Terrace, London, W. C.

## Congress Sleeping at the Switch

By WILLIAM KENNEDY

NOTHING could so clearly display the peculiar conditions that prevail in Congress than a class of the bills which have been introduced this session bearing upon international affairs and the problem of war and peace and a consideration of what Congress has done with such bills. The latter phase of the situation may be summarized in one word: Congress has done nothing.

It has been pointed out in these columns repeatedly that almost without exception our representatives at Washington are firmly opposed to a war with Germany. More than the administration or the Anglo-American press will ever admit the war plotters have been held back by a knowledge of the determination of Congress not to have war. Nevertheless, Congress seems palsied when it approaches any proposition to clear the atmosphere by taking a definite action on any of the problems which involved war or peace, or the national interests.

The following is a resume of the bills and resolutions now sleeping peacefully in the committees of Congress

—bills and resolutions which the interests of the American people demand should be acted upon.

### On Popular Control.

**Senate Bill 5796**, by MR. LA FOLLETTE—Directing the taking of a popular vote on the question of peace or war.

**Senate Resolution 108**, by MR. JONES—Declaring that any issue affecting the national honor should be decided by Congress.

**House Bill 15385**, by MR. TAVENNER—To the same effect as Senator La Follette's bill.

### On American Rights to Travel on Belligerent Ships.

**Senate Bill 1731**, by MR. KENYON—To prohibit transportation of passengers on vessels carrying munitions of war.

**Senate Bill 3033**, by MR. GORE—To prohibit the issuance of passports for use on belligerent vessels.

**Senate Bill 3034**, by MR. GORE—Prohibiting belligerent vessels from transporting American citizens and contraband of war at the same time.

**House Bill 10240**, by MR. STEPHENS of Nebraska.—Prohibiting belligerent vessels from carrying Amer-

ican citizens and contraband of war at the same time.

**House Joint Resolution 165**, by MR. HILLIARD—Urging American citizens to refrain from traveling on armed merchantment.

**House Bill 12202**, by MR. MONDELL—To prohibit the issuance of passports for use on armed vessels.

**House Resolution 154**, by MR. MONDELL—Calling on Secretary of the Treasury for information about armed merchantment.

**House Resolution 153**, by MR. MONDELL—Calling on Secretary of State for information as to discrimination between American citizens seeking passports.

**House Resolution 147**, by MR. McLEMORE—The famous "McLemore resolution" warning Americans off armed ships; still on the table of the House.

#### Embargo Bills.

**Senate Joint Resolution 73**, by MR. GORE—Directing embargo and contraband to powers interfering with commerce.

**Senate Bill 637**, by MR. WORKS—To forbid the furnishing of war materials to belligerent nations.

**Senate Bill 380**, by MR. HITCHCOCK—To prohibit the export of munitions to belligerent nations.

**Senate Bill 4053**, by MR. WALSH—To interdict commerce with any country interfering with our trade.

**House Resolution 25**, by MR. CAREY—To place an embargo on munitions of war.

**House Joint Resolution 81**, by MR. STEENERSON—To prohibit export of munitions of war.

**House Joint Resolution 14**, by MR. PORTER—To prohibit the export of arms, ammunition and submarines.

#### On Foreign Loans.

**Senate Joint Resolution 74**, by MR. GORE—Prohibiting loans to powers interfering with American commerce.

**House Resolution 196**, by MR. TAGUE—Calling on Secretary of Treasury for information about foreign bonds owned in the United States to tax munitions.

**Senate Resolution 22**, by MR. KENYON—Declaring additional taxes should be levied on munitions.

**House Resolution 113**, by MR. VAN DYKE—To tax munitions of war.

**House Bill 10386**—To tax munitions of war.

**House Bill 12647**—To tax munitions of war.

#### On Mexican Situation.

**House Joint Resolution 199**, by MR. McLEMORE—Directing American forces in Mexico not to withdraw, but pursue Villa against any and all opposition.

**House Joint Resolution 202**, by MR. RODENBERG—Laying embargo on munitions to Mexico.

#### For Peace.

**House Joint Resolution 38** and **House Joint Resolution 170**, by MR. LONDON—In favor of neutrality, peace, disarmament and a Congress of neutral nations.

#### Miscellaneous.

**Senate Resolution 58**, by MR. HITCHCOCK—Calling for information about violation of mails.

**Senate Bill 685**, by MR. POINDEXTER—Providing free passage for American ships through Panama Canal.

**Senate Resolution 86**, by MR. SHERMAN—Protesting against Japanese actions in China.

**Senate Resolution 12**, by MR. SMITH of Georgia—To investigate British blockade.

**Senate Joint Resolution 44**, by MR. CURTISS—Demanding strict neutrality.

**Senate Resolution 43**, by MR. WALSH—To investigate freight congestion on railroads.

**Senate Bill 2684**, by MR. WORKS—To provide a constructive military reserve.

**House Joint Resolution 127**, by MR. EMERSON—To demand that Allies permit milk to go to Central Powers.

**House Resolution 121**, by MR. BARNES of South Carolina—To investigate labor accidents at munitions factories.

**House Resolution 100**, by MR. BENNETT—To investigate labor accidents at munitions factories.

**House Resolution 100**, by MR. BENNETT—To investigate Baralong murders.

**House Resolution 76** and **House Resolution 91**, by MR. BENNETT—Calling on President and Attorney General to give names of disloyal naturalized citizens.

**House Resolution 7**, by MR. GARDNER—To investigate the Navy League and other societies.

**House Resolution 32**, by MR. CLARKE of Florida—Seeking information about European or Asiatic attempts to colonize in America.

**House Resolution 90**, by MR. BUCHANAN of Illinois—Demanding impeachment of H. Snowden Marshall.

**House Resolution 437**, by MR. HULBERT—To Make the "Star Spangled Banner" the national anthem.

We have frequently urged our readers to write their Congressmen urging action upon various measures. Perhaps we have even wearied some by our repeated insistence on this necessity. Confronted with this long list of important measures lying dormant in committees, each citizen and voter can judge for himself what his duty is.

## The Affirmative Intellect

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY, in his "German Philosophy and Politics," attributes to modern Germany an absolutist and a-priori fashion of thought, and contrasts that mentality with the "experimental philosophy" that he holds to be congenial to the people of the United States.

I submit that this antithesis is fruitless and utterly confusing—involving such misuse of words and such blurring of ideas that the whole subject of Americanism vs. Germanism is thrown into chaos.

In the first place should it not be observed that Professor Dewey's idea of an experimental philosophy (as distinguished from empiricism) is merely a dressing out in new clothes of what is oldest in the history of thought? The attempt to guess one's way through the labyrinth of experience—to cut the cunning intel-

lect quite loose and make it the shifty, resourceful adjuster of balances with nature—I should say dates back to Thales.

If the modern world has learned anything about the intrinsic laws of thought, it has learned that thought cannot cut loose in any such manner. It has learned that the intellect—if not indeed "the meanest of all human faculties," as DeQuincy once whimsically remarked—is yet strictly subordinate to the passion of life.

Perhaps it was Emmanuel Kant, in his critique of the Practical Reason who first suggested that it is impossible to think out a way to successful living, that all the spacious as well as the intimate problems must be **worked** out rather than **thought** out, and that intellect at best is nothing better than emotion heated to incandescence.



Whether such conceptions are purely Kantian or not, they certainly are congenial to modern German thought. And they comport with and in a manner explain modern German industrialism and politics.

Modern Germany, more than any other country, has escaped from the spell of intellectualism. Germany **works** its way through the mazes and contradictions of life. Its ordered thought is mainly a systematic attempt to explain why it does not try to **think** its way through—and why it refuses to conform to the a-priori and absolutist idea of its neighbors. For it is in Western Europe and the United States rather than in Germany that the antique spell of absolutism and a-priorism still holds. In these countries property still stands higher than the court, and higher than chemistry and physics or the laws of alimentation—and all rights as between persons or nations are still thought of as having an absolute character that takes no account of the general engineering problem or the exigencies of the common earth-struggle.

The broad sociological fact that signalizes the escape of Germany from intellectual absolutism, is the interpenetration of the German business-system with the German political system. In England, France and the United States the mental categories of business are still kept quite distinct from those of politics—as was the fashion in Plato's time. In Germany the case is wholly otherwise. By means of the interfusion of business and politics, Germany has socialized her business and has pragmatized her politics. She has developed

a civil and social law in which moral and legal rights tend to be stated in terms of art and engineering.

To modern Germany the "categorical imperative" is that the earth must be subdued to the spirit of man. The right is anything that helps this process, the wrong anything that hinders. Such is the fundamental German thought. How bewildering to call this a-priorism or absolutism!

My point here is not that Germany is wise, but that the mood of high philosophic abstraction is more at home in Professor Dewey's mind and in American class-rooms than in German camps and Kartels or German universities.

The characteristic of the modern German mind that has made it so effectual for the mastery of materials ought not to be called absolutism—unless one should use such a word to describe the attitude of any artist or engineer with a road to build or a stone to carve. It is of course impossible to mould or control the materials and forces of nature, unless one refuses to be bullied by bare facts, and unless one is able to believe and act in the power of a law that is greater than the law of mechanical causation. But why call this aloofness and leverage of the earth-wrestlers, this swing of the hammers of "the world-smiths"—a-priorism?

For my own part I have ventured—in a book published fifteen years ago in New York and Leipsic—and more kindly received in Germany than in this country—to call it The Affirmative Intellect.

## Principles Underlying Preparedness

Discussion by H. L. Gantt, the Eminent Industrial Engineer, at the New Orleans Meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers

**I**N considering the subject of preparedness, either for peace or for war, it is imperative that we learn as quickly as possible the lessons that are being made clear to us by the developments in Europe.

In order to do this we must ask ourselves why it is that Germany has shown so much greater efficiency, both from a military and an industrial standpoint, than have the Allies.

It is becoming perfectly clear that the principles underlying industrial and military efficiency are the same and that, if a nation is to be efficient in a military sense, it must first be efficient industrially.

We have talked efficiency in this country for several years, and many books have been written on the subject; but many of us feel that the actual results so far have been lamentably small and that we should be much more nearly in the class with England than with Germany if we were suddenly confronted with England's problems. It would seem therefore that we should find the fundamental reasons why England presented such a strong contrast to Germany and see if we cannot learn something therefrom.

It is only a short time since England led the world in the arts, but recently Germany has demonstrated her superiority to both England and France.

We must ask ourselves how this happened. It would seem to be something in this wise: The financiers of England, feeling that wealth could purchase whatever was needed for themselves and their national life, have devoted their energies for a number of years to securing the wealth that was produced by others rather than making strenuous efforts to produce it themselves. In this attempt they have sent abroad millions of dollars to develop industries in foreign lands, which brought them great returns.

The leaders of Germany, on the other hand, not being able to exploit foreign people to the extent that was possible in England, turned their attention to

developing their own resources and the ability of their own people.

When the supreme test came, Germany was found to be a nation of people who, in general, knew what to do and how to do it, while the industries of England were in too many cases controlled by people who understood only their commercial side.

We, following the footsteps of England, have regarded financial strength as the most important strength, forgetting the comment which the ancient philosopher made to the rich man who boasted of his possessions, when he said: "What availeth all thy wealth? He that hath better iron than thou will come and take away all thy gold." In those days iron meant weapons. Today iron may be taken as the symbol of both weapons and tools of industry, and the statement is just as true today as it was two thousand years ago that he that hath the better tools is more powerful than he that hath the wealth.

The move, therefore, to get the engineers of the country working together for preparation is a most hopeful sign, for in the strenuous times in which we are living our wealth may be of little more value to us than it would have been to Great Britain but for the 20 miles of water which separate her from the Continent of Europe.

On the other hand, the power to do things cannot be taken away from us. The greater that power the more important will its possessor become, as we realize the real meaning of the titanic contest which is now going on in the world.

The man who knows what to do and how to do it is preeminently the engineer. The new world, therefore, which is being ushered in by the great struggle now taking place is one in which the engineer is destined to be the supreme power, for it is becoming increasingly clear that in future the man who owns things will not be as important a factor in the world as the man who can do things.

# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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### THE DREADFUL MENACE OF PEACE

**E**VERYBODY in the New York financial district is more or less apprehensive of the confusion and disaster that might come upon us if peace should suddenly break out. Of course there is a wide difference of opinion among financiers as to what might happen in that dire emergency. There are some indeed who insist that peace would not hurt us at all—that we should go right on, happy and prosperous—enjoying the aftermath and gleanings of war quite as we have profited by the bloody harvest itself. But the balance of opinion turns toward fear.

It is not to be expected that financiers should have any clear vision of the future. They are the least foreseeing of human beings. Their habit is to make swiftness stand for foresight. The event happens, and they make a quick adjustment to it. But they do not foresee the event.

The war was brought on by an inversion of financial processes—a systematic subjection of the politics of rival states to the several class-interests of their creditors—but the financiers did not intend to produce a war. They moved blindly along lines of the impracticable until their faces struck the blank wall of the impossible. Nobody was more astonished than they!

The hearts of the world's high financiers are not so very hard—neither are their heads. The quality of their brains, on the average, is about that of the Methodist clergy or the superintendents of the Y. M. C. A. We should not judge them too harshly, for they are a bewildered and misguided folk, and they know not what they do.

Their fear of what may happen after the war does not proceed from any profound knowledge of the nature of man or of things. It proceeds rather from a profound ignorance—an ignorance made acute and conscious by recent discomfitures. It is a childlike dread of the Dark and the Unknown.

We shall get no light on the future from Wall Street—unless we look at Wall Street

not as a force but as a phenomenon. There is no understanding of meteorology in barnyards. Yet one can tell something about the weather from the behavior of hens.

### SPOILING THE GAME OF THE STOCK-JOBBER.

**T**HE general anxiety and uneasiness among those who have been accustomed to pick up money in Wall Street is due to the fact that our whole economic civilization is passing into new latitudes and is encountering an unfamiliar climate. The typical stock-jobber of our times has none of the fate-tempting, devil-may-care qualities that endear the professional gambler to the imagination of timid folk. He is not a gambler—hardly a speculator. He comes near to what is known in the appropriate language of crooks as “a sure-thing man”—a man whose acquisitions cost no courage.

Wall Street is anxious because Wall Street is accustomed to having inside information. And now Wall Street knows that it doesn't know—that it has no inside information as to what is going to happen.

Most of the money that is made in Wall Street is made by men whose fiduciary relation to corporations puts them in possession of accurate knowledge as to corporate earning-power. The “sure-thing” game is carried on in the stock-market simply by putting this actual earning-power against the putative earning-power as it stands in the day's quotations.

But what is to happen to these simple-minded gentlemen, with their cautious, plodding thrift—in that great and terrible day of the Lord—when no innermost insider shall know the earning-power of anything—the day when peace breaks out upon a strange, changed world!

### LANSING'S YEARNING FOR THE ABSOLUTE

**T**HE State Department's latest submarine note to Germany is an admirable example of what precisely is the matter with our diplomacy.

Take that last line—evidently meant to be sententious, axiomatic and awfully conclusive: “Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.”

This sentence is supposed to show why our relation to Germany has nothing whatever to do with our relation to Great Britain. The assumption is that the Washington-Berlin question and the Washington-London question can be dealt with respectively as if one of them were posed in Mars and the other in the planet Jupiter.

Now, unhappily for Mr. Lansing, the natural

and unescapable conditions of our terrestrial existence do not lend themselves to any such abstraction. Of course it would be very convenient sometimes if one could insulate each particular problem and deal with it in an air-tight and water-tight compartment. In that case we should need only a Euclidian formula and the book of arithmetic to determine the knottiest problems. Everything could be settled logically and on grounds of pure mathematics.

What makes the difficulty of real human problems is the fact that they cannot possibly be kept separate. They insist on flowing together. You cannot decide whether you will set John up in business without considering where Jane shall have a trousseau. You cannot lick William for blacking Henry's eye until you have heard about the provocation.

The trouble with our diplomacy under Mr. Bryan as under Mr. Lansing is that it has steadily evinced a defective sense of reality. It has treated abstract formulas of right and justice, as if it were possible for mere formulas to contain the flowing facts of this multifarious world.

To a wise and effectual diplomacy the fact of the awful and passionate struggle between England and Germany could not possibly be set aside as something irrelevant to our quarrel with Berlin or our quarrel with London. To men of real capacity for large affairs the idea of eliminating from the field of consciousness the fact that these two nations are fighting for their lives—treating each one of them separately as if Europe were lapped in Mid-Victorian amity—is an idea that could never have occurred.

It is a work of fine rapture, a rare feat of somnambulism, to say that responsibility for the present terrors of the North Sea "is single, not joint; absolute, not relative." Mr. Lansing shuts his eyes to the plain truth that the conduct of England and Germany is as reciprocal as that of writhing wrestlers, and so he walks the serene ridge-poles and copings of a transcendental diplomacy—emitting notes to the stars.

### HUMANITY AND MANLINESS

**W**E have heard much about humanity from people who have not been scrupulous to speak the truth, or to grant to their adversaries the degree or kind of fair play that even red men and South Sea Islanders concede to be a moral obligation. There are those among us who could forego for a time the pleasant unction of these lofty appeals to humanity, if we might hear now and then—in place of them—an accent of simple manliness.

There is no good public school in this country or in England where boys are not pun-

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ished—either by discipline of the teaching faculty or by the scorn and ostracism of their school fellows for speaking evil systematically about people they don't like, for fitting high motives to their own mean actions, for making quibbling replies to plain propositions, and for sneering at those who ask to be treated by their friends as their enemies are treated.

It is the very nature of manliness that it responds to the unsophisticated facts of life and does not take cover under a conventionality. Thus no manly fellow—man or boy—can contemplate the naked fact that the German people are grimly standing off a world in arms without feeling a thrill of respectfulness for their steadiness and valor. No manly fellow—man or boy—can fail to feel a sense of shame in view of the naked fact (never mind what the lawyers, the politicians or the preachers say) that, under cover of neutrality and unbroken friendship with Germany, we are making a great deal of money by helping her enemies to destroy her sons.

No manly fellow, man or boy, can sneer at the straightforward responses that the Germans make to all our demands which even though they be well within our rights are confessedly hard upon the German people and perilous to their cause.

### **The Administration Powerless, but Rockefeller Does Things.**

After lengthy parleys, which on the part of our administration proved unavailing and unsuccessful, the British Government, through the efforts of a private banker and the co-operation of the Rockefeller Foundation, finally consented to allow Americans to send food stuffs to the starving population of Poland. England will permit these ships to cross the ocean unmolested.

Be it said to the shame of the administration that it on the face of facts was powerless, or perhaps even unwilling, to effect the raise of this particular food blockade and Russian cruelty aided by British arrogance would have triumphed over the poor victims of Poland, doomed to sure death by starvation.

The fact that a private banker through the co-operation of the Rockefeller Foundation won a victory over this British deviltry in aiding a tyrannical czar to starve a nation is plain evidence that will-power and a little backbone, both of which seem to be lacking to some certain people in Washington, can accomplish not a little.

We trust that this is only the beginning of the overthrow of British impudent despotism, which asserts itself beyond the confines of the British realms.

## **Neither Wilson Nor Roosevelt Acceptable to German-Americans and Irish-Americans**

By H. L. BRAND.

ON Saturday, April 29th, the Illinois Staats-Zeitung brought a full page of interviews with German-Americans, giving their views as to the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt. Every single voter of Chicago interviewed by that newspaper, whether the voter was a Democrat or Republican, or a Socialist, was decidedly against the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt. Many expressed the conviction that if he was nominated by the Republicans and by the Progressives, that Woodrow Wilson would be re-elected, for the German-Americans and the Irish-American vote would prefer Wilson to Roosevelt, or would not vote for either, in which case they might vote for the Socialist candidate and that would result in the re-election of Woodrow Wilson.

On the morning of April 29th, the Illinois Staats-Zeitung published a scathing editorial, exposing Roosevelt in his true colors as the announced protector of Belgium, but the silent co-agitur of Japan, while he was President, when that empire crushed Corea. Acts speak louder than words! Roosevelt's action as President permitted Japan to take Corea, but Roosevelt's words have now condemned Germany as having taken part of Belgium as a military necessity.

On April 30th Theodore Roosevelt arrived in Chicago to find out by personal contact with the Chi-

cago leaders of the Republican party what his chances were of being nominated and the Illinois Staats-Zeitung of April 29th was placed in Mr. Roosevelt's hands. The Illinois Staats-Zeitung interviewed the leaders of the three factions of the Republican party in Cook County and from each faction the same answer was given, namely, that Theodore Roosevelt cannot and will not be nominated for the Presidency by the Republican party. On Sunday, April 30th, the Illinois Staats-Zeitung printed a statement signed by Dr. H. Gerhard, chairman of the Political Action Committee of German-American National Alliance, Chicago Branch, proving that in four separate and distinct meetings the German-American National Alliance took a strong stand against the election of Theodore Roosevelt and against the election of Woodrow Wilson, as President of the United States. This statement was printed in the Sunday morning newspapers and was given to the Associated Press for wide distribution.

On May 5th, the Illinois Staats-Zeitung printed a copy of a statement signed by pastors of different denominations and churches in Chicago to the effect, that the pastors considered it their duty to go on record as opponents to the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt by the Republicans and against the nomination of President Wilson by the Democrats.

# A Voice Raised Nobly for Ireland

The spectacle of Ireland's martyrdom—the lament of Ireland for her murdered heroes—have stirred the heart of all America and found an echo in the halls of Congress.

Representative L. C. Dyer of the Twelfth District of Missouri, has introduced the following inspiring resolution:

## House Resolution 235.

Resolved, That the House of Representatives, remembering how this Republic was erected by men who had the courage to shed their blood and to risk condign punishment for their country's sake, hereby expresses the horror of the American people at the summary execution by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Irish patriots who, following the inspiration of the American Revolution, and dedicating themselves to their country's cause as they conceived it, attempted, as an organized military force and under the forms of war, to erect a republican form of government; and be it further

Resolved, That, recalling how the American Revolution and the Civil War between the States furnish notable proofs that the cause of humanity is best served when established governments treat the participants in organized military operations against their authority as public enemies possessed of the rights of belligerents, this House expresses the hope that His Britannic Majesty's Government will hereafter treat such prisoners as it has taken or may take in the act of attempted revolution in Ireland as prisoners of war in accordance with the rules of international law, and hold them immune from punishment as traitors, outlaws, or criminals.

Congressman L. C. Dyer is a splendid representative of young American manhood and statesmanship and a credit to the city and people of St. Louis. He is of an old American family who have served the country well. His father was a captain in the Union army during the Civil War, and his uncle is Colonel D. P. Dyer, now a Federal Judge. True to the family tradition, Leonidas C. Dyer enlisted for the Spanish-American War and served through the Santiago campaign; and he is now national commander-in-chief of the Spanish War Veterans.

It is natural that an American whose family and personal history testify that there could be no Toryism in him, should raise his voice for the Irish patriots who strive to emulate the heroes of 1776. Congressman Dyer, in a statement to the press, thus explains how his resolution is justified by American and international law and the dictates of humanity:

"The measure which I have introduced is one which I am confident voices the sentiments of America with regard to the recent and present tragic occurrences in Ireland. Without distinction of class, creed, party, or opinion on the European War, Americans must sympathize with patriots who strike for freedom according to their conscientious view of their duty to their nation, and must abhor the execution of such men by the swift, secret and pitiless operations of the court martial.

"It is not within the province of Congress of the United States to express an opinion on the merits of a war existing between two other nations. It is, however, distinctly within the privilege of Congress to voice a sentiment which has swept the country, as the sentiment of horror at the executions of Irish patriots has done. It is within the province of Congress to express an opinion that the laws of civilization should be observed when those laws are being so flagrantly disregarded. It is proper for Congress to hope, as surely we may hope, that the second thought of the English government,

hearkening to the voice of the English people, will correct the harsh and cruel procedure which seems to have been adopted in a moment of panic.

"International law as set forth in the Hague Conventions and in the United States Army Regulations, and as interpreted by the leading authorities recognizes the right of rebels and revolutionists to treatment as belligerents or public enemies according to the laws of war, provided they are commanded by a responsible person, have a distinctive and recognizable emblem, carry arms openly and conduct their operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war. All these requirements were met by the Irish rebels, who were for three or more years organized as the Irish Volunteers and the Citizen's Army. They were commanded by officers; they were drilled and they obeyed discipline. That they were subject to authority is shown by the fact that when the bitter order to surrender was given by their own chiefs, all whom that order reached, obeyed. They bore arms openly, most of them uniformed, and they fought according to the rules of war. The English government accorded them belligerent rights while they retained their arms, as is conclusively proved by the negotiations carried on under flags of truce. International law as it stands today does, to be sure, sanction the treatment of men who have been recognized as belligerents as traitors after their capture. But this sanction, accorded by professors of the law who naturally side with established power, clearly runs counter to the dictates of fairness, chivalry and humanity, and is seldom acted on. This rule of the international code should be revised to accord with the practise of the United States after the Civil War, when none of the brave soldiers of the Confederacy, though regarded as traitors, was treated as such. I maintain that our example in 1856 established a precedent which is in accord with the supreme law of civilization. These Irish prisoners should be treated as prisoners of war, and no other way. Their leaders were men of spotless character and nobility of motive comparable to Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin and Hancock. The rank and file were the flower of Irish manhood, and whatever we may think, they thought they were following the footsteps of the founders of this Republic, with the same justifications. They conceived Ireland and the Irish race as totally distinct from England and the English entitled to full freedom, and under no obligation to their rulers for seven centuries of most tragic history. We can express only private judgment as to the correctness or incorrectness of these views, but in the light of American tradition, and in gratitude for the inestimable services of Irishmen to America, surely we may, recognizing the purity of their motives, voice without fear the American opinion that, having fought as soldiers, they should be treated as soldiers when captured."

All Americans who honor patriots, love, liberty and abhor tyranny, should write their individual Congressmen to urge the passage of the Dyer Resolution.

The I. W. W. Society is looking for a large membership, but to all accounts finds it exceedingly difficult to enlist members among the common people, in spite of the fact that it is firmly fixed in the minds of the people that President Woodrow Wilson is its president.

The society does not mean Imperator W. W., but refers to the I Want War Society.

According to our knowledge the progress of recruiting is extremely slow.



# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### MEN AND MACHINES.

#### The Motor, the Aeroplane and the Submarine.

By R. L. Orchelle.

THE motorboat, aeroplane and automobile all owe their very birth to the invention of the gas-explosion motor by Dr. Friedrich Daimler, the famous German who died only last year.

#### The Motor in War.

The part played in this war by this emancipator of horse-power and man-power is incalculable. From the swift dispatch rider racing on his motorcycle to or from the firing line, or headquarters to the slow, thunderous, earth-shaking motor-lorry that drags the giant howitzers along hundreds after hundreds of miles of road, the little engines with the enormous power have performed wonders in this war. The results which Germany has been able to achieve in this field must be counted among her most signal victories. Though France had first brought the automobile to its highest technical development, to be followed by England and America in the field of commercial exploitation—it was Germany which even before the war, had been winning laurels upon laurels in the quality of her workmanship—notwithstanding the fact that head for head, more motors are owned in the United States and in Britain than in Germany. The famous Benz cars carried off many a record in international races, and it was a German car that won the honors in the race around the world which took place some years ago. The honesty, excellence and scientific precision of German workmanship have a great deal to do with Germany's high achievements in this industry. The expansion and re-adaptation of this industry in Germany during the war will in itself form a most fascinating chapter in the romance of modern manufacture. Almost entirely cut off from many necessary raw products, and even indispensable ones, such as rubber, Germany has nevertheless been able to maintain her motor service both for military and civil purposes upon an amazingly efficient level. For a long time there was

even great difficulty in securing sufficient supplies of petrol. The great German motor factories are all busy turning out the very highest types of war-tested machines.

#### The German Air Ascendancy.

Equally surprising has been Germany's supremacy in the application and improvement and handling of the aeroplane. Here, too, France was supposed to lead the world. But not only have the German machines, from the famous Taube to the Fokker craft proved their supremacy, but the same is true of the German airmen. France has lost two of her most famous pilots, Pegoud by death in air combat, Garros by capture. Shortly after the war broke out a league of the most famous airmen of France issued a manifesto, a very eloquent manifesto, in which the early destruction of the enemy's entire industrial centers was foretold. One might also allude to Mr. Winston Churchill's famous "hornet" speech in which he promised that flights of these sting-tails would attack all air raiders venturing as far as the British isles—a companion piece to the equally famous "rats" speech. But the honors not only in material but in men, remain with the Germans. The astounding records in air combats made by Lieutenants Boelcke and Immelmann, for example, render them the indisputable champions of the air. And yet the Allies not only have the entire products of their only manufactures to draw from but also the vast supplies furnished by America. It is obvious that quality in material, and spirit and intelligence in men are the determining factors.

#### The Submarine.

In addition to this remarkable record in the realms of the automobile and the aeroplane, one must also consider Germany's supremacy in that modern water weapon—the submarine. Originally the invention of the Irish-American, John P. Holland, this formidable fish of steel has undergone its greatest development in the hands of a people which prior to the exploits of the "U 9," the "Emden," the "Ayesha," and the "Mowe," were almost devoid of all sea tradition. The possibilities of the submarine are still unlimited, and though its use may be

chiefly destructive at present, there is no doubt that its mission in the world is a liberating one in bringing about that ideal which all nations must acclaim as one of the first essentials of an enduring peace—the abolishing of a sea monopoly.

Germany, in her cultivation of the machine, as well as in her cultivation of the man, has brought about a unity between the two in which lies one of the great principles upon which the civilization of the future must be based.—Continental Times.

### THE PREMIER OF JAPAN DISCUSSES THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

"We must stick together—we friends and allies—Japan and Great Britain, France and Russia—all, in order that we may crush Germany, our common enemy."

This was the answer of Count Okuma, the Premier, when asked if he would express his views on the subject of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

"Any allegation that Japan is insincere in her friendship for or disloyal to her treaty with Great Britain is utterly false," he went on.

"The spirit of chivalry and loyalty to a friend is strong among the Japanese and this spirit has been manifested in many ways since the outbreak of the war. I have no fear that the leading men of America, or of any other country will doubt Japan's sincerity or loyalty because of the writings and mouthings of a sensational newspaper any more than we of Japan doubt the friendship or the loyalty of England or America because a few newspapers say unkind things or publish untruths about us.

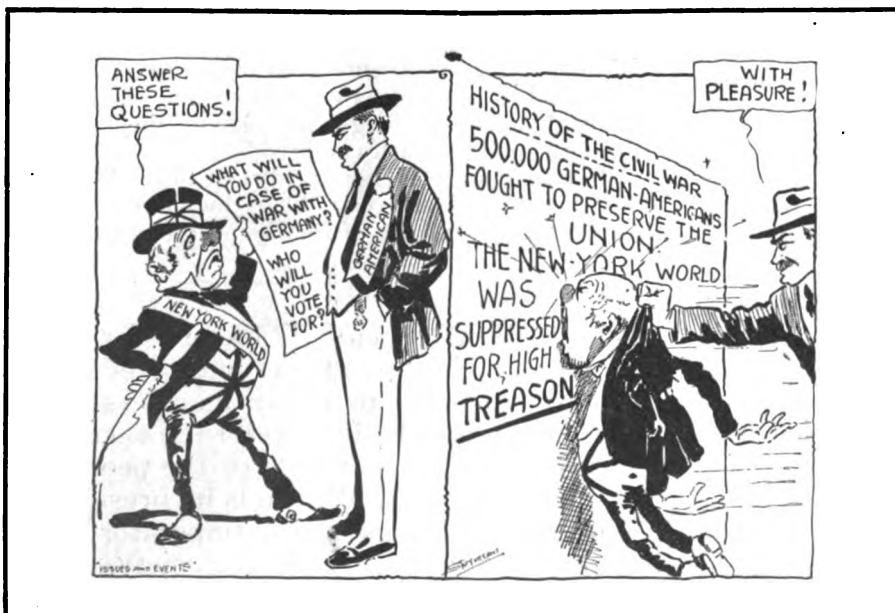
"We are doing everything we can to assist England in fighting her enemy.

"It is true that recently a small section of the Japanese press has taken a stand that might be regarded as anti-British. It has been suggested to me that such newspapers should be rigorously dealt with; but I regard the muzzling of the press as a dangerous thing to do unless the newspapers overstep the bounds. The absolute freedom of the press is a principle to which I have always adhered; besides, every one should endeavor to take a broad view of any situation and if we do so in this case it will readily be seen that a so-called anti-British sentiment is confined to an extremely limited circle, and that, indeed, the vast majority of the people of this country and of the press of Japan is extremely friendly to England and the allies.

"There are dissentients in all countries. They are to be found principally in local politics and these make international affairs a weapon with which to attack the Government.

"Just as a few Japanese newspapers say unfriendly things about Great Britain, we find some of the English or American newspapers saying unfriendly things about Japan. But we do not regard such irresponsible and petty utterances as representing the sentiment of a majority.

"I assert positively, without any fear of successful contradiction, that Japan is loyal to her alliance, friendly to Great Britain and faithful to all her undertakings. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance is just as strong to-day as



ever it was. Japan benefits by the alliance and so does Great Britain.

"For the present we must relegate petty bickerings and narrow considerations to the background of national and international affairs.

"We must stick together—Great Britain and Japan, Russia and France, Italy and all others, in order that we may crush Germany—our common foe."

#### THIS COUNTRY WANTS PEACE.

The United States, prosperous, friendly to all the world, still stands aloof from the war.

We have provoked nobody, attached nobody. All of the warring nations have their sons and daughters here with us.

When war ends and the world returns from murder to sanity, we shall be the peacemakers, the helpers—if we continue our neutral role.

We have not been able to satisfy completely all, or any, of the fighting nations. Who ever did satisfy men maddened by battle? But for many weary months we have maintained peace.

Is this to end in war?

Are the resources of the country to be squandered and the development and happiness of the country checked as civilization has been checked in Europe?

What is the need of it?

Must we in a few months of futile hostility squander what would build half a dozen Panama canals, irrigate our great deserts or care for millions of orphan children?

Shall our resources be poured out to make this war LAST LONGER, when all our power and influence should be used to make it shorter?



Germany is fighting practically the whole of Europe. Is it our duty to say: "Driven from the sea, outnumbered, hemmed in, openly threatened with starvation, you must give up your only available weapon and make war as WE say, or you must fight US also?"

We have waited until almost the end of the war.

We have waited until the fighting nations are nearly spent.

We have waited and watched through the Lusitania episode, and many others, making vast profits the while.

Now in some countries the children are starving. In all countries the men and women are desperate, and the light of peace might shine at any moment.

Is this the time for America to enter the war?

When the lion was sick and near death the ass heard of it, hastened to the spot and kicked the dying creature. Shall the United States play that part and give the death-kick to a nation struggling for existence?

If war must come, it MUST. But the people of this country do NOT want it.

They want to live at peace with those that do not attack THEM.

They want above all, to live at peace with their brothers and sisters of ALL nationalities, HERE IN AMERICA.—New York Journal.

## Modern Germany

"IT is exactly the sort of book that will give us a clearer insight into the spirit which animates and governs the German peoples," says Willard Huntington Wright, in the *Forum* (May, 1916), "and that will enable us to appraise justly and without bias the many aspects of Teutonic thought. The book was originally published in Germany in 1915 and bore the title, *Deutschland und der Weltkrieg*. It is a serious and scholarly effort to elucidate all the phases of German life and ideals; to set before the world a precise picture of the struggles, both physical and intellectual, through which the Central Empires have developed; to clarify the psychological and ethical promptings which have formulated German Kultur; and to explain the true relation which Germany, in all branches of her evolution, bears to the rest of the world.

"The manner and method of the book could hardly be improved upon. It is not the statement of one man, or the result of one man's research and study, but a series of papers, each dealing with some specific national question, and each written by the highest authority in his field. Every essay sums up the life knowledge of a student who has devoted his time and energies to mastering the subject on which he writes. All the contributors, with two exceptions, both government officers, are professors in the universities of Germany and Austria. No more competent and authentic spokesmen of modern Germany could be obtained.

In Modern Germany there has been no conscious attempt made to "justify" Germany's many activities—

that is to say, these writers are not propagandists attempting to gain sympathy or to harmonize German ideals with those of the rest of the world. They are primarily scholars whose aim has been pure exposition. So many misinterpretations had been put on Germany, due to fundamental misunderstandings and a lack of appreciative knowledge, that the leaders of modern German thought felt it an obligation to set down honestly and calmly a series of explanatory documents in which would be discussed the social, industrial, philosophical, economic, political, cultural, scientific and ethical character of the nation; and Modern Germany is the result.

Perhaps the chief value of Modern Germany to America lies in its first and last divisions which are sub-titled "Germany's Position in the World" and "The Spirit of the War." Under the first of these sub-titles are chapters discussing Germany's historical-political growth in relation to the world powers, the spirit of German Kultur, Germany's international economic position, her colonial policy, her military system, the origin and nature of her institutions, and her spirit of self-government. Under the second sub-title are chapters dealing with Kultur, the policy of power and militarism, the question of international law, and the meaning of the war in relation to German anticipations. To these divisions every American, who wishes to be just in his decisions, should turn. Here he will find much light thrown upon those moot questions which inevitably arise in any serious discussion relating to the relative merits and demerits of the belligerents' policies.

(See advertisement at Page 360.)

# MODERN GERMANY

(Deutschland und der Weltkrieg)

Translated by Professor WILLIAM WALLACE WHITELOCK, A. B., Ph. D.

An Encyclopedia of Facts about German institutions and the conditions leading up to the world war. Nineteen authorities, each one a master of the subject he treats on, have contributed to make this volume. In every case these men are professors in German and Austrian universities or Government officials who have organized and administered the systems about which they write.

It reveals, as does no other book available, the historical, cultural, and social foundations of modern Germany, the mind of Germany at work. It shows us the things Germany is doing and anticipating in the fields of science, industry, and social and state functions, the significant and important things that are implied in German Kultur, and how this great urge arose out of the very springs of the life of the Teutonic peoples and was determined by the necessities of a growing nation in a circumscribed territory.

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## THE CONTRIBUTORS:

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Dr. Hans Luther, City Councillor, Berlin.  
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NEW YORK, MAY 27, 1916

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## The End of an Age

By CHARLES FERGUSON

**The War will go on until the Power of the Business Organization becomes Openly Political and Responsible.**

Imagine what would happen if some malignant Genius of History were to spread throughout the world within the space of half a century an empire consecrated solely to private gain. Conceive the character and conduct of a worldwide social system in which rulers acknowledged no public responsibility, in which the principles of economic science were without authority and conscience without a court. Fancy the weaving together of all human lives within the circle of commerce in a fabric of relationships more intimate than any bonds the race had ever known—so tense that no man could make a living in any trade or profession save by deference to the local administrators of the system. Bestow upon such an empire Titan tools and the delicate apparatus of the highest technology. Grant to it nearly exclusive jurisdiction over all the processes whereby the earth is subdued, cities are built and people are fed and clothed and housed. Having formed in your thoughts the external framework of so prodigious a creation, let your mind enter into the general mind of a highly sophisticated generation and find there a settled con-

viction—common to men, women and children, taught in the schools, conceded in the churches and sanctioned by civil law, a conviction that this organization of the working world had no need to be associated with any organization of science or of the humanities, that its operations moved in a realm of so-called natural law that was above or below or somehow outside of the realm in which laws are made and enforced by public powers—so that the political authorities of the nations of the earth could rightly have only occasional or accidental relations with this neutral empire. Add to this general conviction a well-nigh universal persuasion that Progress ACCOMPLISHES ITSELF, that a benignant Fate drags the nations forward in an ascending scale, by the mere irresistible drift of elemental and evolutionary forces—without need of any intervention of human virtue or human will.

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Current Literature for January gives a full-page editorial to it. And the January Review of Reviews closes a column-long discussion with the remark that:

"Ferguson ploughs deep where writers like Norman Angell only skim the surface of the obvious."

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## The Law of Progress and Decay

By CHARLES FERGUSON

THIS is the day of expansion for the advertiser, adjuster, intrigant, wire-puller, exploiter—for all who are skillful in impressing their own private purpose upon other men's minds, and who are able to make the worse appear the better reason. On the other hand, it is emphatically a day of contraction for artists, engineers, masters of handicrafts, inventors, explorers, men of science—for all who have invested their brain and brawn in the creation of real values.

The Nineteenth Century was, on the whole, the brightest era for the creators of real values that the world has ever known. It is not denied, but is, on the contrary, strongly asserted that the United States was the choice and peculiar land of this expansive civilizing power in the last century. It is not denied—but is insisted upon as a fact of the first importance and the very pith of this writing—that there exists still in this country an exceptional opportunity for all who have civilizing faculty and genuine productive strength. The point here is simply that the United States is sharing with European countries a distinct retrograde movement that began before the beginning of the twentieth century, a movement that shows no signs of abatement, but is rather gaining fresh momentum at this present hour.

\* \* \*

Mr. George Kennan, admirable traveller, and reporter of human curiosities, prints an article in the North American Review that will serve as well as any other citation of current opinion to expose an illusion that blinds the eyes of some intelligent men to the fact of our economic backsliding. After occupying a long paragraph with an apostrophe on the inconceivable size of a billion dollars, Mr. Kennan overwhelms his readers with the announcement that "in 1870 the total wealth of the United States was estimated at thirty billion dollars, while in 1911, it was officially estimated at one hundred and thirty billions—a sum that it would take more than thirteen thousand years to count at a speed-rate of thirty thousand dollars a day!"

Now, it should have been pointed out long ago—but perhaps never has been—that the real wealth of a country bears no relation to official estimates of it, expressed in figures. The wealth of a country is its power of satisfying its physical wants. This power is absolutely unstatable in terms of money, because a money-value is not absolute but relative.

There would be meaning in the statement that a man or a group of men held a blanket mortgage of one hundred and thirty billions upon the territory of the United States. That statement might even have elements of truth. But there is no meaning at all in

the statement that the wealth of the country amounts to such a sum. If it has been "officially estimated" that our riches are just that big, there can be no doubt that many kinds of real estate values, franchise values, claims of some men upon other men—bank credits, corporate securities, etc., overlapping, criss-crossing and cancelling each other—have been huddled miscellaneously into the prodigious sum.

The point may be further illustrated by the fact that the money-value of a staple crop, from year to year, is about the same—whether the crop be starvation size or what is called a bumper. Thus it should be easy for a sensible man to understand how the mass of a population may be hard pressed, how its power of satisfying its physical wants may be as the waning moon—on the very day when the wealth of the country is being "officially estimated" in swelling figures, and "higher journalists" are gloating benevolently over the happiness of their race.

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Mr. Brooks Adams in his interesting book, "The Law of Civilization and Decay," undertakes to show that civilization advances whenever and wherever the devices of military defense are better developed than those of military attack. The thesis of the book is so self-evident that its argument amounts to little more than a platitude, though the platitude is made entertaining and instructive by a wealth of allusion and research. One does not get far forward in social philosophy through merely being told that cities rise and flourish whenever the builders are better armed than the marauders are. Such a dictum cannot satisfy the mind of any man who is out in the highways of history on a search for the reasons why nations die. After Mr. Adams has done his best, the question remains: How can modern civilization be kept going?

\* \* \*

As an adventure toward a more satisfactory formula than Mr. Brooks Adams has furnished, consider the following:

Nations go forward when the percentage of emotional interest invested in their struggle against the natural difficulties of existence tends to gain upon the percentage that goes into the struggle of man against man.

The converse of the proposition is that a nation begins to decay when its people begin to concern themselves more with the settlement of the rival claims of individuals, sects, parties, classes or nations, and less with the practical advancement of the arts and sciences.

The life of mankind upon the earth has always been preoccupied with two absorbing interests, namely: the

production of goods and the adjustment of rival claims upon them. It is a difficult planet we are living on for the harboring of the human spirit. It might have been expected by the angels—if they were acquainted with the natural mildness and sociability of primitive man—that the children of Adam would have addressed themselves primarily to the earth-subduing task, and would have left the problem of the division of goods to be settled later and with some regard to the general advantage of putting the best tools into the hands that could use them best. But if the celestial on-lookers expected anything like that, they were greatly surprised by what actually happened.

The fact seems to be that nothing practical took place upon the planet for some thousands of years after the first appearance of mankind—and this for an astonishing reason. It turned out that just because

of the extraordinary mental scope and imaginative power of mankind—in contrast with brute animals—the primitive human race was less efficient than the brutes in the business of making itself at home in the material world.

It is no innate quality of cruelty or predaceousness, no lack of altruistic or social sentiment that has retarded the development of civilization. That is the most vulgar and thoughtless of common illusions. The slowness of the march toward the triumph of art and science, and the frequent pauses and tragic retreats, are due to the broad fact that the average man has always been more interested in his social than in his cosmic relations. He has cared a great deal to be as well off as his neighbors—or better—but has cared very little about improving his standing in the outdoor world of chemistry and physics.

## Germans Must Go—The Case of Ernest Bruncken

By WILLIAM KENNEDY

**I**F the war-plotters who are running this country could get their war—if they could bully Congress into it, or if they could summon courage enough to brave the wrath of the people—it would be part of the plan to intern all citizens of German birth or blood who might possibly exercise their right as American citizens of disapproving of the war. But as the war seems to be indefinitely postponed, a certain amount of petty satisfaction is evidently to be had by persecuting Germans either in the Government service or in the service of those corporations which might be described as the link which makes us “one of the Allies,” to quote a certain Congressman. A beginning in this direction was long since made by certain banks which turned their faithful and efficient German employees out on the sidewalk for the crime of being Germans, or German-Americans. But it is surely a matter demanding the serious attention of all American citizens when a beginning is made, in a great Government institution, of the apparent campaign to weed out German-Americans from the service of the United States. If not checked by the vehement protest of the people, such a campaign will become a danger and a disgrace.

The first victim of this attempt to discharge all but Anglo-Americans from the government service is Mr. Ernest Bruncken, until recently Assistant Register of Copyrights in the Library of Congress, at Washington, D. C. The position of Assistant Register of Copyrights is an important one, requiring extensive legal knowledge and constant clear-headed efficiency in the application of it. Mr. Bruncken, who, as shown by “Who’s Who In America,” has filled a number of political and public offices in several states with credit, measured up to this job in every way. There has been no charge brought against his work; no imputation has been made against his efficiency. He has been discharged simply because he is pro-German.

Certain fanatical old women in the Library of Congress have been trying, for a year, to embarrass the German employees of that great institution. The anonymous letter and the whispered innuendo were their weapons. Finally they induced the Bethlehem Steel Company’s Washington newspaper, the Washington Times, to print a list of pro-German things which Mr. Bruncken was supposed to have said. What followed, and how the climax of an abrupt and brutal discharge was reached, is stated in the Washington Journal as follows:

“On May 5, Ernest Bruncken was curtly dismissed from his office as Assistant Register of Copyrights, because he had not concealed his pro-German sympathies and opposition to the Wilson policies.

Following is his own statement of the circumstances:

I was removed from my office of Assistant Register of Copyrights, by Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, under the following circumstances, after I had declined to tender my resignation.

A week or so ago a Washington evening paper correctly reported a story that I had refused to answer certain impertinent questions regarding my official conduct and personal opinions. A little later, upon being requested to do so by the Librarian of Congress, I submitted to him a memorandum, which, leaving out the introductory paragraph, read as follows:

1. With regard to the question whether I had caused the removal of flags from the desks of employees of the Copyright Office, I have already stated to you orally, and now repeat, that I have no knowledge whatsoever regarding the subject, except what I may have heard since the question was first asked of me by the newspaper man.

2. With regard to the “charge” that I had, prior to attending the delivery of a recent message to the Congress by the President of the United States, stated that I “was going to listen to the mouthpiece of Great Britain,” or used similar words (I am obliged to quote from memory, as you are aware), I shall make an unqualified denial. I did not attend the reading of the message, never intended to do so, and happen to recollect clearly that the only conversation I had about the matter was when one of the clerks in the Copyright Office asked me whether I was going there, whereupon I answered briefly: “I am not interested in what the President may have to say.”

3. The rather amusing questions whether I had said “that the American people were thoroughly vulgar,” and that the “American people were nothing but the tail of the English kite” hardly seem to require an answer. Many of my views regarding such matters may be read by anybody in my published writings, and any friend of mine who has ever had a serious conversation with me, knows what I believe regarding the deterioration or “vulgarization” of the political, social and intellectual life of those nations, including the American, which have come under the influence of the modern tendency to rule by the multitude. They will also know that I have always believed in the develop-

ment of a true American nationality and regretted the prevailing tendency towards an undue and at bottom unpatriotic imitation of and subserviency to England.

4. Next came the questions whether I said that "the President was a traitor" and that "Benedict Arnold was a saint compared to the President." These statements, if made publicly or to a general audience in the Copyright Office, would be improper, for the undoubted privilege and duty of an American citizen freely to speak his sincere and well-considered beliefs regarding the conduct of the first servant of the American people must be modified by the proper respect to which the highest office in the land is entitled. The charge implied in the question is made by a person who has no duty or privilege to inquire into or adjudicate such a charge, who moreover admits that he has no knowledge regarding its truth or falsehood, and who refuses to divulge the source of his information regarding it. He does not specify the time when I am supposed to have made these utterances, nor any of the circumstances which I might use to refresh my recollection regarding the facts of the matter. Under these circumstances I must decline either to affirm or deny having made the statements imputed to me.

The propriety and wisdom of this decision on my part will appear from the following considerations:

It seems obvious that the motive of this course of questioning is lacking in the elements of good faith. In addition to the circumstances to which I have already called attention, there is the common knowledge everybody possesses of the purpose for which newspaper business enterprises are conducted which is that of earning money by creating curiosity and thus attracting readers and, as a consequence, advertisers. In the pursuit of this object, many newspapers, as is known to everybody, disregard the most elementary notions of fairness and justice. Moreover *The Times* newspaper is notorious as a bitter opponent of the views regarding public affairs which it is well known that I entertain. Adding to this peculiar notions regarding veracity and good faith which I have in the past observed in that newspaper, I should not be justified in believing that any statement I should make would be accepted in good faith.

Furthermore, the implied charges against me are in part identical with, in part analogous to, certain charges which have been made against me, during more than a year, by a series of anonymous letters received by me, some of which were published in a newspaper (not *The Times*). These anonymous letters I have preserved, and shall submit them to the inspection of the Librarian if he so desires.

From the similarity of the charges and other indications I am led to believe that the persons from whom the newspaper got its information are identical with the writers of these letters. A person capable of sending anonymous letters is, of course, devoid of all sense of honor or honesty, and would presumably lie and commit perjury whenever he was not afraid.

If therefore I should deny those charges, I should have to expect to be confronted by the testimony of lying witnesses without any opportunity of disproving their charges, not being in a position on account of their vagueness, to obtain evidence in rebuttal. Besides, I do not feel that I ought to be made to go to the trouble of preparing to give evidence at the arbitrary demand of a newspaper. If, on the other hand, I should admit the "charges," it is obvious that the newspaper would publish my "admission" with such additional matter that I should appear before the public in a very unenviable light.

Consequently it seems clear that I cannot afford to answer to these questions either affirmatively or negatively.

5. There remains the question whether I said, upon

hearing that the *Lusitania* had been sunk: "Good, let the good work go on!" If this were a legal pleading, I should have to demur to this part of the indictment, because obviously it has no relation to my official duties.

However, I presume it is intended to insinuate that by that remark I showed myself utterly callous to the loss of life connected with the sinking of that particular ship. It is true that the same charge could be made at any manifestation of satisfaction on account of a victory by one belligerent or the other. I hardly need to assure the Librarian that I am not a blood-thirsty monster, taking pleasure in the killing of human beings, whether in the case of the *Lusitania* or any of the battlefields of the present war. It is notorious, however, that interested and evil-disposed persons have made that charge against those who could not conscientiously join in the popular clamor arising out of the *Lusitania* incident. For that reason it will be wiser not to "demur," but rather, as in charge No. 4, to decline to answer that question either affirmatively or negatively and I herewith do so.

Thereupon the Librarian informed me that an official investigation was to be made by Thorvald Solberg, the Register of Copyrights. That official proceeded to ask the clerk of the Copyright Office, through the Chief Clerk, whether they had heard me make the remarks charged in the newspaper. A manuscript report on this "investigation" was handed to the Librarian. It was not shown to me until a half hour before I was asked to resign. No copy was furnished to me and I was not given an opportunity to make any statement regarding its contents.

In that report it was truthfully stated that I had nothing to do with the flag incident, and that the business of the Copyright Office was progressing most efficiently, without any "disruption" whatsoever. It was also admitted that of the more than ninety employees of the office, all but five denied that they had ever heard me make any such remarks as are ascribed to me in the newspaper. According to Solberg, those five claim to have heard such remarks from me. The rest of Solberg's report is a discussion of my personal opinions, culminating in the allegation that my expression of sympathy with the German cause in the present war is "unneutral" and raises a doubt of my loyalty to my oath of allegiance.

Upon being asked to resign, I sent to the Librarian the following note:

"I have received your communication of this date, concluding with the statement: 'You must leave our service.'"

The indefinite form in which that statement is put leaves me to conclude that you expect me to resign.

The offenses with which I am charged are based in part on anonymous accusations, in part on a report of the Register of Copyrights in which specific conclusions are reached without giving me an opportunity to be heard or even be informed of the witnesses who appeared against me. As a matter of fact, many of the things there alleged are utterly false. Some of the Register's conclusions, moreover, are of a nature dealing merely with my views about matters not connected with my official duties, and the report, which you have merely let me read but of which you have given me no copy, concludes in a general declaration to the effect that I have expressed opinions about the European war with which he disagrees, and which in his opinion make it doubtful whether I am loyal to my oath of allegiance.

That statement amounts to a gratuitous insult, and must convince me when taken in connection with all the other circumstances, that the true reason for the request to resign is the mere fact that I have used any privilege and obeyed my duty as an American citizen

to do my share in bringing about a policy which is to the best interests of the United States without regard to any foreign country whatsoever. In obeying that duty, I recognize the limitation necessarily placed upon a public officer of making no public attacks upon the Administration, and I have punctiliously adhered to that limitation in every single instance.

Under these circumstances I shall not resign. I recognize that the Library of Congress is not under civil service rules, and that you have no power to dismiss me without stating any cause, or for any cause you may choose to state, without giving me an opportunity to be heard.

There are in your hands certain documents submitted to you by me, which should be returned to me without delay."

To the above, I must add the following:

### NEED OF AMERICAN FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE.

In nearly every country of Europe at the moment when the war broke out, democracy was fighting a losing fight against the money power. Finance was in successful collusion with reactionary politics. Everywhere there was imminent danger of civil disaster. In England, France, Austria, Russia, there was a growing menace of civil war. If there was an exception to this rule, it was to be found in the case of Germany. Germany stood apart; Germany represented and still represents a unique and portentous social type. Germany, before the war, was the most particularist and chauvinist of all the nations. It conceived of its own welfare in the most exclusive terms.

Yet Germany has more nearly solved its internal problem than any other nation. It had taken up its common people into a huge feudalistic trust for the exploitation of the rest of the world. It was logical and inevitable that Germany should precipitate the great catastrophe—not because of its faults, but because of its new and unaccustomed strength.

We shall be involved in the economic catastrophe which has befallen Europe unless we find a way to separate our finance from that of Europe. Now is the time for an economic and financial renaissance in this country. It is not for us to choose the time; the time has been fixed for us by the fatality of great events. We must take this time. If we leave it, there will be grave consequences. Now is the time to illustrate in the eyes of the whole world, a finance that sets the engineer against the exploiter. A finance ruled not by stock jobbers, but by masters of materials.

It would be a fatal mistake in social psychology if we were to suppose that the reconstructive task of American politics is ended, when obstacles have been put in the way of predatory finance. The law can inhibit specific wrongs but the law cannot create a living social organism. What is needed is a vital and aggressive institution of social industry. We must re-conceive our democracy. We must cease to think of it as a thing of atoms—individuals alone; we must understand that enterprise, even base and perverted enterprise, is stronger than all mere criticism—even high, fine criticism. The affirmative intellect in any social form is stronger than the passive intellect in any social form. It is impossible in the nature of things, and in the nature of the human mind, to correct the character or contravene the evil work of a bad financial organization, by mere legal restraints.

Just as the bad political machine which now rules our politics can never be beaten otherwise than by a sound and permanent political primary in local communities—even so, it is impossible to displace a bad financial organization by anything save an aggressively good one.

I deny unqualifiedly, that any written or spoken public utterance of mine can be construed into the faintest semblance of disrespect to the President or an attack upon the policy of the Administration; to the best of my recollection I have not made publicly or privately the remarks which it is said by somebody that I have made somewhere on some occasion; and that, while I have discussed like everybody else the issues of the war, I have caused no ill-feeling among the employes of the Copyright Office, most of whom are warm friends of mine.

As to my loyalty, my record is an open book, and, with millions of other Americans, I am proud to profess views which are the expressions of true Americanism, in the sense of George Washington, if not of Thorvald Solberg and Herbert Putnam.

ERNEST BRUNCKEN.

### ONE WAY OF RELIEVING BELGIANS.

THERE was once—in fact, only a year and a half ago—an American college professor, young and of course poor. Though young, he had been a professor long enough, and therefor poor long enough, to have accepted poverty as his lot in life, especially as the future held no prospect of real reward for his talents, and he was deficient in those qualities of flattery which please the powerful, and hopelessly lacking in the skill to prove to the world that it was lucky to be bled by the corporations which financed his college. Poverty had bred in him a true spirit of service, so when the emotional wave of sympathy for Belgium swept the country, he gladly accepted an offer to accompany the relief expedition which was organized in the wake of said emotional wave. He felt that it was a duty to assist the stricken country, although he anticipated hardship as his lot in that service.

Just before he sailed he was telling his sister, with great enthusiasm, what an enormous sum of money had been subscribed by America for the salvation of poor little Belgium. It quite revived his faith in mankind, and his enthusiasm was genuine and disinterested. And when his sister asked if he was quite sure that all the money would be spent for the benefit of stricken Belgians, he was shocked and horrified by her implied suspicion.

A few weeks later he wrote his sister, and he confessed an increased respect for her more perspicacious, if less idealistic, mind. For here is the condition he described:

He, the poor college professor, now in charge of the relief distribution in a small section of Belgium, was living in a beautiful, spacious and luxurious villa; he was the sole occupant except a numerous train of servants. At his command was a powerful and sumptuous private automobile, with a liveried chauffeur. His palate was cloyed from dainty and expensive eating. The owner of the villa and estate never lived so well in the palmiest ante-bellum days. And it cost a goodly sum of American "relief" money daily.

And throughout Belgium "they were all doing the same," all the other heads of "relief" districts. Soon after this our professor resigned in sickness of soul and returned to America.

And when he returned, he avowed himself pro-German—he had been, of course, thoroughly pro-Ally. For, he said, the marvels of German efficiency, the wonders of German organization, were irresistibly convincing. No one who had not seen them could realize their perfection.

And, said our American professor, the German administration in Belgium had another quality in startling contrast to American "relief" work; it was honest!

# Why I Am Pro-German—A Layman's Opinion

By EDWARD S. FUCHS

**H**ERE is free opinion from a true man of the street. One who has pestered all editors with "Letters to the Editor." One who is not college bred and therefore not an expert in anything. One who has been forced to work his way through high school at night and has therefore read, studied and opined by himself and for himself.

Why then has he elected to be pro-German despite the "expert opinion" of Professors Usher, Mathers, Eliot and other men of note. He could say to be sure that he is pro-German because he has five cousins in the war and add the old platitude that blood is thicker than water. He could say that he is pro-German because he wants fair play for the white man and protests that war waged between white men should be fought out by them, without "ringers" from Africa, Asia, and Australia of different color, with crueler methods of making war. But what an outcry would be raised if he gave such a reason. All the old bromides would be thrown at his head at once. Louvain, Lusitania, Belgium, Armenians, etc., etc., and he could come back wearily with Cossacks, Jews, Starvation, etc., etc.

His pro-Germanism is, however, not based on expert opinion of any kind nor on bromidic argument nor on blood. His pro-Germanism is perhaps unique, because it is patriotism and love for United States of America that has made him so. He is perhaps a dreamer, an idealist if you will but he submits that his idealism is Americanism first, last, and all the time. After perusing reams of writings of all sorts he has had the opinion forced on him that modern Anglo-Saxon democracy is a failure, because its very philosophy of individualism has made it so. He has watched the Anglo-Saxon democracies develop one after another into plutocracies of the meanest kind. He has witnessed triumphant oligarchies exploit labor; he has watched labor with its back to the wall, fighting the most miserable poverty, snarling and snapping at its bondage and seeking refuge in the false and impossible philosophy of Socialism. He has looked at cities in the Anglo-Saxon countries and has found poverty and dirt. He has witnessed the struggle of the middle class against oppression from both capitalist and laborer, against oppression from party partisan politics and graft of all sorts and then he has turned to Germany and found freedom. Clean cities, good government in them with no necessity for economizing on education for instance; plutocracy thumbled and controlled, laborer protected against injury and poverty minimized, middle class prosperous and competition unfettered, with a breathing space and a chance for other men. Is it any wonder then that he wants to see the philosophy of individualism defeated and the philosophy of collectivism triumphant, to influence the world, to give even Anglo-Saxondom real democracy at last, not alone political, but social and economic as well.

He opines that Anglo-Saxon democracy has accomplished its task in introducing political freedom in a sense, to the world, but its work is now done, and the modern day must pronounce it antiquated. With all its individualism it has failed to drive out feudalism in England, and while it boasts of freedom, kow-tows, as of yore, to its lordlings and kinglings. In America, political graft rules the day in city, county, state and even national politics. But, and this but is a triumph in itself for Germany, willy nilly, the German systems have begun to force themselves on all the Anglo-Saxon countries. The English claim they are fighting against

German State Socialism, and pass Old Age Pensions and Employment Insurance laws, not to speak of Rural Credits Bills nor of Farmers Co-operative Societies, founded on the German Landwirtschaft system. If they thus admit that these are good things for their straight laced antiquated ideals, what on earth are they fighting for?

Against militarism? But does not Britain boast today that she is a fighting nation and keeps its empire through nothing else but militarism in the form of navalism. Against imperialism? Since when has England forsaken its policy of imperialism? For justice for small nations? Rank hypocrisy when one considers Ireland, the Boers, Egypt, etc., etc. The real cause of England's war and America's sympathy for the Allies is press made and plutocrat backed. The "Men Higher Up" are afraid of the social justice that Germany has given her people.

The Powers that Be, know that some form of government ownership must come, since they have refused to be human, and they are mortally afraid of it. Hence the editorials in the New York Times and the Tribune bitterly attack it every time a measure for government ownership is proposed by Congress. The financial plunderers view with alarm the success of the German system of State and National laws that gave social and economic freedom to the German people. But they are more alarmed at what this must mean in a Republic such as this is, where social and economic justice must finally mean that the huge money and industrial trusts will be controlled, never again to be able to exploit labor or restrain competition; that their power over railroads, telegraphs, telephones and other important industries will fall away. Thus they are naturally anti-German, fighting this gigantic national and people-owned trust tooth and nail, by slander, by financial aid, by fair means and foul. But do what they may, **they cannot succeed.**

And that is why, being an American, I am for Germany. I want to see my beloved country the leader for all countries, as the model for democracy. I want to see in the United States every kind of a democracy that there can be, political, economic and social. I am tired of the tyranny of party politics. I am weary of the unrecognized caste system in America and the worn out aristocracy of Great Britain. I am tired of the tyranny of the Wall Street oligarchy. But, I am idealist enough to believe that the American people, having the old Anglo-Saxon political democracy will trod the middle way, and accept what is good from the new German social and economic democracy and eliminate the bad paternalistic and militaristic features, as well as the down-right socialistic features of American socialism advocated by the demagogues and street politicians of the United States. Moreover I believe we will do all this constructively and constitutionally.

When England finally wakes up from her nightmare, she will follow suit under the leadership of Lloyd George. Germany must lose her political autocracy soon after the war, and then the Western World will be ripe for federation. Narrow racial and national lines will soon be dropped, Anglo-Saxon, Teuton, Slav, Italian, Frenchman and the rest will congregate to form one large nation with one navy and one army, with one Congress and one constitution founded on the Constitution of the United States of America. On that day the advocates of an alliance with Great Britain will find me aligned on their side, for that will not foretell of vassalage as it does now, but that will mean federation with all Europe and all America and that will include Germany too.



# The Mind of a Nation

By ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, President of Amherst College

Has this nation a mind of its own? I fear not. A mind is an activity which gathers up disconnected opinions, impulses, desires, doubts, theories and brings them into correlation and unity. Ideas, when they are within the same mind become responsible one to another. Each one of them must pay regard to all the rest. They cannot live in isolation nor yet in little separate groups. The mind demands of them that they shall work together in genuine unity of spirit and of truth.

This seeking after unity is the very essence of the thought life of an individual, and only in the measure in which one achieves it can he be said to be intellectually alive at all. Just so it is in the thought of a nation. If we as a people can succeed in making our separate thinkings responsible one to another, then as a people we have a mind. But if our thinkings fall apart, we are without a common mind and we must suffer all the ills of those who go through life not knowing what they do nor seeing where they go.

But for many reasons we as a people have failed to achieve intellectual unity. Into our social scheme have come many disconnected races which are not easily brought into understanding of one another. The individualism of our national inheritance has hindered us from seeing or attacking the problem. The modern breaking into many detached sciences or departments has destroyed the connections of earlier days. It is true that among us there are many minds of keen and lively activity, but where is the mind of the nation? Whither shall we turn that our interests may be sanely judged, our passions criticised, our prejudices condemned, our truths answered?

Is the place of judgment to be found in the newspaper?

My impression is that we do not so regard it. Do we not commonly think of it as special pleader, as representative of some "interest," as used by forces to further their ends, rather than as judge and critic, rising above all interests and seeking to assign to each its due measure of significance and truth? It may be that we are not fair in thinking this. But whether it is fair or not, so long as that opinion prevails, the newspaper cannot be for us the maker of understanding. Nor can the magazine or book perform this service. And for another set of reasons, neither the church, nor yet the home, can furnish what we need.

No one of these commands our thinking as a whole. And even less our public men are able to bring our thinking under control. They, too, are talked about, not as the men we trust to lead and guide us, but as the advocates of parties, sections, interests, creeds. Oh, I think one of the most terrible things in our common life is just this frightful notion that there are none among us worthy of intellectual confidence and trust. Yes, and we sometimes go even further than this, and when a man appears before us discussing public policy we busy ourselves in talking scandal about him behind his back, and think that we have answered him by whispering malicious lies and idle gossip. He has a right to judgment on his thought, and all we give him is sneer or shrug about his character.

Where then shall be found the place of understanding; where go that judgment may be given upon the issues of our common life? More than any other institution, it seems to me, the school and college must assume the task. And especially the liberal college must endeavor to become the place when the common mind is made and molded.

## Strange Things in a Democracy

ON MAY 13, 1916, a great army of men tramped up Broadway, New York, bearing a motley array of banners, and helped on their weary way by the purchased gayety of numerous bands. Led by uniformed troops, the majority of the marchers—the vast thousands—were civilians in the ordinary trousers, coats and hats of every day life; with, to be sure, a few women, in their ordinary garb. Everywhere the grand old American flag floated; but each division also bore a banner of white, with a cross running from corner to corner and composed of one red and one blue stripe. It was half of the English Union Jack, and undoubtedly was chosen as the special "Preparedness" banner as a first step toward familiarizing Americans with that banner, which it was hoped by the organizers of the parade, they would someday follow in battle.

"Preparedness" was the magic word which called these men together. Roughly, the idea is that the nation should be prepared to meet a foe. But if one had stopped a marcher in that parade and asked him what we were to prepare for, specifically—against whom we were to prepare—one of two answers must have been returned. He would either have had to confess that we were preparing against Germany, or to confess that he did not know of any reason in the wide world why we should especially prepare. If he stated the former reason, he would have disclosed the hope lying in the minds of the men who, hidden far behind the scenes, planned this demonstration; but if he had confessed that there is no reason for especial preparedness at this time, he would have unconsciously admitted that the mighty army of freemen who tramped Broadway were the dupes of the money power who are frightening a nation into pouring its wealth into their coffers.

If these citizens had of themselves apprehended any danger to their country, and if they were worthy of the traditions of their land, they would have flocked to the recruiting offices of the National Guard. There they would have enlisted in the established and efficient militia units which have been instituted by the State for the training of a citizen soldiery. That these men were not, except in infinitely small propor-

tion, members of the militia, that they were not at this time contemplating joining the militia, is a sufficient proof that they apprehended no danger. Yet they were whooping it up for "Preparedness." What did it mean?

It meant that they had been dragooned into that line. The word had gone from Wall Street to all the commercial and professional groups of the city. They had obeyed their masters' voice, and had passed on the word to their employees. And what a joy it must have been to the master classes to see their slaves obey! Here was a stroke accomplished for Capitalism, too—for the Super-Capitalism which is slowly and remorselessly fastening its hold on the reins which guide the multitudes of once-proud American citizens. There were men there who opposed "Preparedness." There were men, thousands of them, who resented the thing they must do. But one and all they did it. Refusal meant the loss of a job. The fearful power of those who dispose of the means of livelihood was displayed at its most fearful pitch. And these were American freemen!

These were the American freemen who had read that the police power of their city was tapping whatever telephone wire they pleased. These were the freemen who had read of the preparations the police were making to handle riots. What riots? It was not stated directly; it was left to be understood that the riots indicated were those which were to break out when war was declared on Germany. These were the Americans who had seen their government shame itself before the world by threatening Germany with war for the folly of Americans who went where death lurked, while it merely paid compliments to England for destroying American commerce, opening American mails, violating American neutrality, seizing American ships and blockading American ports. These were the Americans who had not protested against these things. Now they were reaping their reward. The whip of Wall Street cracked, and they had to fall in line to parade for the great and terrible god Jingo.

These are strange things in a Democracy. These are terrible things. Is the dream of the Fathers of this Republic fading before our eyes?

## LET THE PARTY WAR-HORSES NAME THE PARTY LEADERS.

TO a Congressman—Senator or Representative—the important point about politics, as distinguished from statesmanship, is to have a President of his own political faith in the White House.

To the Senator or Representative that means that during four years he will have the whole say, or a large say, in the appointing of Federal officers and employees in his district or state. He will give out postmasterships; he will dispose of Internal Revenue Service positions. And on such deeds his political health will thrive. Under our system, this is natural, inevitable and legitimate. It is, therefore, unquestionably most important to every Congressman to have a man of his party in the White House.

But what prospect confronts these war-horses of the parties now? The outcome of the next election is still unpredictable. Either party may win—either may lose. And the dread uncertainty arises from the fact that the self-constituted bosses and leaders of the parties are seeking to please and serve Wall Street, seeking the patronage and the smiles of Wall Street, and neglecting the people.

If, for instance, a true American, a candidate standing for real neutrality, should be nominated to head the Republican ticket, and the Democratic convention should nominate Wilson, the defeat of the latter would make Horace Greeley and William Howard Taft look like successes. But if the Democrats should drop their Jonah and nominate a real American, and the Republicans should put up the Colonel or Mr. Root, Democratic success would be all but certain despite the record of four years. However it goes, the Congressmen of the losing party must face four years of bitter leanness. And what will it profit them that their party "leaders" and bosses are solid with Wall Street?

The capture of one or both of the conventions by rebellious Congressmen would be an interesting development. They are the war-horses of the parties. They are closest in touch with the people, and the people have most power over them. Those Congressmen who let their party satisfy Wall Street in the nominations at the expense of not satisfying the people, are merely preparing themselves for four lean years.

Is it worth it, gentlemen? Or will you take over the parties for which you have worked?

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**Nomination Slogan**—"No Englishman"—No Madman."

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## WHERE WILL IT LEAD?

The Constitution of the United States specifically provides that *"The Rights of the People to be secure in their Persons, Houses, Papers and Effects Against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated and no Warrants shall be issued but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."*

This cannot be construed to mean anything but that a person's, firm's or corporation's affairs shall be secure from spying—both official and unofficial—and that no single office-holder, whatever his rank or title may be, shall be allowed to intrude upon private affairs on his own responsibility without the knowledge and permission of a law court.

No one contends a man's right to the privacy of his correspondence. In modern business life a telephone conversation frequently takes the place of a lengthy in-

tercourse of letters. Therefore the act of tapping a wire is equally as criminal as the act of opening a letter or breaking into a home or office and searching through a person's effects.

In Russia the Czar is the absolute master of his subjects. His will is supreme law and whatever his beadies do in his name automatically becomes lawful. Luckily this is not Russia; in this country there are no subjects but free citizens. The officials from the President down are not "masters," but paid servants of a sovereign people. They have no will of their own, they are paid to uphold the Constitution and enforce the laws.

There are two opposing principles involved. The autocratic, giving the Government the power of infringement and interference with every personal right, and the democratic, which is based upon just this right of the individual. Our country has chosen the latter and we appoint our officials to watch over it that the adopted principle be upheld. The private citizen who violates the law makes himself liable to punishment. Shall those whom we pay to carry out the provisions of the Constitution be glorified because they give weak excuses for breaking it? Or are we going to amend the Constitution to suit the convenience of our wire-tappers?

## THE AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE.

The focus of the European war has suddenly shifted to the Austro-Italian frontier. The Austrian offensive movement has not come unexpectedly, the only surprising feature is the strength manifested by the Austrian troops. After 21 months of war on three different fronts the Austrians were able to launch an offensive that pushed the Italians back from positions, the capture of which had been celebrated as glorious victories in Rome, Paris and London.

The attacking Austrians are admittedly inferior in numbers. It would be impossible for the general staff to concentrate sufficient troops to outnumber the Italians without endangering their lines in Russia and Servia. Their only superiority lies in the artillery and leadership, their irresistible strength in the spirit that lives in every soldier, the spirit of Custozza and Lissa, the devotion to their Emperor and country.

The main importance of the offensive, however, is not to be sought in local gains. Even the complete destruction of the Italian army would have no decisive influence on the outcome of the war. The real significance lies in the fact that again the Teuton has taken the initiative. The Central Powers dictate where and when battles are to be fought, the Allies are on the defensive in thousands of miles of battlefront.

We have been told a hundred times what extraordinary things Joffre, Cadorno, Kitchener and all the—koff's and—wich's are going to do, but it is invariably the other party who accomplishes them.

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War is not paid for in war time. The bill comes later.—Benjamin Franklin.

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Avoid overgrown military establishments which are particularly hostile to republican liberties—Washington's Farewell Address.

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In the great house of business, honesty and success are twin brothers.

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"Who sells his freedom in exchange for gold shall make eternal servitude his fate."—Homer.

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"Nothing is truly good to a man which does not make him just, courageous and free."

# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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### The Issues in the Presidential Campaign.

**B**OTH wings of the Republican party are bent upon making our foreign policy the chief issue in the campaign. Root and Roosevelt agree that domestic questions are relatively unimportant and must for the present be held in abeyance.

This is an extraordinary state of affairs. Our hundred million people are told that their relation to each other and to their own country need not be considered this year—that this is the year to talk and wrestle and vote about our relation to Europe.

It would seem that such an attitude of mind on the part of the followers of Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt is, as one might say, colonial. They treat the United States as if it had no mission of its own—as if its meaning were to be read not in what happens here at home but in what happens on the eastern side of the Atlantic.

It is obvious enough that back of this Root-Roosevelt theory lies a feeling that America will be ruined if the British fail to beat the Germans. What Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt are saying and doing would be unintelligible if it were not completed with this sentiment of absorbed sympathy with the cause of the Anglican Allies.

Their logic rounds itself out with the theorem that to sympathize with the European Central Powers is to be a bad American or no American at all. So there you are! The circle is complete. There is only one issue in the United States. It is the European issue. Americanism is the issue that the English-French-Russian-Italian-Servian-Belgian-Indian - Turkoman combination is fighting to keep alive in the world. To help that combination is to be an American. To hinder it is to be—a horrific and abominable hyphenate.

This is very simple. The plainest person should be able to grasp it.

But is it credible? Is it rational? Is it honorable? Does it not involve an amazing act of national apostasy? Is it not a betrayal of the national life?

### Understanding the Unwise.

**S**OMEbody has said that if you do not understand a man's ignorance probably it is because you are ignorant of his understanding. It is never safe to reject the counsel of well-meaning and reputable men until you feel sure that you know why and how they have been misled.

Mr. Roosevelt is the most successful politician of our times, and Mr. Root the most successful lawyer. They stand together for the culmination of the historic era that began with the last great world-change—the general alteration in men's attitude toward life that was marked by the revolutions of the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century. They have no ideas except those that were developed in the first three-quarters of the Nineteenth Century. They are old-fashioned men. They have out-stayed their time. The Twentieth Century is unintelligible to them. The world-change that is now in process seems utterly beyond their mental reach.

### The Old Issue in a New Guise.

**A**T bottom there is only one issue in politics from age to age. And at bottom it is always the same. Nothing changes but the manner in which this issue is presented.

The issue is always Privilege versus Liberty. Reduced to more precise terms the struggle may be said to lie between legal power that lacks sufficient natural ability to sustain itself and, on the other hand, natural ability that has been baffled by law.

Now, when Root and Roosevelt went to school everybody supposed that Privilege was naturally and inevitably lodged in all countries that had real, live, working kings in them—as Germany has to-day. And that Liberty, on the other hand, was reasonably secure in all countries that had killed their kings as France has or made puppets of them as England has—all countries that maintained, in lieu of kings, ballot boxes and parliamentary assemblies in active and continuous eruption.

It is to be presumed in charity and tolerance that Mr. Root and Mr. Roosevelt still believe that the conditions of privilege and the conditions of liberty may still be defined in the manner peculiar to the earlier decades of the Nineteenth Century.

The fact is, however—and it is perfectly obvious to all really modern men—that under the new and unprecedented conditions of social power and social control that have been developed with the Great Industry and the financial organization of the modern working system—forms of government have now very little to do with the real force of government. The force is not in parliaments or polling-places. It is in the control of the working system.

Now-a-days Kings are harmless, and can easily be disposed of—unless they have the wit to become men of business.

Modern tyranny and privilege, of the dungeon kind, are lodged wholly in the arbitrary control of the working-system. Hence it happens to have come to pass that London has become the centre of a far-spreading power of privilege more ruthless and irresponsible—because more impersonal and unaware of a social obligation—than any that has ever been developed elsewhere. On the other hand, it is only in Berlin that this tyranny—the tyranny of plutocratic finance—has encountered an effectual challenge.

Germany stands to-day as the world's champion of economic liberty. The unprescriptible right of all the youth and faith and native energy of mankind flings its protest and defiance in the face of the London Money Power.

### Paish's Prosperity

SIR GEORGE PAISH of the London Statist publishes a pleasant newspaper article, four or five columns long and all in the jingling patois of Lombard Street, to show that Great Britain is getting along nicely with her little war. He hesitates—in his very scrupulous and mathematical veracity—to say that England is actually making a lot of money in these thrifty days out of fresh foreign loans, but he is perfectly sure "that Great Britain is just as wealthy and just as well off as she was before the war began."

Sir George's figures are irreproachable. And he has enough of them. The only trouble is that he has nothing but figures. Figures—and that wonder-rhythmic ritual of the money-changers which seems to have been learned in the Temple at Jerusalem from the echoes of a Law that was perfect but woefully misapplied.

One must study diligently for a considerable period in order to acquire a fair reading knowledge of the mystic language of finance. It is more difficult than French or any other living tongue, because it never calls a spade a spade. Indeed it has nothing whatever to do with spades or with any of the coarse and carnal tools with which men hew and toil. It moves in an atmosphere of platonic abstraction in which nothing matters but to get the figures right. Its adepts and high mystagogues, like Sir George, are particularly disdainful of anything like beer and skittles, or bread and wine; for they are the special curators of vast and formless dogmas that explain all about life and history and war—dogmas that must never be questioned by mere brokers and country bankers, and that never are.

Perhaps you can read this language—as readily as French.

## *The President of the United States Should Be a Practical Man—a Thorough Business Man.*

# Voters and Tax Payers

Demand a President who is familiar with business, who understands how to run the government on a business basis, economically and with efficiency. The government business is **your** business.

## Do You Want a Business Man as President?

If so, send in your name and address.

I advocate the election of a business man as President of the United States.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... State.....

Speak to your friends about the advisability of choosing a business man for President at the coming election.

**Distribute these blanks**, which may be obtained from Issues and Events.

**1 dozen, 5 cents**

**100, 25 cents**

**Issues and Events,  
21 Park Row.**

For example, you know what Sir George means when he says:

"Of course the great bulk of Great Britain's wealth, in common with that of every country, is invested in land, houses, railways, factories, plants; etc., which, although a good asset, cannot be realized." He means that the only real things to a civilized Englishman are bank-credits and income-producing securities, and that fields and factories are to be regarded only from that point of view.

Now, although Sir George doesn't notice it, this view of the civilized Englishman is precisely the most fundamental fault of his social economy. It puts him at a terrible disadvantage in his economic and military relations with Germany. For Germany knows that it is not the documents, but the tools, that count.

### **Discovery That the Vile Pacifists Are Hyphenates!**

**A** HA! we have found them out—those dreadful peace-people who gave solid patriotic persons like Penrose, Smoot, Barnes and Gallinger such a scare! We have discovered that the supporters of Henry Ford in the Republican Presidential primaries in Michigan, Nebraska and Pennsylvania are simply a bad lot who sympathize with the Central Powers in the European war and therefore are of course morally negligible and more or less treasonable."

The foregoing sentences contain an outline of the argument of a thousand editorials printed last week.

The logic seems to run as follows:

In order to be a solid patriotic person you must be a little bit belligerent—in a safe, un-venturesome and merely vocal manner—on the side of the Anglican Alliance in the European War and against the German Alliance.

If you show any marked strain of peacefulness in your general disposition, and if this leads you to suggest that the United States ought not to go into the European war on either side—then you may consider yourself under suspicion. In the judgment of those who wrote the thousand editorials referred to, you are probably not a sound patriotic person and there is a damning chance that you may even be a pro-German.

If you go further than this—if, being a Middle Western man or a Pennsylvanian—you cast a vote that signalizes your desire to help restore the peace of the world—then your Germanism becomes obvious, your shame is exposed in the light of all solid patriotic persons and it is no longer necessary to bother about such people as you in this aboundingly moral and patriotic country.

### **The Unparalleled Insolence of Our Plutocracy.**

**B** UT, seriously, does not the irrationality of such arguments carry an implication of intolerable insolence? When did men ever dare say such vain things to other men except in a spirit of intellectual contempt?

Consider the farrago of folly, the political burlesque, in continuous performance, that is now being presented to the American people by the inspired organs of our hyphenated plutocracy—the power that is straining its last resources of engineering to turn Wall Street and Lombard Street into a single continuous and rock-bottomed boulevard.

Historians of these times will find it hard to credit or explain the fact that a somewhat successful journalistic attempt has been made among our contemporaries, to make Toryism the test of patriotism. One may organize a society and hire the largest hall in the metropolis, to promote the English cause—and no word of criticism will be heard above the shout of applause. But to organize a society or hire a hall for the purpose of winning friends for a Presidential candidature of which the single salient idea is that we should take neither side in the European quarrel but should hold the country to its historic task of conciliation and construction—to do this, we are told, is immoral, unpatriotic, disgraceful!

If judgment has not fled to brutish beasts, we must before long find a way to make ourselves intelligible to a curious, and perhaps not too indulgent, posterity.

### **The Dry-Rot of Hypocrisy.**

**O** F course the fantastic irrationality of the Tory newspapers cannot wholly be regarded as the mere reckless insolence of intelligent men that entertain sentiments of intellectual contempt for their readers.

There can be no doubt that in part these writers and their instigators are blindly sincere and self-deceived. The light within them has become darkness. They are victims of that moral and mental sleeping-sickness which the Master of the Modern World had in mind when he said: "Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!"

### **Speaking of the Prayers of Hypocrisy.**

**A** MODERN artist in the use of words—brooding over the morbid pietism that is the bane of our politics, bursts out as follows:

"Were the vault of Heaven stone-paved, instead of star-paved, some mighty, indignant angel might hurl down upon our hypocritical heads, a suitable answer to our prayers!"

### **The Religiosity of Big Business Men.**

**L** AST week two or three hundred business men, including many distinguished in com-



mercial circles, met at the Savoy Hotel to plan a Billy Sunday "revival" for the City of New York.

George W. Perkins was there. No doubt he felt and was right in feeling that there was congruity in his double role of chief promoter for Theodore Roosevelt and for Billy Sunday. What Mr. Roosevelt is to politics, Mr. Sunday is to religion. It is the same thing that Charlie Chaplin is to art.

Mr. Perkins means to be a good man, and he thinks good men ought to promote such things.

Mr. Rockefeller was at the meeting in the Savoy Hotel. John B. Stanchfield was there also—to represent the highest influence that intermediates between big business and the political machine. Then there was the President of the New York Life Insurance Company—with merchants, bankers and brokers too numerous to mention.

Now the religion of Billy Sunday is precisely the sort of religion that comforts best with the ordinary mental habits of many of these gentlemen. It is a religion that makes a bluff at being practical by laying an exaggerated emphasis upon the wrongfulness of doing wrong in certain plain, personal matters—and then slides off into pure other-worldliness, spending its main drive in diverting people's attention from this world to the next.

The bluff at practicality made by Billy Sunday is exactly the same sort of a bluff at practicality that is made by the old-fashioned type of big business men. These cannot, for example, understand the strength of Germany, because they cannot grasp the thought of putting the energy of idealism into the running of machinery. They suppose that business is just business and that idealism should be saved up for Sundays and holidays for religious revivals and patriotic festivals.

Thus the big business men of the Perkins-Rockefeller-Stanchfield type recognize Billy Sunday as their natural bedfellow and true mental mate.

Billy Sunday's "revivals" are in fact exceedingly soporific. They drug the social and political consciousness of great American communities. They dam the course of every social reform, discourage scientific progress and divert the moral impatience of men into channels that are quite harmless to the privileged classes.

Their mode of acting upon the minds and spirits of men is exactly the opposite of Christianity as represented by the great historic interpreters of Christ.

Billy Sundayism is the modern equivalent of the cults of Orpheus, Eleusis and Mithras that infested the old Mediterranean world and obstructed the universal renaissance and revival of the early centuries.

### **Peculiar Attitude of Some Editorial Minds.**

For some time the New York papers have been publishing articles, editorials and letters from readers which, splendidly co-operating with one another, bear out that the blockade of Germany which was officially declared illegal by the government of this country, is not only justified, but even a highly commendable measure which the Germans themselves have used against France in 1871 and of which they have approved in the case of Kut-el-Elmara.

It is hard to believe that even the average reader should allow the editor of a newspaper to hand out to him such a conglomeration of truth and misrepresentation. The educated reader must detect and detest such specious reasoning.

Though it is hardly necessary to point out the difference between an invested fortress and an illegally blockaded country, it may—at the first glance—appear that compelling surrender through hunger is the outstanding feature in both cases and that therefore established precedents justify England's starvation policy. It must not be forgotten, however, that International Law—repeatedly broken by all belligerents, but at the same time, acknowledged by them as an existing codex for nations at war—very clearly defines what constitutes a fortress—and that special provisions are made for the treatment of non-combatants. A fortress cannot be made immune from investment or attack because the civil population refuses to evacuate it. No protest was voiced by the Teutonic Allies when Przemyśl had to surrender to the Russians for no other reason than lack of food. Yet a whole country cannot be considered a fortress without stretching the definition of the word "fortress" to suit the case under consideration, and why should a "neutral" paper feel called upon to defend an act that is clearly a violation of international law, more so since our government—which can by no means be classed as too pro-German—has pronounced the British Blockade as "illegal and undefensible."

In our last note to Germany our Administration has laid special stress on its assertion that rights and duties are "single, not joint"; "absolute, not relative." How could, therefore, any act on the part of Germany influence the view we take on the action of Great Britain? Are we no longer upholding the principle that two wrongs do not make one right? We have insisted upon Germany conforming to the rules of International Law. Will we be as firm towards England or will we find means to justify whatever England may do? If the Anglo-maniac press reflects the people's feeling, we certainly will. But has the systematic campaign really reversed the people's conception of right and wrong? Let us hope not.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### EXECUTIONS BY BRITISH IN EGYPT RECALLED.

THE executions in Dublin by sentence of British field courts martial bring to mind an episode in Egypt in the year 1882, during the "military operations," as Mr. Gladstone described them, of the British in that country. The occurrence took place the second day after the landing of British blue-jackets and marines from the Mediterranean squadron—the morning following the bombardment of Alexandria.

A drum head court martial had been installed at the head of the Mahmoudieh square in that city, and a number of filled and ready-dug graves in front of the building outside which the court martial was held were witnesses of the past and intended purpose for which they had been prepared.

On the day in question, about 10 o'clock, a commotion took place in one of the side streets, and presently there emerged into the square a small procession of Levantine riff-raff headed by a Greek dragging along an Egyptian fellow of the poorest class, who had been caught looting, as it was alleged in the evidence given before the court martial. He was conducted to the end of the square, where the court was sitting en permanence, and the "loot" was produced.

It consisted merely of a small handful of rags, which the culprit was seen taking from the doorway of a house partly demolished by the bombardment. The evidence of the Levantines and the possession of the rags procured his speedy conviction, and so rapid were the proceedings that, from the beginning of the trial to the taking of the prisoner to the head of the grave selected for him, into which he fell forward as the bullets from the firing squad struck him and he was covered up from view, not more than ten minutes elapsed.

An interesting feature of this incident was that the ground was kept by a strong detachment of American marines, landed to assist the British

in their "military operations" by order of Admiral Selfridge, in command of the ships comprising the United States Mediterranean squadron, then lying off Alexandria.

Admiral Selfridge had already shown his sympathy with the British on the day of the bombardment of Alexandria. When the action had ended by the blowing up of the principal Egyptian magazine and the flight of the garrison late in the afternoon, the admiral, on his flagship, the Lancaster, passed through the British squadron with yards manned, the crew cheering and the band playing "Rule Britannia."

If he could have heard the comments of the officers of the Alexandria, the British flagship, as they rushed on deck from the first meal they had taken since daybreak and watched his ship as he passed under her stern, he probably would have abruptly ceased his effusive demonstration and might even have ordered his band to strike up "The Star Spangled Banner." As it was, he no doubt, went on his way feeling as Commodore Tatwell did when he went to the assistance of the British in one of their opium wars in China, that "blood is thicker than water."—Evening Mail.

### THIS SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

#### France Bars U. S. Goods.

Paris.—In accordance with a recent law the Government has just prohibited the importation of a long list of articles, many of which come from the United States.

The decree contains a clause authorizing the Ministers to make exceptions.

It was said it undoubtedly had been put into effect with a view to procuring more space in vessels coming to French ports for such supplies as the Government absolutely needs.

Among the importations prohibited are automobiles, motor car parts, photographic apparatus, fresh and preserved fruits, perfumery and soap or other perfumed articles, porcelain, glass, crystal ware, crockery, cotton hosiery, gloves, undressed skins, imitation jewelry and musical instruments.

### AMERICAN RIGHTS.

To the Editor: The secretary of state at Washington, according to reports, states that "owing to an arbitration treaty between our United States and Great Britain, our government can not coerce Great Britain as it has Germany by a threat to sever diplomatic relations." But in view of the fact that Great Britain still continues, against international law and against the repeated protests of our United States, to disrupt and prevent lawful trade between our United States and foreign nations, our United States has the power and the right to resort to the placing of an embargo on the shipment of death-dealing ammunitions to the allies.

A NATIVE AMERICAN.

### PRICE KAISER MUST PAY IN NORTHCLIFFE'S VIEW

LONDON, May 7, 1916.

By Cable to the Editor of The World:

Germany can have at once the peace she is so obviously anxious for by getting out of Belgium, France, Serbia, Poland and Russia, paying full indemnities to those countries and making reparation for the outrages of her submarines.

(Lord) NORTHCLIFFE.

### ENGLAND'S ECONOMIC SITUATION LOOKS BAD.

IT IS interesting to note how clear-sighted Englishmen are more and more perceiving the fact that England's economic situation compares very unfavorably with that of Germany. The cry of "business as usual" has subsided altogether and from all quarters advices for retrenchment are voiced. The Government has enforced restrictions which are obviously an attempt to secure for Great Britain the advantages of a self-support similar to those which have been thrust upon Germany by the blockade.

This view of the situation has first been taken by the London Economist and is now adopted by a considerable portion of the English press. The most forceful expression of this view that has come to my notice is by J. Saxon Mills, in the Pall Mall Gazette, and it may interest your readers to hear the gist of his conclusions.

The figures of the English trade balance, says Mills, prove that the English ports benefit chiefly by the increasing imports. The imports for 1915 amounted to \$4,268,780,395, breaking all former records. But that is not all. To this gigantic sum must be added at least \$1,000,000,000 representing the imports made for the Government's direct account. Consequently, the total imports into Great Britain amount to approximately \$5,250,000,000.

### Result of Sea Rule.

That result of British sea rule would be very satisfactory from the British



point of view if England were able to compensate the bill. But here the difference between England's situation and that of Germany becomes apparent. The British blockade has wiped out Germany's imports amounting, in time of peace, to \$2,500,000,000. Although feeling a deficiency in certain articles, Germany is prevented from contracting any considerable debts, forced, as she is, to produce her own foodstuffs and war material. Mr. Mills should have added that German industry and science have stood this severe test better than even most Germans anticipated.

How is England's situation? asks Mills. Facing imports of more than \$5,000,000,000, we find exports amounting to \$2,417,000,000, \$760,000,000 less than in 1913. The trade balance thus shows \$2,850,000,000 to England's disfavor. Making very liberal allowances for the so-called invisible exports, earnings of the shipping and insurance business, interest on foreign investments, etc., we deduct \$1,800,000,000, still leaving a balance of \$1,050,000,000 which are not compensated by British exports. Adding to this sum \$2,000,000,000, which have been advanced to Great Britain's allies, we find a grand total of approximately \$3,000,000,000 to England's disfavor on the trade balance sheet for 1915.

It is obvious, our English authority proceeds, that such a balance cannot be paid in gold, and it remains to be seen if it can be covered by selling foreign securities which are by no means unlimited. Against such a course it must be said that it is not sound policy to pay debts with principal instead of income.

#### Source of the Trouble.

The source of all the trouble is that Great Britain has increased her consumption and decreased her production. The army and the ammunition factories have wrested from the nation's productive industry millions of men. Mills comes to the conclusion that a comparison of the export figures of 1913 and 1915 offers a striking proof that Great Britain has been unable to capture Germany's trade. Though being mistress of the seas, Great Britain suffers under an ever-increasing

strain upon her industry and actually loses most of the advantages which her open ports were supposed to afford.

To foot an annual bill of approximately three billion dollars may, indeed, exceed even Great Britain's resources. And she may have to pay not only her own imports but may be called upon to meet the bills of her allies, first of all, Russia.

In a New York newspaper Rudyard Kipling recently advocated an easy remedy: The repudiation of all debts contracted during the war. This idea is indeed far-spread in British circles. Would such a cheerful course affect the Franco-British loan raised in America?

DR. R. J. OBERFOHREN.

### TO DRIVE DULL CARE AWAY

#### DISCOURAGING.

Little Mollie had hastily undressed and jumped into bed without saying her prayers.

"Why, dearest," said her nurse, "aren't you going to say your prayers tonight, especially when you have had a new baby brother brought to the house today?"

"No, I ain't," said Mollie. "And that baby brother's just the trouble."

"But why?" asked the nurse. "Don't you like your baby brother?"

"What's the use?" queried the little girl, "I've been prayin' for a little sister every night for six months, and Bobbie, he only began askin' for a little brother yesterday, and he got his right off."

#### HER OWN HANDIWORK.

Wife (angrily)—I think you're the meanest man that ever was.

Husband—That's hard on yourself, my dear. According to your mother, you have been the making of me.

"Now," said a teacher to his class during a lesson in English, "can anyone give me a word ending with 'ous,' meaning full of as 'dangerous,' full of danger, and 'hazardous,' full of hazard?"

There was silence in the class for a

moment. Then a boy sitting in the front row put up his hand.

"Well," said the teacher, "what is your word?"

"Please, sir," came the reply, 'pious,' full of piety!"

The following is being told by a lawyer who employs a young lady as a typist and secretary and recently handed her a batch of letters to answer for him. Among these was one asking if he could inform the writer of the state of health of Mrs. H—, and also her present address.

The lady secretary replied as follows:

"Dear Madam: In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, I am unable to give you Mrs. H—'s address, as requested. She died on the 17th and was buried on the 22nd inst."

The tombstone man (after several abortive suggestions): How would simply "Gone Home" do?

Mrs. Newweeds: I guess that would be all right. It was always the last place he ever thought of going.

#### GRANDMA WINS.

"My Uncle Bill's been down to Panama!" bragged little Harry.

"Sho! That's nothin'," retorted little Billy. "My brother Jim's been to Australia?"

"Well, what if he has? My father's gone to Egypt!" said little Harry.

"Pooh!" ejaculated little Billy. "My grandmother's gone to heaven."

#### WE GET YOU, MADAM!

Mrs. Kawler—Did you ever go to one of those astrologers?

Mrs. Blunderby—No; but my daughter Kate is just crazy to have her periscope read.

#### A MISTAKE.

There were three or four spots on the little boy's blue "knickers." The two kind old ladies liked his pleasant smile, but they wondered why his "mother did not patch with a color to match." Then the little boy in the blue "knickers" with the tawny spots blushed deeply and burst out:

"That ain't no patch! That's me!"

## Russia and Japan

### Details of New Agreement Published To-day

[In an interview given to the correspondent of a London paper the Japanese premier, Count Okuma, subsequently stated that the published statement of the new Russo-Japanese agreement was "inaccurate." In what particular detail it was so, however, Count Okuma avoided specializing.—Ed. I. and E.]

The "Nichinichi" published an extra this morning reporting the main features of the Russo-Japanese Agreement, which is reported to have been under negotiation at Petrograd. They are:

1. Russia cedes to Japan the Chinese Eastern Railway up to some point south of Harbin.

2. While the present war against Germany and Austria-Hungary lasts, Japan undertakes to supply arms and munitions to Russia within the limits of her manufacturing capacity and not hindering her national defence.

3. Russia accords liberal treatment to the Japanese residents engaged in agriculture, commerce or industry in Eastern Siberia, Northern Karafuto (Saghalien), and along the railway zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

4. Russia makes Vladivostok a commercial port, and will not make any military preparations calculated to cause misunderstanding with Japan.

5. Japan and Russia shall respect each other's interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, and Japan shall render assistance to Russia at the latter's request in case any disturbance should break out within the sphere of influence of Russia during the present war with Germany and Austria.

6. Russia shall recognize the free action of Japan in case the latter shall take necessary measures for the preservation of peace and order in conformity with the principles of the maintenance of territorial integrity and equal opportunity, and Russia shall take co-operative action with Japan, at the latter's request, in case it is necessary for Japan to cope with the interference from a third power with Japan's action.

The above agreement will be signed as soon as the negotiations in regard to the amount of munitions to be supplied to Russia now going on in Tokyo are definitely settled.

# MODERN GERMANY

*(Deutschland und der Weltkrieg)*

Translated by

Professor WILLIAM WALLACE WHITELOCK, A. B., Ph. D.

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# Issues and Events

A Weekly Magazine

## The Irish Revolution

By HON. JEFF. McLEMORE, of Texas, in the House of Representatives,

Tuesday, May 16, 1916.

WITH terrible and splendid light and as sudden as the lightning's flash, the black firmament of Europe recently blazed forth in the Irish revolution. Here was a stroke for liberty, a deed done in the memory of Washington, of Jefferson, of Andrew Jackson, of Patrick Henry, and other glorious American patriots, and of our own immortal Declaration of Independence. Yet some few Americans have condemned the Irish patriots. Republics are proverbially ungrateful, but more dangerous than ingratitude is that gross contentment with prosperity and power which makes the citizens of a democracy forget the stern, perilous deeds by which their ancestors won the rights of nationhood from a foreign tyrant.

The Irish people have a claim to national independence based in the noblest traditions of mankind. Conquered after a civilized history of a thousand years, they have been for seven centuries subjected to English rule, and for seven centuries they have not ceased to hate and resist it. English rule of Ireland has not been a mere whim of obstinate tyranny; it has been a grim economic policy. This should be understood, for it is the key to the Irish problem.

During the Middle Ages Ireland progressed in arts, manufactures, trade and commerce. Irish products competed with English; Irish ships carried them to the Mediterranean, the Baltic and the Rhine. The relentless English policy had no other object than to crush this legitimate rival. Eventually laws were passed which prohibited the leading Irish industries and closed the seas to Irish ships. When the Irish Volunteers of 1782 compelled the English Parliament to publicly renounce all rights to legislate for Ireland, that country experienced the most rapid development which any nation has achieved in a similar period. Industries sprang up, commerce was renewed, plenty and contentment filled the Green Isle. Whereupon the English Government, by organized lawlessness, by burning homes, ravishing women, slaughtering children, torturing men and devastating churches, goaded the people to the rebellion of 1798, and then, under the pretense of restoring order, passed the infamous "act of union" through a Parliament stuffed with new-made lords. During the past 116 years Irishmen have seen their country die of uninterrupted decay, without parallel in modern times. The people have been decimated by famine, while the land abounded with food. Industries have ceased, factories fallen to dust, artisans forgot their cunning, harbors forgot the ripple of busy keels.

When individuals or corporations resort to unfair

methods to assassinate a business rival we condemn them as criminals. But England in her destruction of Ireland committed the greatest economic crime of history. The more dramatic and obviously horrible incidents of Anglo-Irish history—the massacres, murders, widespread devastation and brutal penal laws—were mere incidents in the steady strangulation of Irish economic independence.

Looking upon an impoverished country, the only one in the world which has lost half its population in the last 70 years, and remembering the terrible atrocities which have stained the centuries, what wonder that the Irish race throughout the world cherishes undying hostility to the tyrant? And are not those men who have aspired to redeem their land, to restore it to wealth and independence, worthy of the commendation of all free-men? When they resort to revolution, have they not an undeniable claim on the sympathy of America? For a century Irish representatives in the English Parliament have pleaded for a modicum of national rights, and the few successes they have had have been due to English fear of Irish rebellion. Two years ago the present Irish Party, which has been degenerated by life in London, social flattery, and the bribery of salaries and offices, accepted for Ireland a so-called home-rule bill, which compels the recognition of England's supremacy and grants Ireland no single power which characterizes nationhood. And to further make this measure a curse to the country the English parties connived to permit Sir Edward Carson to organize and arm a body of Orangemen sworn to fight against home rule. The situation thus created permitted the English Government to give the final blow, as they hoped, to Irish nationalism, by promising to cut off all of Ulster, or at least a part of that Province, from the rest of Ireland.

No people have ever placed themselves in so unfortunate a position as the good people of the North of Ireland, who, in contradiction of all modern tendency, put religious intolerance above national integrity, falling victims to English politicians who frightened them with absurd spectres. Ireland is the natural home of religious tolerance. Throughout the land Catholics and Protestants live peacefully side by side.

The ancestors of the Orangemen organized the volunteers of 1782 and the united Irishmen of 1798, yet today they would resist the liberties of their own land because the majority of their fellow countrymen are Catholics. This situation caused the formation, three years ago, of the new Irish volunteers, led by both Catholics and Protestants, and sworn to resist any attempt to deprive them of their national rights or to partition their

country. Then a typically Irish thing happened. Orange volunteers and Irish volunteers began to grow friendly toward each other, and both were opposed to the English Government. But the war came, and with the most dastardly attempt at betrayal ever made by a national leader, John Redmond assumed to pledge the manhood of his country to the tyrant of seven centuries. From that day the Irish volunteers stood to their arms. They determined that if they died to defend a "small nationality" that that "small nationality" would be Ireland. They served notice that any attempt to conscript them would be met by a fight to the death. The Government tried to lure thoughtless young men, loafers and ne'er-do-wells into the army; but in a year and a half only 49,000 Irishmen from the three southern Provinces enlisted and 39,000 Orangemen; the former were sent to France and Gallipoli; the latter were kept in Ireland to overawe their fellow countrymen. When the Government found that recruiting had failed in Ireland it planned to conscript the good fighting material it coveted. But there were the volunteers with guns in their hands. They must be disarmed; that done, Ireland would be helpless. So the Government began to arrest the leaders of the volunteers and to attempt the seizure of arms. Soon a concerted effort would have been made to disarm all Irishmen. That is why the volunteers struck on Easter Monday.

Nothing could be more foolish than to suppose that their courageous act injured the cause of Ireland. Had they not struck they would have been disarmed; had they been disarmed, they and all their fellows would have been conscripted; they would have died in a foreign land in a cause not their own. Their country, already burdened by intolerable taxes which they had no say in imposing or spending, would never have got even the shadow of home rule, as the Liberals—even if they intended to keep their pledge—are no longer in power. By striking they have not ruined, they have saved their country. They gave their lives and fortunes to do it, and they are among the heroes of mankind. And it surely must be allowed by Americans an additional glory that they trod the brave way of revolution and proclaimed an Irish republic. Let it be remembered that these men were an organized body of soldiery, a national militia, officered and disciplined.

Under the rules of international law and the customs

of civilization they should have been treated as soldiers; when they surrendered, they should have been held as prisoners of war. But England—England has lined their leaders against a wall and murdered them in cold blood! How will an English historian of the future, a man of honor like Lecky or Greene, come to this passage of English history without feeling that all chivalry departed his land that day? And these men who were shot, who were they? They were men of brilliant intellect and pure character; they were educators, scholars, poets, historians and labor leaders! The whole civilized world stands shocked and shamed at this English deed. The revolution, while it lasted, was skillfully carried out, and with the last degree of courage. Previous to the invention of modern field artillery it would have succeeded. The patriots kept their flag flying for seven days, while homes and public buildings, shattered by 6-inch shells, fell about them, crushed and mangled them.

The alliance which the Irish rebels made with Germany is justified by every historic precedent. No small nation has ever freed itself from a larger tyrant except by alliance with that tyrant's enemy, and in 1798 France even went so far as to land an army in Ireland to help Ireland in her struggle for freedom from English tyranny, just as she lent help to America at an earlier date by a few years. The Germans had promised Sir Roger Casement, the great diplomat and patriot who sacrificed wealth and honors to serve his people, that if they came to Ireland they would come as friends. In a free Ireland, foreign capital and science would develop Ireland's great water power, mineral wealth and labor power, while other nations would lease naval bases in Irish harbors from which to admonish England to observe the freedom of the seas. Perhaps the war will yet free Ireland; perhaps Germany will say at the peace conference: "We will free Belgium if you free Ireland." That will be the vindication of the patriots. England is now shooting Irishmen as once she would have shot Washington and his fellow patriots. Shall we as free and liberty-loving Americans continue to view these atrocities of England against struggling, bleeding Ireland without even a protest? I trust not; and I sincerely hope that Americans will rise as one man and utter a protest in humanity's name that will be heard around the world.

## The Cruelty of Altruism

By CHARLES FERGUSON.

**A**LTRUISM, it appears, is taking care of people without caring about them. It has been said that in the ancient world cruelty was fashionable, but now charity is. It would be truer to say that of old egotism was fashionable, but now altruism is. The difference is superficial—as shallow as fashion itself.

A man that professes disinterested motives is out of his beat. It is impossible to help anybody at longer range than the reach of one's love, one's interest. Beyond that limit the effort is heartless, which is the same as to say that it is cruel.

Altruism is egotism on the recoil. Common sense says to the altruist: "Mind your own business." And it speaks the words of truth and soberness. You are indeed your brother's keeper, but to a man whom you do not really regard as your brother you should give fair warning. You should not strike him with your hard scruples when he is down.

Altruism has never done anything but harm in the world, and never can. The world is to be saved by

its lovers, by those who are heartily interested in it, who identify their private fortunes with it.

If we did not strain so hard to love one another we should succeed better. And we should be more lovable. Love begins with respect and a kind of fear. Every lovable personality attracts by its challenge and defiance of the world.

Civilization is not built upon the morbid sentimentalities of altruism, but upon the balance and concord of personal forces, the affection and chivalry of men who respect each other because they have felt each other's steel.

It is altruism—the human bond without human affection—that creates the factitious solidarity of classes, sects and parties, and arrays them against one another.

It is altruism—egotism consecrated by the cant of disinterestedness—that makes most of the world's wars, and wages them with a cruelty exactly proportionate to their claims of benevolence.

The gist of a true Americanism is that it bases its social order frankly upon personal force; it does not pretend to any right that is diviner than the right of brave and generous men to strive for the things they really care about. Its law is established by submission to no authority save that of human nature; and if that law succeeds and prevails it is because human nature is, after all and in spite of the doctors, sound.

The free play of personal forces finds an equilibrium in common sense.

The fraternity of Americans flows from the respect that men have for those that can look them steadily in the face. It puts down violence, not because it hates force, but because it loves force—and violence is weak.

America will abolish war, not in neurotic shrinking from the sight of blood, but by the quickening of uni-

versal courage. The collisions of military masses are due to moral cowardice.

A war is a social hypocrisy reduced to its last extremity. Such a thing could not be, were it not for the altruistic agglutinousness of crowds—the social stifling of moral competition. Without cant there could be no wholesale murder.

The Prince of Peace will have peace indeed, but he brings the tempered sword of sincerity and truth to win it withal. And a man's foes shall be they of his own household. What the world needs for its redemption is not altruism—the muddling and confusion of interests in a vague universalism—but the utter simplicity and valiance of souls that fight for what they love, and for that only.

Life is a battle ground fit only for doughty hearts that confess their interestness, and ask no quarter for their good intentions.

## Lack of Mercantile Tonnage

Reprinted from the LONDON TIMES, May 4, 1916.

Lord Beresford (in the House of Lords) drew attention to the serious position the English are in with regard to the depletion of tonnage of the mercantile marine. He thought it was the most vital national question at the present time. The danger was likely to be increased in the near future, and if the present rate of depletion were continued it would be a serious question after the war. How had this depletion been brought about? The war losses, from submarines, mines, and in action were over 860 vessels. Of these 400 had been ships of the carrying trade. To that 860 losses by war they had to add the normal losses by shipwreck, fire and condemnation. That ran to about 340. We started the war with 11,353 of over 400 tons.

The Admiralty requirements, including transports, were between two and three thousand. That left about 8,853 vessels to carry on the trade of this country, and they had to do three times the work of the 11,353 which carried on the trade before the war. It had been said that our losses by war were  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; that was on the 11,000. But they must count the war losses on the number of vessels left to carry on the trade of this country, and in that way it came to 14 per cent. With the exception of the war losses everything he was stating was public property and could be got out of Lloyd's. Mercantile tonnage was priceless, and the only way to make up our losses was to set to work to build new ships. He called attention also to depletion through preventible waste. The Transport Department had done wonderfully well, but there was a great deal of waste going on. Another waste was that involved in the making of 17 dummy battleships. It was an absurd proposition and all those ships in that position ought to be brought back to the trade routes. The whole proposition was ludicrous. Then some ships had capsized owing to the guns not being properly placed or the ship not properly ballasted. There were three links in the chain which we ought to see were sound and welded together. There was, first the question of compulsion for the military needs; secondly, the supplying of men in the workshops; and thirdly, the most important, the maintenance of the trade and commerce of the country. We could not win this war unless we mobilized the whole nation, and he personally would like to see the Government empowered to take any man or any woman at any time to do anything. He knew they would never get the country to agree to dragooning the working men

into the workshops, but he believed that if the working men were told the truth about the position, they would agree to some sort of discipline in regard to shipbuilding work. In a great measure the increase in the cost of food was due to the insufficiency of our mercantile tonnage. The shipowners of neutral nations were obtaining high freights and were making enormous fortunes and having to bear no taxation upon extra profits they would devote the money to building ships. He wished that all the neutral powers would follow the example of Portugal in utilizing interned German vessels, recognizing that Germany was now the enemy of the whole world. Lord Nunburnholme, in a telegram which he had just received, stated that the output of new steamers was being delayed through the Scotch works declining to supply steel for shipbuilding at the price fixed by the Ministry of Munitions for steel supplied for English ship-building works.

### Some Suggestions.

Lord Beresford concluded by making the following suggestions: (1) That the Government, in consultation with the Labor Leaders, should endeavor to form a shipbuilding Battalion, on the lines of the Dockers' Battalion; (2) that at that consultation the Government should suggest to the Labor Leaders the scientific organization in the national service of labor for shipbuilding; (3) that the wholesale waste and confusion which had been shown in regard to tank ships, dummy men of war and the holding up ships until they were wanted should be stopped; (4) that profits should be utilized in constructing more merchant ships; (5) that the possibility of limiting imports more than at present—he did not think that the Government had done half enough in that direction—should be inquired into by a committee; and (6) that in no case should any ship be sent away in ballast. He expressed a desire to know why the report of the Tonnage Committee, presided over by Lord Curzon, had not been submitted. He feared that the Government once more would set to work too late; they seemed to like a man who put a fire service into his house after he saw it alight. Without prompt action we should be liable to lose the war or to have an inconclusive peace, which would be fatal to this country, and the millions of money and the splendid lives which had been lost would avail us nothing.

# High-Powered Democracy

By MAX MARTIN.

**I**T can be shown—and just at this moment in the United States it very much needs to be shown—that democracy is stronger than autocracy.

Autocracies are strong, after their own manner. And democracies likewise must be true to their own principle in order to be strong.

The autocratic principle is the subjection of all private wills to an authority that is supposed to work on a plane somewhat above the emotional interests of ordinary men. If applied to the administration of the Departments at Washington, the principle of autocracy would assume that the officials are the guardians of an interest that cannot be harmonized with the private or personal interests involved, and consequently that these interests must be overruled and dominated by official power.

On the other hand, the primary assumption of democracy is that private interests **can** be harmonized and wrought together into a wide-spreading "community-of-interest." The assumption is that the social law is an intrinsic or self-vindictory law that reasonable men are bound to agree to and co-operate with.

The point here is that the strongest and most efficient kind of government is the kind that knows how to ad-

minister law in such a way as to effect the widest co-operation of personal ambitions, and thus to encounter the minimum resistance of individual wills.

In a real democracy the social energy approximates the **sum** of the driving forces of all private wills; while in our autocracy the social energy is only the difference between the force of public-mindedness and that of private-mindedness. In other words an autocracy has only so much energy available for public purposes as is left after all unassimilable personal ambitions have been encountered, crushed and cancelled out. Thus autocratic governments make immense sacrifices of energy in order to achieve unity.

The weakness or inefficiency of democratic peoples, as shown in Mr. Emile Faguet's famous books ("The Cult of Incompetence" and "The Horror of Responsibility") is due to a surviving and belated Toryism or Bourbonism that crosses and confuses the democratic plan.

It is possible to be comparatively efficient, by being thoroughly autocratic; it is possible to be superlatively efficient by being completely democratic. But there is no longer a career in this world for autocracy under democratic forms.

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## The Following--A United Nation

By HONORABLE CHARLES NAGEL.

**T**HIS is a republic, and the people speak. What we need above all things in this country is to consider our own affairs. And the foundation of a fair consideration of our own questions, influenced no doubt by sympathy and by opinion of foreign relations, depends more upon a proper understanding, a spirit of toleration and sympathy among ourselves, than upon anything else. There has been a painful absence of willingness to remember that we are a new people—an amalgamated people—composed of representatives of all the nations of the earth; and that there can be no real union, no people of the United States, unless we bear with each other; unless we seek to understand each other; unless we endeavor to form opinions made up of the sympathies and judgments of all our people, to bind and hold us together for the support of our own country..

At present we seem to be talking more especially of military preparedness. For years I have believed that there should be more military preparedness in this country than there is, and I believe it now. For years I have contended that military preparedness is not necessarily an unmixed cost, but that in real preparedness there is involved a strengthening of men and women, of their sense of responsibility to the state and to each other that makes up a hundredfold for all the cost that is incurred. But, while we speak of this preparedness, let us remember what we thought of it a year and a half ago. Then we heard little but denunciation of militarism; and now its praises are heard in every utterance. There is not a note sounded today in this country demanding military preparation that is not based upon the experience of the country that we denounced.

True preparedness means an economic system as a foundation. That we have known for years; at least those of us who read. We did not have to read more than thoughtful English books to know that Germany has excelled, because she adopted years ago an economic system that reached far beyond the political

remedies with which Great Britain and the United States have sought to cure their ills. I am not a convert to that view now, because I have stated it again and again in public speech long before this war. I have said again and again that we need not imitate Germany's system, but that we must evolve a system that will bring about the same results if we propose in the long run to compete successfully for foreign trade. We have failed to realize that preparedness means a complete system—military, economic and human.

In the days when we talked about conservation in this country many of us approved the policy to conserve coal, copper and timber, but insisted that above all things we need the conservation of men, women and children in this country. That is what we need now.

That is the whole scheme of preparedness. If you ask today what is the source of Germany's strength—for no one now doubts that she has demonstrated her power—we find that it is the completeness of her system; a system of which, as I have said before, the military is nothing but the point of the arrow, and the industrial and social scheme is the shaft that drives the arrow. That is what we need.

She has evolved a system for the protection of her men, women and children, of which we have no conception. We think we can do it by statute. We think that we can remedy law's omissions by private charity. No doubt we can do much, but it will take a long time before we reduce it to an acceptable system. In the meantime Germany has done one thing, and this is, that she had found a way to protect men and women without coddling them. We do not know how to protect without making weak and dependent. She has solved the problem which, to my mind, is the greatest problem of modern times.

I am not talking about the foreign war; I am considering the evidences that the foreign war has brought to the attention of all people.

We are told by distinguished men at this time that



our country should have protested, perhaps intervened, on account of Belgium. Why is this said now? Because we are in the year of a presidential election, and the attempt is made to excite passion for the purpose of that election. That is all. Time enough to discuss those questions when the war is over. Little was said when we failed to protest. Why discuss it in that spirit now, if it is not to excite passion and prejudice for a present purpose?

If we must discuss it, why do we not remember that Korea was taken; and ask why we did not protest? I know it is said today that Korea yielded; but I think it is safe to add that she did not yield until she knew that we would not act. Why, to balance the scales and to let the protest, on account of the infraction of international law (if it is to be so construed), come with dignity, why do we not speak of Greece? In other words, if our obligation to protest because of the interference with small states by greater powers is to have any force, moral or otherwise, impartiality must be the foundation of our conduct. If the complaint is confined to Belgium, it leads to the inevitable suspicion that much of the cry for Belgium relief is based less upon sympathy for Belgians than it is upon animosity for another country.

We are told that a great opportunity was lost when the protest was not made. But since we speak of opportunities neglected, in my opinion one of the greatest opportunities that was ever lost in this country was when we failed at the beginning of the war to appeal to all the people of the United States to regard the suffering on the other side without reference to race or country. When we failed to extend our sympathy and our charity to all the sufferers alike; and to make all our contributions to the American Red Cross, instead of promoting conflicting collections in this country which have aroused the passions in our midst.

There are other conditions that test our attitude. There was the wireless decision. Most people have forgotten about that; it is so long ago. It was decided that the wireless and the cable do not stand upon the same ground, because the wireless can communicate with the ships out at sea, and cannot be controlled; while a cable cannot communicate at sea, and therefore can be controlled. Of course, it never suggested itself to anybody that a cable message might be sent to this country and then sent by wireless from here. But that is beginning to dawn upon some people.

Take the ammunition decision. I am not going to discuss the original question. I never did understand, however, why, if we had to go on selling ammunition because we had started to do it, we should now provide infinitely more than we were manufacturing when we started. It looked to me as though we were driving the principle to an extreme. But if we were compelled to abide by the conduct which we had adopted at the beginning of the war (and there is some authority for that), then in my judgment we should also have stood by our decision made at the beginning of the war with respect to foreign loans. We said such loans would be improper, and we changed our mind and permitted unparalleled loans to be made for war purposes; and we have never justified that conduct in the light of the decision we made with respect to ammunition.

There is the submarine question. I do not want to discuss at length the right or wrong of this question. But I want to call attention to one phase of it which, in my judgment, is very important. There is a great difference of opinion about it in this country. What are the facts? It is said that merchantmen have a right to carry guns. That probably was the law; it was based upon the right to protect themselves against pirates. It was not contemplated with respect to times of war

with recognized enemies. The privilege was not used before this war. Merchantmen did not carry guns. The French do not carry them now. They do not seem to meet pirates anywhere.

Churchill, Lord of the Admiralty, said, in 1913, that he was making arrangements with navigation companies to rebuild their merchantmen in such fashion as to make provision for guns, in order that during war they might be armed; and that he proposed to provide for the ammunition and accompanying equipment for those guns. That was his statement in 1913. The ships were so changed; and the comment of the author upon whom I rely, is that it is obvious that the idea of using merchantmen in time of war in connection with the navy evidently is not obsolete. That is the statement.

Now merchantmen are armed and the doubt is whether this is done for offensive or defensive purposes. That is a pretty nice question. It all turns upon who is to draw first. The question that presents itself to me is this: Where is the cause for severance of relations with a country because of a difference of that kind? Suppose we cannot agree upon it. We insist that the submarine should not attack, and Germany insists that she will; one saying that a merchantman so armed is not a part of the armed force, and the other saying that it is; one relying upon report, and the other saying that he relies upon experience. Where is the cause for war, or for severance of relations? No attack is aimed at us. It is perfectly obvious that Germany is endeavoring in every way to yield, to comply with our wishes. It is altogether clear that the government of Germany does not want difficulty with us. And it is beyond dispute that any misfortune that any citizen of ours may meet upon a ship of that kind is a mere incident to the warfare between two other countries. Just precisely as a citizen of ours would suffer the consequences if he traveled on a train in the war zone.

But other rules have been established and recognized that are not now respected. Take the simple question of the blockade. No such blockade as is now practiced has even been known in history. We protest, but we do not do more. Because of a difference of opinion between two countries, I take it.

It has always been recognized that a neutral power had the right to ship to a friendly nation engaged in war foodstuffs for civilians. They were recognized as non-contraband goods. That is well admitted, and Great Britain and the United States particularly agreed upon it. In the Boer war Lord Salisbury said that any foodstuffs sent to a belligerent cannot be intercepted unless it is shown that they are intended for the military force. That was his decision. In the Japanese war Landsdowne took the same position, in equally strong language, because Japan undertook to intercept rice. Great Britain's protest was based upon the ground that the shipment could not be confiscated unless it was made to appear that it was intended for the army. And he went further; he said that the decision of a prize court would not be conclusive unless it were shown that that decision was in line with the recognized principles of international law.

Secretary Hay, in answer to our ambassador, in a lengthy statement, laid down the same rule absolutely and unequivocally. So, if we are to insist upon the law as it stood at the beginning of the war, why, by all means, let us do it. While I am contending for impartiality and neutrality, and the same attitude with respect to all countries. I insist upon it in justice to the countries at war, with all of whom we have been friendly, and I trust may continue to be friendly. I insist sometimes the intensity of feeling, and the judgment of upon it in justice to our own people. We are a new people, and we must have regard for the sympathies, our own citizenship, and must not permit a suspicion or

belief to grow that we are not in all things absolutely just.

But the argument is made, and I think that is largely traced to feeling, sad as the instances are, that one life lost at sea through a disregard of our rights under international law, is worth more than all the commerce that we may sacrifice by a disregard of our rights. I agree to that, but let us look at it fairly. However tragic the loss of life, the real question after all remains: are we in the right? And whatever the conclusion, there are some Americans even in Germany; citizens of the United States. They had a right to believe when they remained there that we would insist upon our right to send foodstuffs to that country for civilians. If these Americans are subjected to hardship they suffer because of our acquiescence in a disregard of an admitted rule of law. It is probable that some of those American citizens have babies who depend for their lives upon the milk that we, contrary to law, are prevented from sending over for their protection.

I speak of these things, I repeat, to show that there are two sides to these questions.

Now, we are approaching a more exciting time. We are less impatient than we were three months ago about hyphenated citizens. There is going to be an election in this country, and the effect is apparent. I do not rejoice in it; I am sorry that it is so. But I predicted it. I appeal to my friends not to be offended, not to indulge in "Empfindlichkeit"; but trust that the difficulties will all blow over.

There is only one kind of political system in the United States, and that, for the present, is a republic. We ought to bear in mind, all of us, the Anglo-American just as well as the Irish, Italian, German, and so on, that there is only one kind of citizenship in the United States, if we propose to get along with each other. But the symptoms are multiplying that there will be less

said about the hyphen, and that it will be more respected.

Every country has its conflicts. Great Britain has had its war party, and it had great men and women who to this day regret that that war was ever declared. Have your respect go out to those people, because they acted just as finely as British men and women ever did. There were Frenchmen of the same kind. In Germany today there is a division of opinion, and there is no question in my mind that the government is doing everything in its power to sustain friendly relations with this Nation; to preserve the record of over a century, in which Germany has in every instance stood by the United States. Do not help create conditions in this country that will make it difficult to renew or to preserve and to maintain those relations. We cannot do without them and they cannot do without us. That kind of a division after the war would be a world calamity. This involves more than this Nation or that, because you must remember Sweden, Norway and Holland, all Teutonic nations, and neutral, play a very large part in this situation, and have some very strong convictions. That has to be regarded. We cannot serve the general cause better than by keeping our own heads. Not by hiding our opinions, not by apologizing for our position; but not, on the other hand, by indulging in hasty criticism, by stirring up the feeling of which we ourselves complain, but by recognizing that we are one people. If this Republic is to succeed, we are bound to become one people. A people of our own kind. Neither English, nor German, nor French, nor Italian, nor Swede, nor Norwegian, nor Jew, nor Pole, but one nation. We must have a type of our own. You may see it now. When you watch our men in uniform go down the avenue you will see an eye, a chin, a nose and a forehead that is American. If we are to succeed at all, it will be by sinking our race prejudice and creating one American type.

## The Cartel Principle

By CHARLES FERGUSON.

**I**N industry, competition; in commerce, socialization—that is the principle of the cartel.

This principle has nowhere been thoroughly worked out as yet. There is no country and no considerable community that has deliberately undertaken to subject the bulk of its buying and selling to an organized and authoritative social intelligence—with the clear purpose of avoiding the waste and disorder of market rivalry, and thus increasing the energy of the productive process. Yet as a matter of social philosophy the argument is all in favor of a thorough-going application of this principle.

Industry—the operation of farms, mines and factories—is the means whereby the natural difficulties of existence are progressively met and mastered. In industry the sharper the competition, the swifter the advancement of the practical arts. On the other hand, the private competitions of commerce (Note that the running of railroads and steamships is not a part of commerce, but of industry) are a dead loss to society at large.

The old-fashioned economists—Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, Stuart Mill—were right enough, with their government-hands-off policy, as long as the ways of commerce were very simple and every producer might be thought of as coming to market with his goods in a basket. Under the craftsman-economy, before there were any large industrial plants or any wide

commercial combinations, it could reasonably be assumed that the general intelligence of the buyers in the market-place—though that intelligence was diffused and unorganized—might be sufficient to appraise things at something like their real value, resist extortion and force the industrials to do their best. The old theory of free market competition worked well enough, so long as this diffused and unorganized intelligence was fairly equal to its task. It ceased to work well enough from the moment that producers and sellers began to make large-scale combinations. From that moment a tendency set in that was socially suicidal.

Matters came at length to such a pass that a given unit of mental energy applied to commercial organization for the control of the market was found to pay better than when applied to industrial organization for the control of tools and materials. Hence came the various phases of industrial deadlock and stagnation, the decline in the purchasing-power of a day's work and the general rise in the cost of living. For there can be no substantial progress in a country that offers higher rewards for effort spent in selling things than for effort spent in making them.

Now what is the remedy for this inverted state of affairs that has followed upon the failure of the diffused and unorganized intelligence of the market-place to meet the requirements of grand-scale industry and commerce? The remedy is to organize this intelligence and give it point and power.

The idea must be firmly grasped that industry and commerce are different and contrasting processes. The part of industry is to establish relations between man and nature; the part of commerce is to establish relations between man and man. This latter is a social function and should be treated as such.

In casting about to find a practical method for subjecting the market to social control, we naturally expect that a matter of such importance must have forced itself upon people's attention in many ways, and must have been dealt with tentatively in many places. Accordingly one takes note of such social arrangements as those that have been worked out by the citrus-fruit growers of southern California, and like experiments in the United States and elsewhere. But perhaps the fullest development of the principle—though still tentative enough and with a defective sense of social obligation—is seen in the system of cartels that has woven a network of commercial regulation across the face of Germany.

Now although the German cartel system is a matter of private arrangement and not an affair of state, it has been generally accepted by economists and by German courts and legislatures as a socially serviceable thing. Its partial elimination of the disorder and waste of commercial competition and the stimulus it gives to technical advance are points of such advantage to the public that the occasional excesses and extortions of the system have been excused.

But one must look beyond the German cartel for a full-orbed expression of the democratic spirit in business; and it is after all likely to be in the United States that such an expression will ultimately be found.

Real democracy requires that the common market-agency shall act, not in the interest of a group, but of the whole community; and that the price paid by the community shall be the lowest that consists with general living standards.

It is conceivable that such an entire democratization of the cartel principle might be realized in this country by the sheer statesmanship or inspired social sense of "big business" men. It is thinkable that the producers of steel or oil or sugar might create a general marketing agency as scientific and social in its aim as—say, for example—an institute of marine engineers, or that spirited guild of commercial auditors in London whose unpurchasable professionalism is the terror of all corporate malfeasance. Certainly is it only a high and proud spirit, the spirit of science and the arts—and not the dread of legal penalties—that can permanently sustain any fit organ of social appraisal and market-control.

It must be admitted that there are no present signs that such an organ will be spontaneously generated in the steel, oil or sugar business. Indeed the legal obstacles are great. Besides, it is the present habit of the country to look to the government for initiative in such matters.

Now it happens that the government at Washington is at this moment confronted with the urgent question: "How under the anti-trust laws shall industrial concerns that compete in the home market, manage to combine for foreign trade?"

It appears that here is an opening for an application of the cartel principle on a line of minimum resistance. In considering the form that such an experiment might take one should observe those forms of the cartel in Europe that have proceeded from governmental initiative. Thus in Austria, France and Italy the governments have cartelized the tobacco trade—mainly for the sake of public revenue. The Rumanian government has created an oil cartel—to conserve the petroleum supply. And the Italian government has cartelized the sulphur industry of Sicily for a similar reason.

It is perhaps possible for the government of the United States to learn something from such precedents, and then to pass far beyond them all—by setting up a public buying-and-selling agency, say for the Latin-American trade. Such an agency should no doubt, in the first instance, confine itself to staple products that can be standardized, and so appraised by quantity rather than by quality—such as steel rails, copper wire, oatmeal and so on. The public agency could take the measure of the foreign market and buy from the home producers in that measure—not from "insiders," as it the case in the German system, but from the lowest bidders. The sales abroad would generally be made at a uniform price. And there would be a margin of profit left for the maintenance of the agency and to pay the public costs incurred through an extension of the consular service, through our actual employment of Commerce Department officials, who are in effect traveling public salesmen on the lookout for new markets.

It is worth considering also whether the cartel principle might not be applied to the development of an American merchant marine. Ocean transportation is, of course, a commodity—to be bought and sold like any other. A government agency for the comprehensive purchase and sale of this commodity could exclude from the competition all ships, whether of foreign or domestic registry, that did not comply with the terms of the proper Seaman's bill, could give a distinct preference to American ships and could maintain a rate-scale that would pay American ship-masters to get ships and sail them.

### What a Reader Says

Washington, D. C.

The Editor of Issues and Events:

Permit a reader and admirer of your paper to express his particular delight in your recent Congressional numbers, one of which presented a resume of the proceedings in the Senate over the Gore Resolution, while the other explained the complicated situation which arose in the House of Representatives over the Mc-Lemore Resolution, with liberal quotations and a table of the vote.

That was journalism which is journalism! It combined the thoroughness which characterizes European newspapers with truly American enterprise. It presented a lesson to the American press, both daily and weekly, which, alas, we can hardly hope will be followed! For a Talleyrand said that the object of speech is to conceal thought, so the cynical purpose of most American papers is to obscure the truth. A few extracts to prove their own particular point, a dexterous twist of interpretation, and most liberal omissions—and they have effectively misinformed the people and misguided public opinion.

The practice of Issues and Events has been a wholesome and welcome contrast to the procedure outlined above. You seek to present things fully and fairly. Your aim is to enlighten, not to obscure. You have, wonderful to tell, some respect both for Truth and for the intelligence of the People. The Congressional numbers were unique in American journalism. They paid the people the double compliment of believing that they would be intensely interested in the most vital issue before the nation at the time, and that they would appreciate a full presentation of both sides.

I trust that your readers will reward your enterprise and intelligence, your courage and your service, as they deserve. And I beg to remain, Sincerely yours,

J. O'Rourke.

# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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### ROOSEVELT POSTPONES "SOCIAL JUSTICE."

Let it be admitted that there was something straightforward and ingratiating about Mr. Roosevelt's excursion to Detroit. He faced the Ford vote manfully—without subterfuge or equivocation. He declared with entire honesty and simplicity that he had come to the town where his adversary was strongest **because** he was strongest there.

The Ford doctrine stands out against the Roosevelt doctrine in sharp antagonism. But it is not necessary to agree wholly with Mr. Ford in order to express one's complete disagreement with Mr. Roosevelt. The truth is indeed that Ford's philosophy might seem shallow if it were not for the contrast, offered by Roosevelt, of a philosophy that is very much shallower.

Take Mr. Roosevelt's appeal to workingmen in his Detroit opera-house speech. His position is that all questions of "social justice" must be held in abeyance until after we have forged for ourselves a heavy armor wherewith to front our foreign foes.

He says, "As for the wage-workers who support Mr. Ford, I understand entirely their desire to support any man who, in their belief, stands for a substantial measure of social and industrial justice. But I wish with all the emphasis in my power to call their attention to the fact that in order for us to work within our own borders for social and industrial justice, it is necessary to secure to ourselves the power to determine these questions for ourselves—to prevent alien conquerors from dictating our home policies."

In such words as these, interated with a great variety of phrasing, Mr. Roosevelt advertises his complete failure to grasp the most obvious political and social lesson of the European war, to wit, the fact that, under modern conditions of grand-scale economic production, military power is only a special form or function of industrial power. This is the principle that explains to all observant men the strength of Germany and the relative weakness of Great

Britain. It is pitiful that the man who talks loudest in America should fling about words or such stark foolishness—words blinding as vitriol blinds, to a truth that we terribly need to know.

We need to know—what Great Britain is learning in such bitterness of experience—that tool-power is the basis of the power of arms; and that first rate tool-power is utterly beyond the reach of any nation that is ruled by a selfish privileged class, in languid postponement of "social justice."

The thinness of Mr. Roosevelt's thinking was never more shamefully exposed. Reflect a little on this idea of justice for workingmen as a kind of sociologic luxury that can be foregone until after we have turned the country into an impregnable fortress—and then attended to at our leisure!

Has the dear man no conception at all of the sources of fighting powers? Is it possible that he has never seriously considered the fact that the quintessence of war-power is the feeling in the fighters that their physical fortunes are welded together?

Can he not see that, as things stand in the modern world, this sense of community of interest in the possession of a Fatherland and a common public estate, must be felt by the people when they work as well as when they fight?

To postpone social justice is to commit the country to irremediable feebleness. Roosevelt's kind of preparedness is shallow, sentimental, amateurish—a plutocratic preparedness devised by the agents of the leisure class for the protection and perpetuation of its own privileges. It would make the United States the sport and victim of the world.

For the broad, general meaning of the world-movement that has been set going by the war is that the organizers, engineers and workers of the world are now to have their inning; people who live by just **owning** things must stand back and give place to those who live by **doing** things.

### THE GREAT REVOLUTION.

**W**E are accustomed to suppose that revolutions are wrought only by class wars. The under dog becomes the upper dog, and then it is said that a revolution has taken place.

But we are at this moment in the presence of a revolution so great and transforming that it cannot be described in the accustomed historic terms. What is happening in Europe is a social change so great that it is hard to find similes to indicate its nature. It is, however, a good deal like the turning of a solid substance into a liquid.

The states of Europe are ceasing to be static and are coming to be dynamic. They are coming to be less and less like machines run by a

power outside themselves, and more like internal-combustion engines.

The idea of the state, as the world has generally understood it in the past, is that it exists to maintain a fixed code of rights, and accordingly to protect those who respect that code and punish those who violate it. But that idea of the state has now been set aside in Europe. And it soon will be set aside in the United States also.

The new and modern idea of the state that the Great Convulsion is forcing the whole world to accept, is that it exists for the purpose of effecting the highest possible mobilization of working-forces and fighting-forces. Thus in the near future it will be everywhere acknowledged that the greatest state is the state that is best organized for the advancement of the practical arts and sciences, and is therefore most effectual and most powerful in the control of natural materials and forces—whether for purposes of production or of defence and destruction.

### THE NEW IDEALISM.

PEOPLE who insist upon thinking as they have been taught to think, instead of thinking with their own heads, and with their own eyes and ears open to the actual facts of fresh human experience—will of course go on supposing that this matching of nation against nation and force against force must necessarily destroy the whole fabric of idealism and commit the world to meaningless collisions of malignant powers.

But nothing could be farther from the truth. The truth is that the human race is about to abandon its old idealism—for a new and better one. The new kind of idealism is determined to **realize** itself. It turns away from the old kind as from the wistful and shadowy dreams of a sick-bed. It faces the keen air of the morning with a new and conquering faith in the malleability of all the hard stuff of physical existence, under "the hammers of the world-smiths."

### THE BRIGHTEST PROSPECT THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN.

THIS changed motive of the great states—their ceasing to care much about maintaining abstract legal rights, and their beginning to care very much indeed about improvement in the practical arts—opens a vista of unprecedented happiness and prosperity.

We stand on the threshold of an Augustan age—a golden age—an age of immeasurable release and expansion.

There is nothing to prevent our entering into this renaissance, with all its gifts of physical wealth and mental elation—except the stubborn persistence among us of the sick-room

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idealism that insists upon believing that ideals are things to die for, but not to be realized on earth.

### THE DEEPEST ISSUE OF THE WAR.

**R**IGHT near lies the true explanation of the rankling bitterness of the Anglican Allies against the Teutonic spirit: The idealism of England and France is of the old-fashioned kind—the wistful, unrealizable, morbid kind—while the idealism of the Germans is modern, vivid and practical, expressing itself not in the maintenance of fine theories and abstract rights, but in the mastery of materials for human use.

To minds steeped in the vaporous sentimentalities of the old idealism—the new idealism seems base and bad.

In essence this moral contradiction is as old as the world. It is the substance of all the grand passions and all great tragedies.

### OLD-MAN ROOSEVELT.

**T**HE first step toward defeating one's adversaries is to understand them. For example, Mr. Roosevelt's postponement of "social justice" and his firm adhesion to the moral view-point of a moribund plutocracy, is best explained by the fact that he is an old man. He is not old in years or in nerves—quite the contrary. But he is old mentally and morally—as old as Billy Sunday.

It is impossible for Mr. Roosevelt to understand that the country is going to be saved by taking the kind of imaginative and emotional energy that he is forever blowing off into thin air, and turning it earthward to make fine art and science out of everybody's day's work.

He will doubtless go on talking about practical affairs in a good masculine tone of voice—but at bottom he is not interested in business, and could not conceive of taking a hearty sporting interest—a dramatic or romantic interest—in industry, technology or the organization of working-forces.

He is a preacher and a moralist—essentially cloistered and clerical, in spite of his pleasant cult of the open air. He passes nimbly from a litigious, egotistic old-time legal morality to the altruistic rapture of the G. A. R. encampment and the Protestant Sunday School.

But he has only a faint idea of the Right as a really modern man sees it—the Right that is neither self-seeking nor sacrificial, but purely objective and practical—the morality of the engineer, who figures the stress and strain of the human load and says: "I have got it Right."

### MILITARISM: WILL SOMEBODY TELL US WHAT IT IS?

**W**ESTERN Europe declares by the mouths of its political and literary spokesmen that the War must go on until "Prussian Militarism" has been crushed out and banished from the earth. Let us try to be fair to our French and English friends. Let us try to understand if possible what they are really driving at.

Their general idea seems to be that there are two kinds of government in the world—a good kind and a bad kind; that in the good kind political power is lodged in the hands of worthy and useful persons because they are felt to be worthy and useful, and that in the bad kind political power is arbitrary and has nothing to do with social worth or usefulness. Prussian government is supposed to be the bad kind, and Prussia is supposed to dominate Germany and the Teutonic alliance.

The business of "crushing militarism" therefore consists in the abolishment of arbitrary government—government by people who are obeyed mechanically and irrationally, just because they have formal authority and not because they have proved their ability to serve.

It seems to be believed in Western Europe, and in some parts of the United States, that this bad kind of government is terribly strong principally because it is so very bad; and that a misguided or feeble-minded nation can become the scourge and tyrant of the earth simply by submitting itself to the rule of vain and arrogant persons and doing whatever they tell it to do.

Now the prevalence of this theory in Western Europe and America at the present time can hardly fail to be regarded by men of a saner and happier day as a pitiful advertisement of moral and intellectual bankruptcy.

For our most compassionate critics of that future time can not help seeing that the creators and champions of the theory that the Germans are awfully strong because they are meanly submissive to an irrational authority—are caught firmly on the horns of a preposterous dilemma—or a series of such dilemmas. For the theory implies all sorts of absurdities; and in spite of the variety, there is no single one of the absurdities that any sensible man would wish to tie to.

The truth is of course that a people servilely submissive to an arbitrary and irrational authority must necessarily be a weak people. It could not menace anybody but itself. Nor could it withstand the attack of any society of free, self-reliant, responsible and capable men having a tenth part of its population.

The truth is that nations are strong and formidable to their foes precisely in proportion to their freedom from what Mr. Asquith and Mr. Poincaré mean by Militarism. In that sense of the word England and France are much more militaristic than Germany—although they are today much less militaristic than they were on the 1st of August, 1914.

For the War broke upon an England and France that were ruled by an arbitrary, irrational and irre-

sponsible plutocracy to which Englishmen and Frenchmen alike were basely submissive. Day by day as the War goes on these great and ancient nations, in their struggle to be strong, are obliged to get rid of their futile autocrats and to give place and promotion to men who can rule because they can serve.

Thus the hope of peace turns upon the discovery by the plutocratic nations that Germany is not militaristic at all in the sense they had supposed—that the strength of Germany is due to its freedom from vain, whimsical and arbitrary rulership and to its extraordinary development of the democratic principle that authority should go with worth and usefulness.

#### INTERNATIONAL COMEDY OF DISASTER.

**W**HAT could be more grotesque than this monstrous misunderstanding! The Germans are hated because they are said to be champions of arbitrary government—which is a supposition involving a curious and complicated stupidity. For if the Germans really did represent the arbitrary principle in politics, they could have only an inferior place in the practical arts and sciences and therefore could not be formidable to any neighboring nation with a free spirit and a socialized technology.

On the other hand, if it be true, as is here contended, that Germany represents an imperfect but on the whole the truest and most modern phase of democracy that has anywhere been revealed—if its astonishing power is due not to the remnants of feudalism that survive in the German state, but to the free career that it has opened to all kinds of productive talent, then we stand face to face with the most horrifying and astounding spectacle in history—the antitype and fulfillment of the pathetic misunderstanding of Calvary. The Allied Anglican powers backed by the financial and industrial resources of the United States, are desperately leagued together to destroy the substance of human liberty—in blind devotion to the name and shadow of it!

#### THE SPIRIT OF 1776.

As the success of the American Colonies in 1776 conferred upon the England of the Georges a restoration of political liberty—even so the success of Germany in the present struggle is delivering England, France and the United States from a despotism so subtle that its encroachments have escaped the understanding of cultivated classes, to wit, the anonymous and arbitrary power of an unsocialized finance.

This insidious and mind-darkening plutocracy has so blinded the eyes of respectable and learned men—our modern Scribes and Pharisees—that they cannot see the most obvious truth. They cannot understand that under modern conditions the power of a people for peace or war must depend upon its faithfulness to the democratic principle. They conjure up the ghosts of a deep antiquity and cry out against militarism as the divided and quarrelsome little Greek States cried out against Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

The militarism of Persia was formidable to the Greeks only because, under the conditions of the antique world, the idea of social team-play with tools

for peace purposes, was wholly undeveloped; machinery was used only for war. The military power then stood for the crude beginnings of modern grand-scale mechanical co-operation or the Power of the Machine.

Thus it was out of the cloisters of classical scholarship that this bug-a-boo about German militarism was brought forth.

#### SUCCOR FOR GERMAN INFANTS AND INVALIDS.

**A** concerted effort should be made to induce the State Department to insist upon the right of Americans to send delicacies and comforts to their friends among the civilian populations of the Central powers.

Even if the illegal stoppage of our non-contraband commerce with Germany is in the main to be submitted to, we ought at the very least—and even at the lowest ebb of our “humanity” and self-respect—to be determined about this matter.

Americans whose aged or invalid parents or grandparents, or whose young children or grandchildren are shut up behind the unlawful British blockade, must be expected to exhibit some other quality than docility when told that they cannot send a little wheat-flour or chocolate or condensed milk to their suffering kinsfolk.

Such things could be sent into Germany with absolute assurance that they would not strengthen the German fighting-force, but would serve only to save the lives of old and sick people and little children.

Measures should be taken immediately to see to it that packages of foods and medicines (say 50-pound packages) have such destination as above described, shall be forwarded to German consignees without British interference.

Boston, Mass.

To Issues and Events,  
New York City.

Dear Sirs:—Some time ago I was asked for an opinion by one of the Boston papers. Therefore, I am willing to make the following statement in reply to the assertion last night of our President, as quoted in the morning papers, “that the people were behind his policies.” The President should not deceive himself. There are thousands of persons who feel that the effort of our Administration to protect the lives of Americans who persist in traveling upon the ships of the belligerent nations may be right and the proper thing to do, but why not take a similarly firm stand in relation to our commerce? There is no doubt about our rights in that direction. Why permit our mail to be rifled? Why allow a foreign government to supervise our meat shipments to neutral nations? Why permit our ships to be searched and passengers taken off as prisoners? The contention is maintained that an American ship is American soil. If President Wilson is so partial to one side that the other refuses to submit to his rules, and by so doing brings our country into the conflict he is an enemy to mankind and a traitor to his country. His hold upon the people is expressed by a prominent Democrat, whom I will quote, “If Villa could run against Wilson he would defeat him.”

Very respectfully yours,  
FRED. W. CONNOLLY.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### BRITAIN'S KNELL HAS SOUNDED, DECLARES AMERICAN SURGEON.

"The English are a decadent race, and the knell has sounded for them as a great nation."

After ten months in the British field service of northern France, Dr. Waldo Richardson, an American surgeon, has just returned to Seattle with that firm conviction:

"I went to Europe decidedly pro-British," he declared, "but I have come back virtually neutral."

"I saw enough at the front, in the trenches and hospitals, to eradicate every favorable prejudice I had entertained for the English."

"As fighting men they have not lived up to traditions. In the hospitals the wounded have shown how little resistance the Londoners have. And as allies they have not won the respect of the French."

"The entente, I am convinced, will fall to pieces as soon as the war ends. It is now merely a matter of form, not of spirit. The French, I am sure, will express their opinion of the insular English in no complimentary terms when hostilities cease."

"And I believe, from all the evidence I saw at the front, that her colonies will divorce England when this period of horror has passed, Canada and Australia almost certainly."

"The Canadians have been openly disdainful and even hostile to the English officers, whose bombast has made enemies instead of friends among the allies."

### YUAN SHI KAI IS EXPECTED TO ABDICATE.

San Francisco.—Cable dispatches from Shanghai to-day to the Chinese Republic Journal here stated that a majority of representatives from all of the Chinese provinces, meeting at Nanking, were in favor of the abdication of Yuan Shi Kai. No formal action was taken. Feng Kuo-Chang, military governor of Giang-Su province, has called a meeting of the Independent provinces

to discuss steps to be taken after "Yuan Shi Kai's abdication."

More than 200 members of the old Chinese parliament, dissolved by Yuan Shi Kai, will assemble at Shanghai, to-day's advices said, to fix a place and time for reopening the parliament.

### CHANGING THE LAW OF NATIONS.

THE argument of our Government that international law cannot be changed during the progress of a war is of no force, in view of the previous attitude of this government in reference to the blockade. In our note of March 30, 1915, to Great Britain, it is stated:

"The government of the United States is, of course, not oblivious to the great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare since the rules hitherto governing legal blockade were formulated. It might be ready to admit that the old form of 'blockade,' with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports, is no longer practicable in the face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make an effective defense by the use of submarines, mines and aircraft."

In our note of March 5, 1915, to the British Government, it is stated:

"This government is fully alive to the possibility that the methods of modern naval warfare, particularly in the use of the submarines for both defensive and offensive operations, may make the means of maintaining a blockade of physical impossibility."

The attitude of our Government thus seems to be that we can admit to Great Britain and France that the advent of submarines may cause a change in a fundamental proposition of international law, without asking Germany for its consent to this change, even though such happens to injure the cause of Germany. On the other hand, in a case where we are "particularly impressed" with the justice of the German position in reference to the advent of submarines, we will not consent to the

clearing of a doubtful proposition of international law without the consent of England, if the change would happen to bear heavily upon the allies.

Not only have we refused to take any firm stand against England, but we have refused to aid anyone else in so doing. When, in November, 1914, Great Britain mined the open North Sea, the Scandinavian countries asked us to join them in a protest against this lawless act.

We declined to join Sweden in a protest against Britain's interference with international mails on the high seas.

We insist on the very letter of the law when it is a question of our right

## With the German Armies in the West

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to ship ammunition to the allies. But we insist on neither the letter nor the spirit of the law when it is a question of shipping food to the peaceful inhabitants of Germany.

We protest that the "blockade" is unlawful, but we do nothing, and promise to do nothing about it. Thomas Jefferson tells us that there is no difference between our restraining shipments of food to Britain's enemy, and allowing Britain to restrain them unlawfully. Both alike are unneutral acts.

Is all this fair? Is it American? Is it the performance of that even-handed justice which befits a neutral?

Above all, have we kept the faith and fulfilled our trust, to hand down to posterity the full body of international law which civilization has entrusted to us?—The American Independent.

## To Drive Dull Care Away

### EQUAL.

"Do you think that all men are free and equal?"

"I know of one place where they are."

"Where is that?"

"In a barber shop. There every one has to wait his turn."

When a woman buys a newspaper she doesn't think she is getting her money's worth unless she finds the name of somebody she knew in the obituary column.

### SAVED ROOM.

Merchant—Did you post my letter as I told you, John?

John—Yes, sir; but I had it weighed first, and, as it was double weight, I put another stamp on it.

Merchant—That's right. Only I hope you didn't put the extra stamp on so that it would obliterate the address.

John—Indeed, I didn't sir. I just stuck it on top of the other stamp so as to save room.

### A BEAUTY SHOW.

Aunt—Your bride, my dear boy, is wealthy and all that, but I don't think she'll make much of a beauty show at the altar.

Nephew—You don't, eh? Just wait till you see her with the bridesmaids she has selected.

### OF COURSE.

"Listen, old man. I've been asked to be best man at a wedding. What am I expected to do?"

"Well, for one thing, the maid of honor will expect you to propose to her before the day is over."

### HIS FINISH.

"Have you heard anything from that cousin of yours who went as a missionary to the Cannibal Islands?"

"Not directly, but there's a rumor that he got into some sort of a stew out there."

### SEASONABLE.

"In what direction does the village lie, my friend?"

"Well, sir, it's liable to lie in any old direction that comes handy, but at this time of the year, it's mostly about fish."

### ANTI-AIRCRAFT.

"Listen! I've got a great scheme. I'm going to capture a million Jersey mosquitoes and ship them over to London."

"The British Government wouldn't thank you for that."

"Wouldn't they? You just wait until I send up a flock of those mosquitoes to puncture the Zeppelins."

"Take a good look at this ladder, my boy." "What for?" "And then remember that if it were possible to get to the top at a single bound there would be no need for the bottom rungs."

### HIS TEMPER.

"My dear," said a lady to her husband, "there must be a lot of iron in your system."

"Why do you think so?"

"Because you invariably lose your temper when you get hot!"

A young lady telephone operator recently attended a watch-night service and fell asleep during the sermon. At the close the preacher said: "We will

now sing hymn number three forty-one—three forty-one."

The young lady, just waking in time to hear the number, yawned and said, "The line is 'busy.'"

The other day a lady employed a man to make an inventory of her drawing room furniture. He was so long about it that her suspicions were aroused, and she went in to see what he was doing. On the floor lay an empty bottle. On the sofa lay the man, sleeping like a tired child. But the inventory had not been wholly forgotten. At the top of the page stood a solitary eloquent entry: "One revolving carpet."

"I once knew an eccentric man," stated old Festus Pester, "who when he had got the desired number on the telephone did not demand fiercely, 'Whizz ziss?' Instead, he invariably said civilly, 'This is John J. Poppendick, wishing to speak to Mr. Buck-over.' His funeral was the largest ever held in the neighborhood where he had resided, and thereat strong men broke down and went like children, being convinced that they would never again see his like."

### OPPOSED TO IT.

"Pop!"

"Yes, my son."

"I heard to-day that a complete washing equipment for tourists, which can be folded to occupy little space in an automobile, has been invented."

"That is very nice, my boy."

"Very nice? Isn't there any place in the world a fellow can go where he doesn't have to wash?"

"Your lordship," said the foreman of the jury, "this lady is suing this gent for £1,000 for a stolen kiss."

"Correct," responded the judge. "You are to decide if it was worth it."

"That's the point. Could the jury have a sample?"

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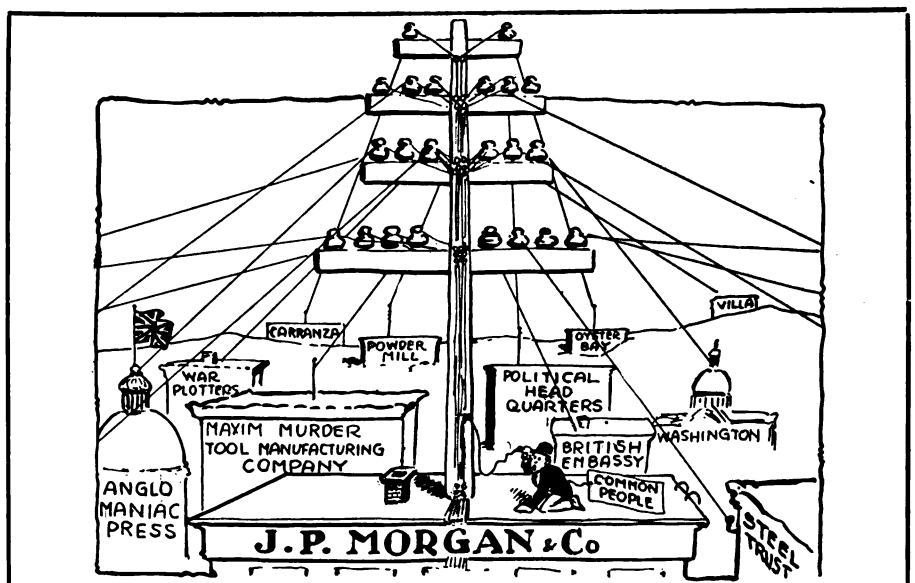
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Throughout the war England and the hired press have endeavored to mould the American people. They will be satisfied with the nomination of such men in either party only who possess a sentimental and mental make-up to suit themselves—the English hyenas of state.

We need real Americanism—not conceit; character building, not idolatry of mere persons.

Delegates! Are you aware of your responsibility? Do you realize that you will either strengthen or undermine the morals of this nation?

It is asserted that ordinary people have neither right ideas nor the ability to make them effective.

So you should do the thinking and planning for them. Have you done so? And if your work is poorly done at the conventions, the Soul of the Nation will speak at the election by choosing a man according to its heart, a man who will work for the welfare of the commonwealth and not for a class whether residing here or in England.

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## All Quiet Along the Potomac

By WILLIAM KENNEDY

**T**HE torrid days of a Washington Summer are beginning. Just at the other edge of Summer looms up election. Midway stretches the campaign, ushered in by the conventions which are almost ready to throw open their doors and sound their slogans. Congress is longing to get through with business and quit. And so the temper of Congress today is a sort of exaggeration of its customary *laissez faire*.

Our neutrality sits upon us no straighter than ever. We have not yet called England to time as we did Germany. The Hocking and the Genesee, American ships stolen within sight of our shores, have not been restored. We cannot send Red Cross supplies to wounded German soldiers nor condensed milk to weeping German babies. But Congress has no time to legislate on such matters. Congress has, in fact, given up the attempt to wield that power in international affairs which according to the Constitution it should have; it has yielded it all to the President, who under the Constitution has no right to it.

The naval bill is the big thing at the Capitol just now. It is being furiously attacked by the interests which are hungry to raid the Treasury in the name of Patriotism and Naval Preparedness. It is not a bad bill, for it provides for a strengthening of the Navy in the matter of battle cruisers, the thing we most lacked and the thing a modern navy most needs, after submarines. There may not be a sufficient provision for submarines and aeroplanes, but what gets the goat of the Preparedness Patriots is that there is an insufficient sum provided for the purchase of big guns and armor-plate. It falls very far short, this bill, of the \$500,000,000 which Col. Thompson's Navy League tried to tell Uncle Sam he must spend out of hand for armor-plate and guns. Yet it carries the biggest appropriation ever yet made for the American Navy. It is rather a good bill on the whole, and a fortunate escape from the plots of the Treasury-pilferers.

Everyone in Washington is either going to or looking toward Chicago. And yet there is not a single man here who is wiser than the rest of mankind. You may ask whom you please what the result will be at the Republican Convention, and you can get in reply any one of the guesses which have filled the newspapers, but the gist of it all is that every man answers in effect "I don't know."

The "League to Enforce Peace" has been meeting in Washington. It is presided over by the unfortunate Mr. Taft. It is a thoroughly English organization, playing one of England's many, widespread, subtle

games. Though, after all, it is only the fact that mankind is such a ludicrously simple and unhumorous thing, that makes it possible for the League to Enforce Peace to exist unblasted by the sardonic laughter of the universe. The idea of this precious society is to establish an international police force, and when anything goes wrong, in their view, when any nation doesn't do just what all its kind neighbors wish it to do, they are all to make war on the offender. This is called enforcing peace. Of course, the present war in Europe is enforcing peace, too.

Whenever one of these peace-by-war men gets in our neighborhood, we ask him a few questions such as these:

Are all nations, large and small, going to be represented equally on your international police, and have an equal control?

If that is the idea, couldn't you better spend your time at honest work or reading the classics, than speculating on the big and powerful nations agreeing to any such plan?

But if all nations are not to be equal; if the powerful countries are to have larger representation, are not the poorer and smaller lands to be just as much at their mercy as ever?

How will you prevent intrigues and coups which will give one group of nations an opportunity to suddenly strike another nation or group, by treacherously seizing the international navy?

What are you going to do about human freedom—about Liberty? Are you going to see to it, before you set up your international government with its international police, that all enslaved and oppressed nations are liberated? If not, will not the restrictions which your international agreements contemplate, prevent oppressed people from ever getting possession of arms with which to strike for freedom, and from ever making alliances with powerful nations opposed to their oppression? If rebellion breaks out, if an enslaved people strike for liberty, is the international police force to appear as an international brute and bully? Is it to rush to the side of the established tyrant and lend the force of the whole world to the suppression of aspiration and the making of martyrs?

Other questions will suggest themselves to any sane and sensible mind. Try them on your peace-by-war advocate, and see the white robes of superior idealism fall away from him, disclosing either the motley of the fool, or the red livery which is shared by England and Satan.

# The Ultimate Controversy

**A** MERICAN public opinion should not accept with too much complacency the unruffled surface of its relations to Germany as they now stand. Germany has submitted and, having submitted, her price is not allowed to waste words on recrimination; but submission is costing her so much that one would prefer the resentment to explode in noisy and threatening words rather than be artificially suppressed. American interference has ended at least for a while the submarine campaign in the British waters just as last winter it stopped the effective activity of the submarines in the Mediterranean. A few weeks ago English journals like the *Nation* were declaring that the embarrassment to commerce by the submarines was becoming a serious peril to British safety. During the past week the peril, whatever it amounted to, has vanished and the flood of British imports and exports rolls in and out of the British harbors unvexed by their furtive foes. The American government is largely responsible for their immunity. Whatever its justification, its interference has as a matter of fact been of enormous assistance to Great Britain and an equally serious handicap to Germany.

Thus the American nation, as a responsible collective body, is actually playing a part in the war and is behaving so as to promote the success of one group of belligerents and the failure of another. Such is the actual result, as many Germans see it, and such is the actual fact as it will affect future international partitions and alignments. In their view of this matter Americans are living in a fool's paradise. Because their government has only been asserting acknowledged rights of American citizens under international law and because it has been seeking to promote the essentially humane and civilized object of protecting the lives of non-combatants at sea, they have in their own opinion been clinging to an essentially disinterested and neutral policy—one which provides Germany with no reasonable ground for offense. This is a manifest and dangerous mistake, analogous to the mistake of believing that a government is purely neutral and disinterested when it ruthlessly suppresses a riot provoked by the importation into a labor dispute of car-loads of strikebreakers. Justification by law is inadequate as an answer to violence when the chief object of the violence is merely to drive home a protest against the law. Germany's submarine campaign has an object of that kind; it is fundamentally a protest against the existing system of maritime law. From the German point of view the body of law which the American government is enforcing against the submarine was designed for the benefit of maritime nations, and places a power which does not control the sea under an unjust and intolerable disadvantage. Germany is fighting in the present war partly for the purpose of breaking down this legal system. Yet the American government and public opinion refuses to consider whether Germany has or has not a grievance against the law, but continues imperturbably to insist upon obedience to the law by Germany, no matter whether Great Britain obeys it or not.

How and in what sense has Germany a grievance against the existing system of marine law? When she started on a career of industrial and commercial expansion she was confronted by one fact of overwhelming importance. The more she came to depend for the livelihood of her people upon water-borne commerce, the more costly and in the end the more impossible it became for her to risk a disagreement with the mistress of the seas. The indefinite increase of her exports of finished products and imports of foodstuffs and raw materials would soon land her in a predicament cor-

responding to that of Great Britain. She would need either to control the seas or else run a contingent risk of starvation and humiliation at the hands of the maritime ruler. The British navy and its commerce-destroying power under international law constituted the same kind of threat against German security and independence, in so far as it depended on over-seas trade, as would the concentration of an overwhelming military force on their eastern frontier. As against the Russian threat they could enlarge and improve their own military organization; but as against Great Britain no effort of their own would bring them any corresponding security. It was the settled policy of the island kingdom to outbuild any other one or any other two competitors. Even though Great Britain adopted her policy as a necessary safeguard of her own security, that explanation was a poor consolation for Germany. In so far as the British fleet could be used to destroy the commerce of an enemy and in so far as the British national policy, of which the fleet was the chief weapon, had any tendency to be either exclusive or obstructive, its superiority became a menace to the independence of all large commercial competitors.

Under such conditions the only course open to Germany was to make an attempt to change the law, which the mistress of the seas would have authority to exercise. Previous to the war the Germans had been agitating for the abolition or the restriction to very narrow limits of the commerce-destroying rights of a superior navy. They argued, as many Americans have argued in the past, that the freedom of the seas during war as well as peace was the permanent and just solution, because under such an arrangement the security of one nation would not bring with it insecurity for all its competitors. By agreeing to allow her enemies to trade freely during war, Great Britain could emancipate herself as well as her possible enemies from an intolerable national danger—that of being starved into submission. The British were so far influenced by these arguments that they came very near to accepting the Declaration of London, which although it was far from providing for the freedom of the seas in the German sense, did rigidly restrict the commerce-destroying rights of a superior fleet. But the Declaration of London was never ratified; and when the war broke out this particular controversy between the two countries remained unreconciled. The Germans had not underestimated its importance. They had, indeed, so far safeguarded their supply of raw materials and food that they could not be immediately starved into submission. Nevertheless the commercial embargo enforced by the British fleet has placed a weapon in the hands of the Allies more dangerous to the Central Powers than the French or the Russian army. If and in so far as Germany is beaten she will be beaten as a consequence of the blockade. Ability to obtain from this country a small part of the assistance which the Allies have obtained would have brought her, if not victory, at least security against defeat.

Such is the controversy into which the vicissitudes of the war have interpolated the United States, and in the outcome of which we are playing a decisive part. Germany had two chances of breaking the aggressive force of the British blockade. One was that the neutral trading nations might insist upon a reading of sea law, such as in the Declaration of London, which would permit her to obtain some of her needed supplies from abroad. The other was that she would be able to use the submarine to interfere with British commerce as a fair measure of retaliation against the suffocating grip of a complete commercial embargo. The policy of the United States has deprived Germany of both

these chances. We are allowing Great Britain, in defiance of our own traditional attitude of a strict interpretation of neutral rights, to execute the most comprehensive and inexorable blockade in the history of marine war. As a consequence of a rigid enforcement of similar rights against Germany, we have emasculated the submarine as a commerce destroyer. The net result of American interference has been to make

the defeat of Germany possible to an extent that would not have been possible merely as the result of military operations. If the mistress of the seas is to be allowed to exercise the unrestricted power of life and death over an enemy's commerce, sea power has become the most effective weapon of national aggression which has yet been forged in the history of the world.—The New Republic.

## A New World for the Worker

By CHARLES FERGUSON

THE ability to draw a straight furrow in a field is destined to be a political power—a type of the only kind of political power that has a future in the modern world.

\* \* \*

The principal task of a revived Democracy will be the constitutionalizing of the power to create food, clothes and houses, and to deliver men from the thralldom of mental inertia and physical need—the power of the artist and the engineer. This power can be made sovereign only by establishing in every American community a new and authentic center of working credit—a center that shall be recognized as the core of modern industrial society.

The new Democracy will not undertake to organize those ghostly "official" powers—wraiths of the legal imagination—that are, in books of political speculation, imputed to living men. It will organize instead only the real powers that are exercised in the production of real goods.

These powers have hitherto lacked social and public existence. They stand only on a class-basis in the rival and mutually destructive organizations of labor and capital. The work of Democracy is not to subordinate the working world to a fictitious political power, but to coordinate the working forces through a power that is the actual source of all civic strength, to wit, the power of art and science.

So far as the United States is concerned, this world-power has its polarization in the public school.

The existing school system is not democratic and manifests no natural drift or tendency to become so. On the contrary, it tends constantly toward a more and more complete subjection of teacher and pupil to school-boards that represent the credit-masters of society. The coming generation is being trained to habits of mental subservience and routine, is being prepared for passive submission to an obscurant and illiberal plutocracy.

In Germany, the teaching faculties of the universities are self-governing; the authority to discipline a teacher for unsocial and dangerous doctrines resides in the teaching body itself. In the United States, this free and self-governing republic of science and letters does not exist. College professors occupy their chairs as tenants-at-will of regents and trustees who, for the most part, represent only the social status quo and the unshakable fixity of vested interests.

It follows from these considerations that the fight for democracy in America can be won only by precipitation and moral coup de main. Those who wait for democracy to come by natural evolution do not understand the situation. They can play only an antagonistic or obstructionary part.

\* \* \*

The most effectual and democratic use of the arbitrary power conferred by high political offices is to

create with it a new power that shall not be arbitrary—a power of artistic and scientific social control.

Democracy cannot regard the proposal to destroy the arbitrary credit power of Wall Street by setting up an equally arbitrary power in Washington, as anything but a possible makeshift and pis aller. It is a principle that in the nature of the case admits only of a limited application; carried to extremes, it would produce a cataclysm.

Credit cannot be legitimized otherwise than by keeping it close to the ground where the cities are built and the fields plowed. It must be bedded in the facts of actual industry and enterprise, and centered in local institutions of art and science. From thence it can rise to high correlations in the capitals of countries. But there can never be any common law of commerce—nations must continue to war against nation for commercial advantage, and class must continue to fight class for the political control of commerce—so long as the concentrated power of money is perched upon the summit of a legal pyramid.

The social deadlock can be broken only by the diffusion of money power and the identification of it with the power to produce goods. A man's credit at the bank must be what he is really worth.

\* \* \*

Observe that this argument turns upon the proposition that the administration of credit is, or will soon become, the sovereign principle in modern society.

It should be borne in mind that this unexampled modern world of business is, in its very nature, futuristic. It banks not upon the actual but upon the possible or probable. Thus the working of the higher ranges of credit-power are beyond the mental reach of those who suppose that credits should always stand for existing goods. The fact is that the higher credits stand, and must continue to stand, not for goods but for economic means and opportunities—out of which goods that have no present existence, can be made to exist.

Accordingly, the modern man of business is ceasing to think of his economic power in terms of material things. His wealth is his credit. Lands, buildings and machines are merely the forms in which, for the moment, he chooses to embody that credit—in the expectation of increasing it. The object of his ambition is to increase, not the bulk of his goods, but the length of the Archimedes lever by which he expresses his personality and moves the world. The subtler and more insistent motives of modern men cannot be expressed in terms of ownership. We have passed out of the age of the landlord into a new area—the ear of the masters of creative forces.

In face of this new social dynamics our old social statics fall flat and impotent. Politics is a doddering priest; business is a flaming prophet.



# An English View on English Conditions

The following two articles, "Townshend Tells the Truth," and "When the Dead Awaken," we reprint in part from "**John Bull**," of May 13, 1916. This English weekly has gained notoriety for itself through its Chauvinism on the one hand and its blind hatred of everything German on the other hand. Keeping this in mind our readers will appreciate these extracts from "**John Bull**" as significant of the conditions existing in England. "**John Bull**" has a weekly circulation of over 1,300,000 and is read by all classes of Englishmen.—Editor.

## TOWNSHEND TELLS THE TRUTH.

**W**HO betrayed General Townshend? The British public are clamoring for an answer to that pregnant question. The nation is not going to be fobbed off with legal platitudes, nor shall the unrest in the disaffected parts of Ireland act as a cloak to cover a crime which stinks to Heaven. The greatest surrender of British troops that has ever taken place since first the Union Jack floated over the isles is not a matter that can, or shall be, glossed over by a few parliamentary phrases, or be buried in oblivion by the operation of the Defence of the Realm Act. **The British Government is without a shadow of defence in this matter; there are no extenuating circumstances, so they maintain a shameful silence—and cling to office. Their apologists say that the fall of Kut was of no military importance. Is that so? Then, in the name of God, why was the expedition set in motion?**

\* \* \*

If Calais were to fall tomorrow these same apologists would assert that the town, not being in England, was of no strategic importance—and Mr. Asquith would still cling to office! The Government are the men who betrayed General Townshend—for it was they who caused him to be sent upon his fatal mission with an army of only 14,000 men, badly equipped, and with no adequate provision made for a sufficiency of transport to keep even that little army properly supplied with reinforcements in case disaster overtook it on its mad venture.

The sending of Townshend and his gallant few into that death-trap was not a mistake; it was a cold-blooded crime—for it was conceived in order to divert British public attention from Asquith's fatal blunders at the Dardanelles.

\* \* \*

And the British people have made no active protest—they are muttering all over the land, but they are doing nothing. Thousands of them in every part of these isles are talking wildly of rebellious risings, when they have a perfectly constitutional remedy ready to their hands. The people have only to come together and say, "The Government must, and shall, go before another and a greater disaster befalls us," and go they must. The whole Parliament should go; for there is not amongst the political assembly one solitary statesman with the courage and ability to impeach Mr. Asquith for his wicked, wasteful and senseless crime—the crime of Townshend's betrayal. Mr. Asquith sent the soldier on his desperate quest; and when he was driven into Kut-el-Amara the Premier, to all intents and purposes, left him and his men to their fate.

\* \* \*

Therein lies the betrayal; for Townshend had a right to expect, and **I know he did expect**, an army to come to his support strong enough to save him, and **save the honor of our Empire in the East**. His confidence was betrayed, his hopes dashed, whilst the wretched Government crew were squabbling about the manner in which beer might be bought and sold—the poor, pitiful mountebanks to put a paltry "social" measure above the blood of brave men!

This is what Townshend wrote: "It is absolutely un-

sound from a military point of view to attempt to take Bagdad with less than an army corps of two divisions." Townshend is a prisoner of war until peace comes, and he cannot protect his reputation; but it is the duty of a public journal to protect the soldier from the machinations of unscrupulous politicians. Townshend's renown shall not be smirched whilst he is languishing in a Turkish stronghold, in order that the face of this Government may be saved. Mr. Asquith did not save him, but he shall not be permitted to damn his reputation as a soldier. It is cowardly, contemptible and base to attempt to do so, even if he uses another parliamentarian to do this thing in the "House."

## WHEN THE DEAD AWAKEN.

**I**HAVE just returned from one of our numerous fronts. Before being sent overseas, I had been doing home defense work on and around our coast.

\* \* \*

That seems a long time ago. It was a long time ago, for countless graves have been dug in foreign lands for our dead since then, and countless ships have been sunk beneath the seas England once ruled. That little corner of the Empire where I was dumped with my section (all the officers except one, and forty per cent. of the men, being married) was not supplied with newspapers—a daily War Office telegram telling us what was not happening relieved the monotony of "waiting." For some unaccountable reason we all believed that there was universal service, that the submarine problem had been solved, that there was a responsible Air Minister, and that the blockade of Germany had commenced. Also that certain comic campaigns, light-heartedly undertaken by lawyers—and led by soldiers and sailors "muzzled"—were things of the past.

My way "home" led through France. My heart swelled with pride to think that she and my England were suffering, fighting and sacrificing side by side.

The whole of France which I passed through, from one end to the other, was like a mountain just before the hour of dawn; dark, very silent, without sunshine or daylight; mysterious and awful, yet pregnant with the birth of a new day. One cannot set foot on French soil without shedding tears. One cannot breathe the air without being inspired to brave deeds.

Then the white cliffs of England greeted me.

"Don't use a motor-car for pleasure." That was my first greeting—in letters five feet high on giant boardings.

I rubbed my eyes—and looked again. "Bad form in Dress."

"Name of a Saint, what does it mean?" gasped a Frenchman.

"Name of St. George and Merrie England," I echoed, "it—it must be some new advertisement of Bottomley's for **John Bull**."

I tumbled into a train and was given luncheon by two stalwart young English waiters; I would have felt happier had they been interned Germans instead of interned English youths.

I asked for a paper and opened it expectantly. The first paragraph I saw was headed, "Let Us Get on with the War." I turned the page, "The Air Muddle"—"Resignation of Lord Derby"—"Mr. Asquith's Speech."

I threw the paper away: "You've given me last year's paper!" I cried. "I want the news of 1916."

I was assured I had it. I looked again. Across the top of another page I saw in big-headed type, "We Must Have Compulsion!" And there was the date, "April 9th, 1916."

It was a bitter pill for an old married man, twenty months ago a civilian, to swallow. There was worse.

General Townshend was still being "relieved"; the Dardanelles fiasco was still being used as a political peg on which to hang soldiers. Air raids on England were still being discussed with the same amount of intelligence as, in another column, the latest fashions in feminine attire. Mr. Asquith was still making speeches—and the sea was thick with the wrecks of our ships, and France was sowed thickly with our dead.

And nobody seemed to know or to care. In London the trains and trams and cabs and omnibuses were filled with careless crowds reading Mr. Asquith's speeches. The boardings were bright with posters telling the happy crowds what to wear and what to eat and what to do with their motor-cars.

Tears had filled my eyes in France. Tears filled them again in London, but they were not the same tears. They were tears of humiliation.

\* \* \*

### A FEW TRUTHS.

Dare I, an old civilian—sick of the war as we in England wage it—tell you a few truths?

Ministers are saying to-day what they said yesterday, and will say to the End of the Chapter—which will be written in London by the Kaiser, unless we all stop chattering.

Yes, we have an Air Service, the finest in the world, and we have no one to control it. It is costing us hundreds of thousands of pounds—and eating its heart out.

We have the nucleus of the finest army (save the French) in the world, scattered vaguely all over the Empire waiting for a Minister and a competent General Staff. We have a Navy rendered useless by red tape and controlled by civilians. We have everything that, given a Government, could give us command of earth, air and sea in six months, and finish the war.

But there is no one to lead us, no one to command us, no one to rule us. Sheep without a shepherd; sheep bleating their own blind way to the slaughter house.

And we have become so fat, so sheep-like, so stupid and so selfish, that we dare not rise up and insist that the Army, the Navy, and the Air Service shall "run" this war, and rule us until victory is achieved; and that our politicians, poster artists and financiers shall resign, cease wasting our wealth and the lives of our fathers and sons, and refrain from making the honor of England the laughing-stock of the neutral world.

And I shudder to think what the glorious dead will say—when they awaken.

## Two Great Conferences

By HORACE L. BRAND

IN Chicago on May 28th and May 29th two conferences were held which were of more than passing interest. On May 28th the newly formed German-American Press Association met in conference in the Kaiserhof Hotel. It is estimated that 300 German language newspapers were represented by authorized delegates. This conference of newspaper men drew up and adopted a platform of principles. They also discussed and acted upon various special subjects.

On May 28th and May 29th authorized representatives of millions of voters gathered together in conference in the Kaiserhof Hotel. Delegates were present representing churches of many denominations, representing social, business and quasi political organizations and representing the German-American Press Association. The delegates who were present came from the following 26 states and territories of the Union:

District of Columbia, Delaware, Alaska, California, Georgia, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, South Dakota, Texas, Wisconsin, Washington, New Mexico, Connecticut, Oregon.

Aside from these delegates almost every other state and territory and almost every important city was represented by proxy. All large organizations of Americans of German ancestry throughout the country were either directly represented or assured the committee of sympathetic support. This conference of delegates adopted the following resolution:

"1. We demand a neutrality in strict accordance with the advice contained in George Washington's address to the American people.

"2. We urge a foreign policy which protects Amer-

ican lives and American interests with equal firmness and justice.

"3. We condemn every official act and policy that shows passionate attachment for one belligerent nation or inveterate antipathy for another.

"4. We deplore those utterances, voiced by officials, ex-officials and others designed to create or tending to create a division along racial lines among our people.

"5. We hope no party will nominate for the presidency a candidate whose views tend to establish such division.

"6. We trust that the republican convention will unite all the elements in that party upon a candidate whose views are in harmony with those hereinbefore expressed.

"7. We trust that the democratic convention will nominate for the presidency one who subscribes to the views expressed hereinbefore.

"8. We assert that any candidate for the presidency who is not in accord with the views expressed hereinbefore is unworthy of the support of a free and independent electorate."

### Platform of Principles.

"We deplore and condemn all attempts to divide Americans and to insult or stigmatize any race, creed, or color by invidious hyphenation. Men from every country of the world have found here a new home—a land of liberty, of equal opportunity and equal justice—and all have contributed their sweat and their blood to the upbuilding and defense of our grand democracy. They may be hyphenated Americans, but their Americanism is unhyphenated. To attempt to arouse animosity and distrust toward any class or nationality, as some have done through shrewd ambition or ungovernable temper, is a crime. A deaf ear should be turned to all demagogues that trade upon national antipathies

and seek to extol their own loyalty by impugning that of others.

"We believe in adequate preparedness based upon patriotism and culminating in efficiency, but divorced from politics and jingoism. We disapprove an overgrown military establishment that may be used for purposes of conquest or the intimidation of labor.

"We believe that an American merchant marine should be created and protected, so that American ships under the Stars and Stripes shall carry on our foreign commerce, and to this end we also believe that the Panama canal, built and maintained by American men and means, should be absolutely free to all American ships, and we hold that all who would deny or defeat such a policy are unmindful of American interests and should be retired from public life.

"We believe in the freedom of the seas and the policy of the open door, in frank diplomacy and international good will as opposed to the double standard in foreign relations, which judges with harsh acerbity the mistakes of one nation and condones with academic disapproval the offenses of another. We believe in maintaining all American rights at all times against all transgressors, without undue severity and haste on the one hand or undue leniency and delay on the other. We do not believe that we are called to be the partisan or the executioner of any foreign nation engaged in a struggle the causes and objects of which are to most of us veiled in obscurity, and we hold that an unimpeachable neutrality toward all, with persistent and unrelaxing counsels of peace, should be our attitude as Americans, rather than passionate sympathy, re-creation, defamation and mercenary trafficking upon their necessities. The wise counsels of Washington, the humanitarian statesmanship of Jefferson, should be sufficient guide for Americans in these difficult and devious paths of foreign policy."

The conference did not express a preference for any

candidate for the presidency, neither on the Democratic nor on the Republican side. The resolutions and platform of principles were vociferously applauded as expressing the views of all present and by rising vote expression of thanks was extended by the conference to Messrs. Horace L. Brand of the Illinois Staats Zeitung and to Bernard H. Ridder of the New Yorker Staats Zeitung and to George Seibel, managing editor of the Pittsburgh Volksblatt und Freiheits Freund. These three gentlemen were thanked particularly because they were responsible for drafting the resolutions and the platform of principles. But all other members of the committee on resolutions received thanks of the conference for the splendid work done by the committee on resolutions.

The conference was permeated by the spirit of lofty Americanism. No one present could doubt the loyalty of the members or delegates present nor of their views which represented the views of over two million American voters. It would have been superfluous to have in the resolutions or platforms of principles any statement to the effect that the delegates present proclaimed their unadulterated loyalty to the United States. Such clause would have raised a question and no question exists on that point. Unadulterated loyalty to the United States, to the declaration of independence, to the constitution, to the laws of the United States was manifested in every word and in every act of the delegates present and of the gathering as a whole.

This conference will go down in history as one of the most important gatherings ever held in the United States. Citizens of German ancestry again took the lead in proclaiming a platform of principles which are for the best interest of the United States divorced from politics, from personal ambition and from demagoguery, and based upon the best and purest motive, as were those enunciated by George Washington.

## Uncle Sam, Please Copy!

Great Britain has lost her controlling power over Sweden. Sweden will no longer put up with England's arrogance of assuming the dictatorship and control over her trade with the United States and other neutral countries. In order to prevent the re-exporting of goods to the Central Powers England refused to permit American goods to be sent to Sweden unless guarantee was given to that effect by the consignee. Sweden naturally refused to consent to such an order and forbade her citizens from subscribing to any such contract with the British government, which she considers an infringement of her sovereignty and insufferable interference with her trade.

Britain insists on her right to stop non-contraband goods from reaching Germany. This claim we denied in our note to the British government on March 13, 1915:

"It is confidently assumed that his majesty's government will not deny that it is a rule sanctioned by general practice that even though a blockade should exist and the doctrine of contraband as to unblockaded territory be rigidly enforced, innocent (non-contraband) shipments may be freely transported to and from the United States through neutral countries to belligerent territory without being sub-

ject to the penalties of contraband traffic or breach of blockade, much less to detention, requisition or confiscation.

And no claim on the part of Great Britain of any justification for interfering with these clear rights of the United States and its citizens as neutrals could be admitted. To admit it would be to assume an attitude of unneutrality toward the present enemies of Great Britain which would be obviously inconsistent with the solemn obligations of this government in the present circumstances."

Sweden's stand is the same; she claims that Britain has no right to interfere with non-contraband goods moving from the United States through her realms to Germany. Submission to Britain's claim Sweden considers a breach of neutrality, and thus forbids her citizens to carry out England's lawless order of restraint of international trade.

Our packers shipped over \$20,000,000 worth of provisions to Scandinavia. England seized these shipments and threw them into a prize court, which action was practically not protested against by our administration.

Sweden deserves all honor for her present vigorous action, worthy to be imitated by the United States.

## THEY WANT MORE INCOME, BUT NOT MORE TAXES.

**T**HE benevolent gentlemen of the ruling class in this country are not making enough money. Their incomes are not large enough. That is obvious in view of the extent to which they have gone into the munitions business, for everyone knows that their hearts bleed for the poor soldiers in Europe whose bloody strife is made possible only by the steady stream of guns and shells and bullets which pour out of this country, over the seas, to the trenches. Furthermore, the wonderfully widespread and effective campaign for "preparedness" in this country is due to the fact that our capitalists feel that they have a duty to perform toward themselves. The organization of the American International Corporation, which unites the wealth and power of every important group of capital in the country for the economic exploitation of the undeveloped areas of the earth—under the protection of the navy which it is hoped to make big enough for this job—is another proof that the poor rich man feels that he must do something to get all that he thinks is his—which is all the earth and the waters about the earth hold.

But it is a curious and undeniable fact these same gentlemen are reluctant to bear their proportionate share of the burdens of government; they have somehow an inbred aversion to taxes, and particularly they are repulsed by the income tax. Their sensitive shrinking from this form of contribution to the necessary upkeep of government has been stated by Basil M. Manly, Director of Research for the Industrial Relations Commission, to deprive the government of no less than \$320,000,000 a year. Consequently Congressman Keating of Colorado, a rough sort of person incapable of appreciating the sensitiveness of the wealthy classes, has introduced a resolution in the following terms:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby directed to furnish the house with a statement showing the following facts:

First—Whether or not it is true as stated in published articles in the press by Basil M. Manly that approximately \$320,000,000 is being annually withheld from the treasury of the United States by income tax frauds and evasions.

Second—Whether or not it is true that the total amount of wages and salaries paid in the United States in 1914 was approximately \$15,000,000,000 and whether of this sum at least \$500,000,000 was paid to men who received salaries over \$3,000; and whether or not of the 500,000 persons shown by the census of 1910 to have been engaged in occupations from which their income was derived principally by fees, the income of said persons which was more than \$3,000 per annum would total \$300,000,000 per year; and whether or not the income derived from the ownership of property and the conduct of business amounts to \$30,000,000,000 a year and of this, whether or not two-thirds was received by persons whose annual income was more than \$3,000; and whether or not the estimated amount of income received by persons, who should be subject to the income tax was, therefore, \$20,866,000,000.

Third—Whether or not, of the above sum after deductions for taxes and depreciation the total remaining taxable income subject to the income tax could be reasonably estimated at \$16,420,000,000; and whether or not after deducting exemptions of \$3,000 in the case of unmarried persons and \$4,000 in the case of married persons, the total remaining income subject to the income tax would be \$14,525,000,000.

Fourth—Whether or not estimating a reasonable super-tax on a proper proportion of said income, the total yield from the income tax should approximate

\$361,250,000; and whether or not at least \$20,000,000 of taxes in speculative profits should be also included.

Fifth—Whether or not, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the United States treasury should be in receipt of \$401,250,000 annually from income taxes instead of \$80,190,000 actually collected.

Sixth—Why the secretary of the treasury has not recommended to the president that all income tax returns be made public in accordance with the authority contained in Article "d2" of Section "g" of the income tax in order that fraud may be checked.

A similar resolution is to be introduced in the Senate this week.

## A GHASTLY INDICTMENT OF OUR CIVILIZATION BY OUR GOVERNMENT.

**T**RUTH is often set forth in its most startling colors by the blundering speech of the servants of untruth. But we cannot recall an instance heretofore in which a great government has deliberately drawn a ghastly indictment against itself—against the civilization which it embodies—against the state of human society which it fosters. The United States Government has done just this. It has published a document which charges the American Republic with total failure, which represents American civilization as a hell on earth; a document which comes near to urging a self-respecting individual to suicide, which comes near to inducing in a free people a revolutionary purpose. These are strong words, but read the picture which some advertising booster of the American Navy has drawn of American life, a description published by the government and blazoned on the billboards; and then reflect on how much, precisely, the traditional watchwords of America now mean. Think of all men "created free and equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Think of "The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave." Remember that "America means opportunity." And then read this:

"Young man, think over what you have NOW and what promise the FUTURE holds out for you: then, learn what the navy offers you. Check up each and every item in the two columns which follow: compare item in the Civil Life column with the opposite item in the Navy column—then judge which column sums higher up.

### READ EVERY WORD OF THIS.

#### IN THE CIVIL LIFE.

1. Jobs uncertain; strikes, layoffs, sickness.
2. Promotion and advancement uncertain and slow.
3. Favoritism and partiality frequently shown.
4. Pay small and limited while learning a trade.
5. Same old, monotonous, tiresome grind every day.
6. Stuffy, gloomy, uninteresting, working-place.
7. When sick your pay stops and doctor's bill starts.
8. If disabled or injured you receive little or no pay.
9. If you die your family gets only what you have saved from your small wages.
10. Little CLEAR MONEY; nearly all your pay goes for living expenses.
11. Old age, sickness, little money saved, your job goes to a younger and more active man.

#### IN THE NAVY.

1. Steady and healthy employment, with good pay.
2. Promotion quick and sure for deserving men.
3. No unfairness or preference; the best man wins.
4. Pay good with chance to learn a useful trade.
5. Travel, education, knowledge, change of scene.
6. Fresh air, sun, sea: clean, healthful, athletic life.
7. When sick, pay goes on, doctor and hospital free.
8. If you are disabled you get a generous pension.
9. If you die, six months' pay goes to your family—with a liberal pension.
10. Your pay is CLEAR MONEY; no expense or outlay for clothing.
11. After 30 years' service, retirement on three-fourths pay, plus \$15.75 for allowances.

# Issues and Events

## A WEEKLY MAGAZINE

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We regret to be obliged to advise our subscribers that we must charge ten cents (10c) for each change of address. Lately we have been overwhelmed with requests for change of address on account of summer travel.

Subscribers will please bear in mind that such change involves a change and correction of three different files, new stencils must be cut for the addressing machine, etc. The nominal ten cents defrays only part of this expense.

**Both old and new address** must always be given and such change of address, if at all possible, should be sent two weeks before it is to go into effect.

### WHO SAID "RATS?"

**I**T was Mr. Churchill who, as First Lord of the Admiralty, boasted that if the Germans did not come out of the Kiel Canal the British would go in and dig them out "like rats."

The world has been waiting for Britain to make good her boast. Germany called her bluff in the naval engagement the other day. On the face of the reports of the naval encounter in the North Sea the British fleet seems to have been caught napping and paid a heavy penalty. Germany comes out of the greatest sea fight in history with a brilliant victory. In the first real sea battle of this war Germany has given a rude jolt to Britain's confidence and claim to the supremacy as mistress of the seas.

Efficiency, preparedness to the last notch and Zeppelins have combined to set the honors on the side of the German naval forces. Defying British boats and preponderance of sea power the German fleet leaving its shelter engaged the enemy and inflicted more damage than it received. Whether the German fleet was accompanied by battleships or summoned them to its aid is not clear, but the German battleships evidently reached the scene of action and got in their deadly work before the British

heavy battalion came up, which to all accounts came up too late, like Kitchener's famous millions. By the time the British "main force" arrived, the German fleet had already returned to its shelter, but was not "chased back to Kiel," as the Evening Telegram would have us believe. At any rate, no sea power, which claims the mastery over all others, can have one of its fleet cut to pieces within gunshot, so to say, of its whole navy, without suffering deep and lasting reproach, even conceded that the material damage is relatively small.

The truth is that throughout this whole war the British, both on land and on sea, have been inexplicably inert. While the Central powers are now hammering the Entente powers all over Europe with an aggressive fury more intense than ever before in this war, Britain is to all accounts doing nothing worthy of the expectations of her allies.

Britain must now face the fact that she must fight to hold the mastery of the seas. Her prestige has suffered greatly and she must do more than assert it. From now on she must face the possibilities of actual hostilities on the seas. The mere existence of her big fleet will not restrain the German navy from further attack, and when another naval engagement will take place, as may naturally enough be expected, England's former claim as mistress of the seas will be put to a test upon which her very existence may depend. She will have to fight with all her skill and prowess to retain her prestige or concede Germany her place in the sun.

### THE LAWYERS' UTOPIA.

**I**N Washington the other day Mr. Taft presided in his corpulent, humorous way over the dissertations and lucubrations of the League for the Enforcement of Peace. The theory of this organization is that wars can be dealt with as crimes are dealt with; that in every war—or nearly every one—the aggressor is wrong, as burglars and forgers are wrong, and that the way to stop this bad business of fighting is to create a Sublime Court House so awful in aspect that the judgments that issue from it shall seem to be clothed with divine sanctions, and then to add an immense Police Station that all criminal nations shall shiver to look at.

Of course, this idea has to be toned down a little. It has to be conceded that the League is not bothering about this particular unpleasantness now going on in Europe, and even that there may be other disturbances in the future too complicated to be dealt with on the League plan. But the League is very sure that we can in due time put the whole world in order by a proper and patient use of briefs, benches and barristers, with a sufficient complement of constables to do the rough-house work.



### THE BLINDNESS OF PHARISEES.

**T**HE Pharisees of sculptural history were self-satisfied persons who couldn't understand the Gospel of Liberty and Democracy because of a certain false assumption that underlay all their thinking. That assumption was that they—the Pharisees—with all their institutions and traditions, were substantially all right.

Mr. Taft and the Hamilton, Holts and Mouhouckers that go with him, make a similar disqualifying mistake. They assume that the present social and political organization of the United States is good and final, that there is nothing seriously wrong or impracticable about it. Naturally they infer, therefore, that our kind of law and order can be expanded to take in the whole world. Hence the thought of a Supreme Court that shall be like the court that now sits in the Capitol, having Hugheses in it, perhaps, with still more patriarchal beards, but probably no Brandeises, and exercising a universal jurisdiction.

The trouble with this conception is that our political and social state is not—as a matter of actual fact—very much sounder in its present constitution than was the Judaea of the Pharisees. Therefore, the principles of our Commonwealth in their present operation cannot be applied to a Universal Society any more successfully than could those of the ancient Jewish Commonwealth.

We must first free ourselves from the deep social antagonisms that produce war—before we can free the world.

### THE RULE OF THE SECURE.

**N**OW the fundamental vice of our social system is that the dominant force in it—the force that shapes and interprets all its laws—is the Security Holder—the man who refuses to expose himself to any avoidable risk.

This Security Holder—with his peculiar timid and tepid mentality—has so possessed himself of our schools, churches, newspapers and other agencies of intellectual and moral influence, that to a large proportion of us the fact that this is a dangerous and difficult planet—a planet upon which high-pitched human life can be sustained only by perpetual adventure of life and limb, and unceasing battle with the elements of nature—is a fact that has been curiously and elaborately veiled and on the whole effectually obscured. The whole drift of our rarified and sentimental culture (spelled, alas! not with a K) has been to teach us that success in life consists in making one's escape from the adventure and battle of that struggle against the fatalities of nature by which the delicate and stupendous fabric of our civilization is daily and hourly sustained.

### THE CULTURE OF QUITTERS.

**S**INCE the beginning of the century our political and legal system has year by year fallen more and more completely under the control of a class whose absorbing interest is to have a good time.

Every political and social question—yes, every financial and industrial question also—tends more and more to find its settlement through considerations that turn upon the increasing of the Securities of the Secure—the fencing of all the natural shocks that flesh is heir to, out of that Eden of unearned incomes from which our rulers rule the working world.

The industrial and financial organization of the country is by turns afflicted with paralyzing lassitude and feverish activity, because its operations have fallen under the control of a class that stops the wheels or sets them whirling, without the smallest regard for the general life-sustaining objects of industry and with a single eye to the safety of those whose horror it is to work and whose rest and play must not be disturbed.

The interests of the organizer of industry, the manufacturer, the engineer, the mechanic—of all those who have the courage and energy to bear their part in the risks and perils that inhere in the very nature of the production of goods—are systematically sacrificed to the interests of these precious pacifists who will not enter the arena of the earth-struggle at any price.

### THE PACIFISM THAT MAKES WARS.

**T**HAT, fellow-citizens, is what is the matter with our politics, our law, our industry, or finance. Our whole system is enfeebled and invalidated because it is pervaded and penetrated by the foolish thoughts of idlers—who imagine that the state exists to protect their fruitless peace.

But lift up your hearts and be assured of a better future. We need a new outlook on life. We need awakening and new senses. And these are coming to us. We need a politics that has practicality in it. We need a finance that concerns itself somewhat with the promotion of industry. We need an education that will shame men into the battle for the life of the Commonwealth. We need a culture with a K to it.

We need many things that the war is bringing us, but they are all summed up in the truth that this war and all great wars are a protest of nature against the kind of pacifism that Mr. Taft stands for—with the best intentions in the world of course—good easy man!

### THE PHILOSOPHY OF WAR.

**H**ERE is the whole philosophy of war in three homely sentences:

(1) Those whose fortunes depend not upon what they are or what they do, but upon what they own—are both timid and truculent; in their anxiety to keep out of the earth-struggle they are forever inventing quarrels over “great moral issues.”

(2) Those who work bravely are, in the course of nature, peaceable—but formidable if forced into a fight.

(3) The world's abiding peace will be established by the indissuable strength of the nation that shall first develop the kind of financial, legal and political system that works primarily for the advancement of the practical arts, and that forces the Security Holder to bear his fair share of the natural risks of productive enterprise.

### WHY SHOULD WE YIELD TO ENGLAND IN NAVAL POWER?

**M**R. ROOSEVELT, speaking at Kansas City, said that we should aim to have and maintain the second navy in the world. This is the same thing as to say that we ought to be able to beat Germany at sea—but not England.

The President said at St. Louis some time ago that we should yield to no other nation in naval power. But he took the saying back.

We regret that the President shrank thus from a moment of clear vision. He should have stuck fast to his accidental inspiration.

Of course, it is out of the question for Mr. Roosevelt to propose our investing the sea-trident from Great Britain. That is to say, it is out of the question at this particular moment, because the present Roosevelt presidential campaign is capitalized on a Lombard street basis. So Mr. Roosevelt's rip-roaring preparedness program ends with a pathos that is unintentionally humorous: “Three cheers for a universal conscript army and a second-rate navy!”

That is the prescription of our Anglican plutocracy. We need a great army—to keep down the dissatisfied and disorderly classes at home; and we need a nice, respectable little navy to assist the British in caring for the general claims of Anglo-American capital in the far corners of the earth.

A genuine American and Democratic program would reverse these terms. **Issues and Events** hereby proposes a genuine democratic program.

We suggest for the consideration of Congress and the country that our volunteer army—as moderately enlarged—**should be restricted by law to coast-guard and frontier service; and that we proceed to create a naval power that can command the freedom of the seas.**

Here is a proposition with a real, old-fashioned Uncle Sam thrill in it—a resurgence of the spirit of Patrick Henry and Paul Jones.

### FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

**T**HE freedom of the seas is the emancipation of the world. It can never be won by negotiations and diplomacies.

It can never be got as a favor from the British Admiralty. We did not beg our Continental freedom from Great Britain—we **took** it. And we made America free, not for British Colonists alone, but for the whole world. Its very name became a disturbance to tyranny everywhere and its fertile valleys and broad plains became a refuge for the oppressed of all lands.

It is after that manner also that the freedom of the seas is to be won. Why waste words **talking** about the mission of America? Why not go ahead as our fathers did, and prosecute that mission with unmistakable and illustrious deeds?

We are the richest country. We can out-build any other country in the shipping business—for peace or war—merchant ships, fighting ships.

Why beg and plead for sea-freedom? Why not **take** it—and give it to the world, as we gave free land to all comers? That seems to be the American way.

So great is the latent strength of the United States that it needs only to be clear as to what it intends to do—and the thing is half done.

If Great Britain and Germany were now given to understand that we are setting to work to free the seas—they would not wait for a show-down. They would admit that the winning cards are in our hands.

It might not be necessary to build many fighting ships. Probably the old world would yield without fighting if squarely challenged to compete with us in the endurance of the economic strain of commanding sea-power.

### COSMOPOLITAN AMERICANISM.

**N**EITHER the President nor Mr. Roosevelt touches the heart of our democracy. The President is forever exhorting us to dedicate ourselves to vague, universal aims. And Mr. Roosevelt goes up and down the land urging us to look out for ourselves—to “take our own part.”

On the one hand we have an excessive and somewhat morbid altruism, on the other hand we have an egotism still more sickly and malign.

Now your real, true, modern and democratic American man is free from both these exaggerations. He is neither an egotist nor an altruist. He has arrived more or less consciously

at the understanding of a truth that lies deeper than selfishness or unselfishness—the truth that the real and permanent interests of all men (bunching together moral, intellectual and physical concerns) are substantially identical.

Your real American feels that the whole discussion as to whether we should take our own part or take the part of the human race is an irrelevant and doctrinaire dispute. That Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt are so addicted to this dispute is probably due to the fact that both are bookish and neither is a business man.

Modern business men of large affairs know very well that a good bargain is one that is good for all concerned, that monopolies cannot be permanent, and that the day is sure to come when the richest man in the world will be the man whose personal service has proved to be most useful. Even so, the country that is really and profoundly rich will be most useful.

Thus we are badly advised when we are advised either to sacrifice America to the world or the world to America.

It is indeed the business of the United States to save the world. But that work cannot be done otherwise than by producing in this country an incomparably proud, rich, powerful and generous people. America is the fabled Igdrasil tree. Its leaves are for the healing of the nations. But its branches can spread only so widely abroad as its tap-root runs deep in American soil.

### DISENTANGLING ALLIANCE.

THE only foreign alliance that can disentangle us is the kind that begins by disentangling our domestic affairs. Having then established a real community-of-interest across all class-lines at home, we shall have produced the kind of civil polity that can cross the frontier lines of nations.

The President said at Arlington that he desired "to unite the people of the world in order to preserve the peace of the world upon a basis of common right and justice." The proposition is naive. It begs the real question, to wit, What is right and just?

It is, for example, generally held "in the best drawing-rooms" that our actual social state in this country is right and just. But there is no wise man among us who would wish to have this present condition of affairs perpetuated by an international league of overwhelming power.

### HUNS, OF COURSE, BUT SOCIALLY JUST.

WE read in a syndicated writing by the man who expects to be nominated by the Chicago Convention on the strength of his superior strain of moral indignation against

German "crimes"—that the Germans have achieved "substantial social justice," that Americans have not, and that Americans must now begin to learn from the Germans how to be socially just.

Inquire of your own learning and plutosophy whether such a thing ever happened before since time began—a nation admired and mimicked in all her essential institutions by men who have labored to make her the butt of universal hatred?

Yes, it has often happened before, and will happen hereafter—**whenever a new and formidable kind of virtue is born into the world.**

### SYMPATHY FOR GERMANY IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

It is true and important that American politics ought to be kept clear of race-prejudice. This is a nation "born not of the flesh but of the spirit." The blood bond is superseded here by a better and stronger bond.

But it is not race-prejudice that unites for political action the men who are resisting the tendency toward a virtual identification of our national cause with that of the Anglican allies.

The politicians and financiers who are engineering this tendency cry "race prejudice" against those who are resisting it. The politicians and financiers know better. But the present moral code of politics and finance does not forbid the poisoning of the wells of truth.

Those who are boldest in confessing their desire for an Anglo-American alliance are fiercest in their denunciation of what they call the German-American vote. That fact should stand as a sufficient exposure of their sincerity.

They say that the English, French and Russians are fighting to deliver the world from tyranny. On the other hand, those who sympathize with Germany believe that she, rather than her enemies, is the effectual champion of human freedom.

If America is the special land of the free, how is it possible to keep out of our politics the question which of the parties to the world-struggle is more modern, more emancipatory—more like what we wish ourselves to be? The answer is that it is altogether impossible to keep this question out of American politics.

The editors of German-American newspapers who have taken their resolutions and submitted them to the political conventions—are well within their American rights. They represent no race-feeling—but a political opinion as to what is best for the United States.

If these editors stood for pecuniary interests—if for example they spoke for textile firms concerned about German dyes—nobody would question their good American right to mass their political influence.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### STOP THE WAR.

**I**N London various committees to "Stop the War" have been formed. The Morning Post informs us that a great number of people, tired of and disgusted with the war, have been present at the first meeting of the East London Committee. The main speakers were J. Scott Duckers and C. H. Norman, president and treasurer of the British "Stop the War" Committee. Admission was by card only.

Mr. J. Scott Duckers said that the propaganda was in full swing, and even if he or Mr. Norman should be arrested the agitation could not be stopped. He was sorry, he continued, that the English were fighting for Belgium's independence. According to his opinion Belgium is not laid waste, as there remained 70,000 Belgians in the country. How does King Albert, being away from his country, know that his people are dissatisfied with existing conditions? The damage in Belgium is estimated at about 40 million pounds sterling, and in Duckers' opinion England could pay this sum within a week and Germany could do her share in this matter also.

Concerning the military operations Ducker said that after eighteen months England has not a single success to glory about, but can show only rather many failures, Antwerp, Mons, Neuve Chapelle, Loos and Gallipoli. He foresees that the entente powers will have to get out of Saloniki too.

Ducker spoke in the highest terms of the Germans in England, how they in every respect promoted the welfare of the country. He does not believe that militarism will be crushed even should Germany lose.

C. H. Norman, commenting on the expenses and the moral effect of the war drew a sad picture of conditions existing at the front, based on reports of soldiers who returned from the battlefields. War has made slaves of the English working people, he said, and serious social disturbances would follow the war. He would do everything within his power to further the "Stop the War" agitation and oppose

firmly reactionary measures on the part of the government. A resolution, which urges the government to stop the war and requests parliament to grant no more concessions, found unanimous approval.

### "NO CHANCE OF PEACE UNTIL ENTENTE CHANGES ITS VIEWS"

**Says Count Tisza of Austria-Hungary.**

"So long as the responsible statesmen of England and France think as they speak there is no chance of peace" declared Count Tisza, Hungarian Prime Minister and "strong man" of Austria-Hungary in an interview.

Count Tisza was referring to the recent utterances of Sir Edward Grey and President Poincare.

"The intervention of the United States will only be useful when both sets of belligerents are prepared to talk peace seriously," he added. "I doubt if that time has arrived."

"The German Chancellor's recent statements are proof of the Central Powers' readiness to end the war. Peace, however, depends on whether the leaders of the other camps are ready to tell the people the truth and take the responsibilities."

"It isn't our task to talk peace. We are fighting a defensive war and are compelled to continue for the purpose of obtaining necessary guarantees of future security. When the war began all the newspapers and the less responsible persons on the side of the Allies spoke of annihilating us and distributing our lands. We never talked about what we were going to do, nor had we either the desire or any idea of dismembering other nations. Therefore, it is easy for us to make peace at any time."

Count Tisza was asked to comment on the practicability of President Wilson's suggestion of a world conference at the close of this war with the object of preventing future wars.

"That question is more easily put than answered," he replied. "I hope peace can be made lasting. It is the sacred duty of every one working for

a future peace to have in mind guarantees of permanency or at least of long duration.

"This war is the greatest calamity to the human race and to human industry. It is a thousandfold worse than the Napoleonic wars. It is horrible."

## German Achievements IN AMERICA

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**ISSUES AND EVENTS  
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### INDIAN TROOPS' MUTINY BEFORE KUT REVEALED.

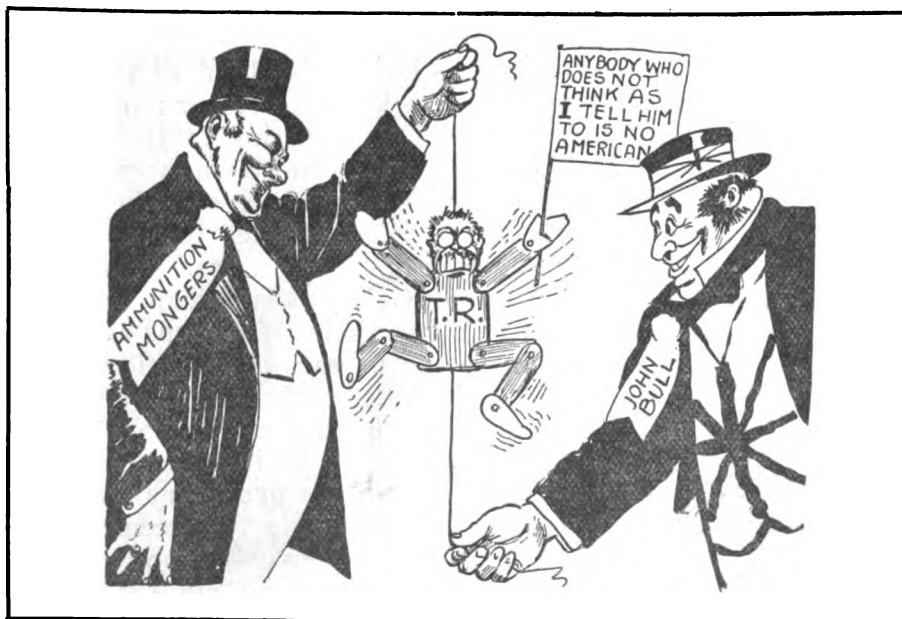
The mutiny of a regiment of Indian troops fighting with the British forces in Mesopotamia and the subsequent courtmartial of the offenders was contained in a brief account of the revolt received from Calcutta by Ram Chandra, editor of the Hindustan Gadar.

The revolting regiment consisted of the Fifteenth Lancers, attached to the command of General Gorringe, that was sent to the rescue of General Townshend at Kut-El-Amara on Feb. 23.

Chandra's information was relayed to him by mail from Japan by a friendly Hindu.

Additional details of the recent riot in the Presidency College of Calcutta indicated that the outbreak was much more serious than first reported. Prof. Oaten and other English professors were seriously wounded in the fighting.

Presidency College is the largest university in India. It has been closed by orders of the government, as have been scores of the high schools through the provinces, according to Chandra, to check the spread of the revolutionary movement among the students.



## BRITAIN FEARS AN INVASION, ASQUITH HINTS.

London.—Colonel Winston Spencer Churchill, attacking the administration of the army, told the House of Commons today that of the 5,041,000 men who King George said had been recruited, 1,700,000 were unaccounted for. He demanded a Parliamentary investigation, **secret, if necessary.**

Colonel Churchill was unsparing in his remarks on the management of Britain's land forces.

Colonel Churchill complained that the supply of rifles was inadequate, with the result that the British were holding and fighting a smaller number of opposing troops than the resources of this nation would justify.

Broadly speaking, he asserted, half the total strength of the British army was at home, and for every six men taken for war service only one effective infantry rifle was placed over the parapet at the front.

Premier Asquith argued that the possibility of an invasion must be taken into consideration. Mr. Asquith said:

"It is a risk that cannot be left out of account, and we must always effectively provide for it and must be guided by the opinion of those who can decide what number of men are absolutely necessary to render the country secure against invasion."

He declared the Government was taking the most effective steps in consultation with the proper authorities to ascertain the possibility of utilizing a large proportion of men on the fighting line.

Mr. Asquith added that a notable reduction was being made in the number of officers on the staffs at home.

## RUSSIAN PURCHASES FROM JAPAN.

According to the result of investigations announced on Monday by the Finance Department, Russian orders already booked for this year by the Japanese Government amount to about 80,000,000 yen with the War Department and to about 10,000,000 yen with the Naval Department. When the price of the three warships recently sold to Russia is taken into account, the total amount due to the Japanese Government is about 117,000,000 yen. In addition to this, there are orders for Russian war supplies secured by Japanese merchants and manufacturers which are valued at about 50,000,000 yen.—Kobe, Japan Chronicle.

## PERFIDIOUS ALBION.

THE worthy bishop of Meaux, Jacques Benigne Bossuet, born in 1621 and died in 1704, one of the most forceful and attractive pulpit orators of his time, in preaching a sermon gave utterance to the well-known French phrase, "England; ah, perfidious England" ("l'Angleterre; ah, la perfide Angleterre").

Mme. Sevigne, in her "Memoirs," refers to James II. of England and his queen in the following phrase: "I really think, like yourself, that the King and Queen of England are much

better off at St. Germain than in their perfidious realm."

Boileau, a French odist, on the other hand, upon hearing of an intention of Cromwell to force a war with France, refers to "these parricides, aided by our (French) perfidious soldiers."

But the most formal use of the term, which the French were wont to apply to their English neighbors, occurred in the French assembly, 122 years ago, in a speech by Barere:

"Do not trust to their (the English) artful language," said Barere, "which is an additional crime, truly worthy of

their perfidious character and their Machiavelian government."—Washington Post.

\* \* \*

## NEW SUPER-ZEPPELIN IS 750 FEET LONG.

Zurich, Switzerland.—Reports have reached Zurich from Romanshorn, a Swiss town on Lake Constance, that a new super-Zeppelin, 750 feet long, has been seen when making trial flights over the lake.

The total capacity of the airship is 54,000 cubic meters, or about double that of Zeppelins of the earlier type.

The new craft is fitted with seven motors, four armored gondolas, machine guns, small cannon and apparatus for dropping bombs and discharging aerial torpedoes. It weighs forty tons, is able to rise 15,000 feet and has a long range of action.

\* \* \*

## GERMAN PAPER PRINTS SOLDIER'S ACCOUNT OF PRISON CAMPS.

Berlin (by wireless to Sayville).—The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung publishes the following account of conditions in French prison camps, which was obtained from a badly wounded German soldier who has been sent home:

"This soldier states that helpless wounded men were stripped of their belongings while on the way to the prison camps and were hooted by mobs. In the hospital to which he was taken there was only one surgeon for 200 badly wounded men.

"Prisoners were compelled to work regardless of the condition of their health. A French surgeon was removed by the commander of a camp because he objected to the action of the prison authorities in compelling the wounded men to work.

"Cripples were usually hidden in the lofts of the hospitals. Prisoners were sent from one hospital to another, and parcels forwarded from Germany did not reach them. Some sorely needed reforms were introduced in one hospital following the arrival of a surgeon who had seen German prison camps."

# JUSTICE IN WAR TIME

By the Hon. Bertrand Russell,  
Author of German Social  
Democracy, etc., etc.

Bertrand Russell, author of "Justice in War Time," is well known in the United States by his books and lectures on philosophy.

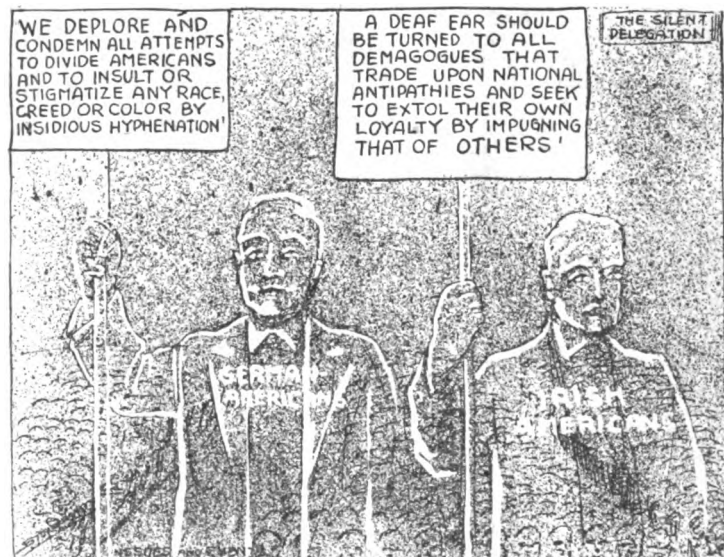
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## ISSUES AND EVENTS

21 Park Row, New York, N. Y.





# MODERN GERMANY

(Deutschland und der Weltkrieg)

Translated by

Professor WILLIAM WALLACE WHITELOCK, A. B., Ph. D.

An Encyclopedia of Facts about German institutions and the conditions leading up to the world war. Nineteen authorities, each one a master of the subject he treats on, have contributed to make this volume. In every case these men are professors in German and Austrian universities or Government officials who have organized and administered the systems about which they write.

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## Wells of Iniquity

**H.** G. WELLS, whose biased opinions appear in the "Saturday Evening Post," whose founder would have been horrified at such views, is an Englishman, therefore what he says creates no surprise, nor does it do any damage because he is known as bitterly prejudiced.

The internal evidence presented by his contributions to that weekly, prove absolutely that he knows Germany's strength, superiority and greatness, but dares not admit them. It proves that he is writing against his own convictions and the effort is telling on his mental labor.

He says "It is the declared and manifest will of Germany to become predominant in the world, that has created the alliance against Germany." He does not add what every reader does add or unconsciously thinks "What about England's declared and manifest will to do the same thing, a declaration and manifestation spread broadcast centuries ago?"

Why should such a course, even if taken, be used as a weapon to prejudice the world when Germany herself had never even thought of such a domination, and when all the world knows (there has been no hesitation nor modesty in her assertion), that that is the thought ever uppermost in the mind of Britain.

If that is the right position for one nation, why is it the wrong position for another nation, especially one that has shown great superiority and ability to command?

Says Mr. Wells: "It is the manifest interest of the Hohenzollerns and Prussianism to make this struggle not merely a political struggle, and keep a wider breach between the people than between the governments." He blindly or stupidly forgets to add that that course has been the policy of Great Britain in Ireland, India, Africa, Turkey and Egypt.

With the narrowness characteristic of his mind, he says "Made in Germany" has been used to the utmost against Great Britain as an indication of race hostility, yet "Made in England" has been stamped on all English manufactures for many years. Where and what is the difference?

It is as plain as the nose on Mr. Wells' face—and that is remarkably plain—that Germany's educational, com-

mercial, and governmental excellence has aroused England's wrath and envy and prompted her to create pretexts that she might war against Germany, believing that with the "inexhaustible" army of Russia, with that of France and Belgium and her invincible and invisible fleet, she could crush her in a month or two.

Mr. Wells does not seem able to separate what he thinks should be from what is. He wants to place his country, England, at the top of the world, when fact places her as rapidly falling to the bottom—is predicting the downfall of the British Empire. If he does this purposely, he is no lover of truth, fact and justice. If he is merely talking against time, he is lacking in common sense.

And when he declares that "If Germany were to become a Republic it would be impossible for the British Government to continue the war for long whether it would or not" he becomes vaudevillistic. The man who called my attention to this long-winded article of Mr. Wells' said pertinently: "If England abolished her monarchy and became a democracy in fact, war would cease in India, Africa and everywhere else."

It is her insane greed for empire over all the lands and seas that makes Great Britain so eagerly solicitous in getting other nations to create wars and turn over the victory, spoils and sovereignty to her although never in one instance has she proved herself capable of empire over others nor over herself.

The United States freed herself from British tyranny and absorption in 1776, giving its act additional emphasis in 1812. Had we a Washington or a Lincoln, or even a McKinley at Washington today, Great Britain's last and greatest insult to us would be most contemptuously cast in the waste-paper basket of British diplomacy tidbits, thereby re-establishing our splendid record as a land of brave and free people refusing to be ruled by corrupt Wall Street money-makers who are selling death warrants at an enormous rate of interest.

The comparison of the culture of England with that of Germany is enough to wring smiles and retorts from the lips of the time-battered old Sphinx bedded on the shores of the Nile. If you would see progress, education, thrift and happiness, go among the peasants of Germany. If you would see filth, misery, poverty and ignorance "manana" principle and dull-witted indifference to higher things, go among the peasant classes in France, Italy, Belgium and England.—The German-American.

# Wilsonian Neutrality in a Nutshell

By DR. JOHN D. KELLY

Early in the present European war, President Wilson advised the people of this country to maintain a neutral attitude, advice accepted as evidence of an exemplary disposition to be fair, advice the people generally approved and applauded. Events had not progressed far, however, before one thing after another gave pause to this satisfaction when it dawned upon the people that Wilson's conduct of affairs was going directly contrary to his proposed neutrality. A growing distrust that Wilson was sincere at the beginning or at any time since spread abroad and, as again and again he tolerated serious infringement by the English of our rights as a neutral in violation of international law, greater than were those for which we went to war with her in 1812, and the contrast sharpened between his leniency for England and the "strict accountability" to which he proposed to hold Germany, the conviction grew that Wilson was not neutral and had deceived the people by a false pretence of neutrality. They recalled his conduct before the outbreak of the present war in declining an invitation to attend the unveiling of a statue to the memory of Gen. Greene, a hero of the revolution, and his reason therefor, viz., possible offense to the British; his action in the Panama canal tolls favorable to the British, and other indications of a disposition favoring British interests even when the interests of his own country were involved. For such disappointing, not to say disloyal conduct, sufficient reason appears in a statement made by Mr. Marburg in a recent interview, one time representative to Belgium and, on his own declaration, decidedly pro-ally: "I know Pres. Wilson's sympathy is entirely with the entente allies." Not alone with, but "entirely" with them. Furthermore, in a recent interview Mr. Mann, Republican leader in the House, said: "Mr. Wilson is a Scotch Presbyterian and he hates the Dutch (Germans)." These things being true, do they not show the why and wherefore of Wilson's sympathetic tolerance on the one hand and his exacting demands on the

other, and foreshow the improbability of a fair, neutral attitude during his administration?

Until he encountered the recent opposition of congress, Mr. Wilson's conduct was leading this country into the war on the side of the allies. The prospect was threatening; but, from a military point of view, was not as threatening or disconcerting to the Germans in view of our recent showing in war endeavor; the blunders in Mexico; the inadequacy and disorganization of our army and navy, 12 inch guns of the latter officially pronounced defective; aeroplanes that cannot fly or betimes sail away to the mountains leaving the pilot behind; a flotilla of 17 submarines of which the commander declared before a congressional committee only one can dive. In a war with Germany we would cut a sorry figure and, doubtless, Mr. Wilson knows that. But one thing of easy and safe accomplishment and of great service to England we could do, viz. seize the German ships to the value of \$125,000,000 lying in the ports of this country as was done by poor little Portugal at England's bidding, her influence endeavoring to bribe Spain now with a promise of Tangier to do likewise with German ships in her harbors. Deprived of all these ships at the close of the war, Germany would be brought nearer the status of England in competing for the world's over seas trade, the German submarines having sent to the bottom some 1,000 vessels, mostly English during the war. At this time, no greater service can be given England than the stopping of Germany's submarine warfare and the seizure of her fleet of merchantmen in United States harbors; and, evidently, it is this service to England which Mr. Wilson is aiming at while hypocritically declaring in behalf of humanity and international law.

It is deplorable that at this time, the most critical in a century, when conditions call for patriotism and statesmanship of a high order, we have in place of an able diplomat in our state department an obscure country lawyer from the rural wilds of northern New York, and in the White House a schoolmaster shaking his pedagogical finger at Germany with hatred in his heart for the "Dutch."

---

## Communism of the Intellect

By CHARLES FERGUSON

THE most characteristic thing about democratic states is the institution of universal education. People who do not yet understand the genius and spirit of the public school shake their heads and say: "If you make a bad man smart you make him all the wickeder." But the public school does not intend to make anybody smart. Smartness is monopolized knowledge; and the public school exists to break up this world-old monopoly. Knowledge, when it is shared by everybody, ceases to be smartness and becomes science.

This being understood, we come face to face with the greatest practical problem of democratic government. How shall we carry out, in the forum and market place, the spirit of the public school. How shall we establish a communism of the intellect as the basis of our constitution? This kind of communism goes with the highest degree of personal freedom and independence in the use and control of material goods. It is the precise opposite of that communism of the stomach which would abolish private property and huddle all goods into a heap.

Communism of the intellect means the general sharing of the race's inherited knowledge-power. It means the putting of the whole body of science at the service of all. It opposes with the dominant force of public law every attempt of smart men to take advantage of the ignorance or necessity of others. It is science, with a sword in her hand.

Now, how shall the great modern idea of the sharing of all knowledge get itself worked out in practical politics? It is plainly impossible by any stress of school-mastering that all the people shall be brought to a knowledge of all that is known—or even that a single individual shall be. Our great idea would mean nothing worth mentioning—if it meant that. And it means next to nothing when it is taken to mean the offering of various kinds of more or less useful knowledge to all who are not too poor or too weak to take advantage of the schools. The idea of the sharing of knowledge is nearly pointless when it is twisted to mean the sharing of a chance to go to school. It is not enough that every half-fed son of a miner or drain-man should match wits with the children of the rich.



We come in sight of the true idea when we are reminded that whenever a man begins to have an inkling of real science, he becomes a sheltering friend of ignorance and a dangerous enemy of fraud—as a physician of the right sort cares mightily for sick folk and hates charlatans.

So a city or State may be said to be based on the principle of intellectual communism or knowledge-sharing when its government is an active conspiracy to protect the ignorant and prevent fraud. Stupid men in stupid communities have a great deal to say about the "punishment" of fraud. But the real democratic order into which we are striving to enter will not need to punish fraud: it will prevent it. The talk of "a square deal" and "equality before the law" sounds like the crackling of thorns under a pot—because the law,

which is invoked in so high a strain, was, in large part, itself conceived in fraud. "Equality before the law" is insolent mockery of the poor and weak, unless equality stands also behind it. And here we arrive at the solution of the practical problem of knowledge-sharing—the equitable and impersonal spirit of science must preside at the making of all laws.

What we need is a political primary organized in the spirit of the public school.

The out-working of this solution demands a political uprising in every community of those who are tired of the cant and clamor of the old parties—men bound together in the impersonal spirit of science to see to it that that spirit shall rule in all the law-making bodies of the land.

## After the Germans, the Irish

By WILLIAM KENNEDY

"Gentle hazing," as recommended by Thomas Woodrow Wilson to be applied to all Americans who will not sing "God Save The King," was originally a somewhat indefinite proposition, but lately it has begun to take form and effect. Its outlines are seen in the cases of Ernest Bruncken and Shaemas O'Sheel.

It is questionable, to be sure, whether the qualification "gentle" can properly be applied to an act which deprives a man of his livelihood and turns a family out on the street, but it certainly is "hazing." Modern economists agree that the most potent weapon which those in power, in possession of the means of life, can wield against the poor man, the man who must work for his living, is the fear of the loss of "the job." Skilfully used, that weapon of fear might well compel millions of men to deny their birthright as American citizens, to free speech, free thought; might well become the lash which would drive the nation withersome the masters wish it to go.

Of course this "hazing" was started in Wall Street in the offices of banks and insurance companies long ago. The extension of the system to the government service, however, is a matter that calls for national attention. Ernest Bruncken, a noted scholar, was dismissed avowedly for criticising President Wilson. Shaemas O'Sheel, whose fame as a poet and critic is widespread, has now been deprived of his position in the Library of the United States Senate for entertaining pro-Irish and pro-German views. Wiser than those who dismissed Bruncken, the Secretary of the Senate, who discharged O'Sheel, has concealed his real purpose under a blanket charge of neglect of duty. Repeated efforts to elicit a single detailed charge, to have a single instance named, have failed. This is not customary where a charge is made in good faith. Indeed in the service of Congress, the greatest leniency is customary, and men are not dismissed until they have had ample warning and considerable leeway. But Mr. O'Sheel, without a word of warning, without a hint that his work was unsatisfactory, was dismissed off-hand.

Mr. O'Sheel vehemently denies the truth of the charge lodged against him, and in proof of his allegation that he is sacrificed for his political opinions, he cites the fact that while refusing to give a specific instance of failure to do his work properly, the Secretary of the Senate stated that he had been a source of irritation in the Senate Library, and that he had too many visitors at the office. According to Mr. O'Sheel, the only irritation in which he had any part was caused by some of his co-workers pursuing him with abusive anti-German and anti-Irish remarks, which he resented.

His own opinions he never urged on anyone. As to his visitors, Mr. O'Sheel points out that others in the Senate Library have had more visitors than he. This alone would prove that the charges are not made in good faith; but when taken in connection with the further fact that all of Mr. O'Sheel's visitors happen to have been either Irish-Americans or German-Americans, it is significant. The charge that Mr. O'Sheel was absent from work too often is similarly marked by bad faith, as anyone familiar with the service in the Senate Library and other offices in the Capitol knows that the customs are lenient and the habits easy-going. Everyone gets considerable time off. One man may go joy-riding, another attend law-school, a third run the affairs of a local fraternal order, a fourth go down to Virginia to attend to his Spring planting, a fifth take very considerable periods off to go to South Carolina on political business. What has constituted Mr. O'Sheel a goat while all the other members of the Senate Library staff are sheep, though they have all been indulged in absences from duty, for the purposes enumerated above?

A startling light is thrown upon the case by the circumstance that members of the staff of the New York World, after having persecuted Mr. O'Sheel with ridiculous accusations for more than a year, had knowledge that he was to be dismissed from his position a week before he was notified, and told him specifically that he was to be sacrificed because of his pro-Irish beliefs. Here surely is a scandal which the Rules Committee of the Senate should look into.

What is the Democratic Party going to do about it? Are they going before the country with their banners inscribed "No Germans wanted—no Irish need apply?"

Little do ye know your own blessedness: for to travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive, and the true success is to labor.—Robert Louis Stevenson.

\* \* \*

Revenge is said to be sweet—it isn't. Don't make the mistake of believing for a minute that it is.

\* \* \*

### A Near Shave.

Have you ever reflected that if Queen Victoria had left no sons, or if her sons had been childless, the Kaiser would to-day have been King of England (which, for this purpose, includes Ireland, Scotland, the British Dominions, and India)?—John Bull.

# Letters From Edinburgh

Sincere Communication from a Scotsman to an American.

Dear Sir:

**T**HE censors interpret the official relation that this country bears towards your own in a very step-motherly fashion.

The latest news is that Grey has contemptuously pigeon-holed Wilson's note and refuses to alter his attitude towards neutrals in any shape or form. Indeed he rather intends to make it more stringent and hostile, especially in the case of unhappy Greece.

No Englishman imagines that the United States actually meant what it wrote per Lansing. There was a time however when Uncle Sam was capable of walking without the support of J. B.

Grey rests his defense and refusal on the precedents set by the North in your Civil War, the evil that men do lives after them, and Northerners did many heartless things. You made chloroform and medical appliances contraband of war; you refused to exchange prisoners when your men were dying like sheep in Libby prison. You also shot and hanged women, so I feel you will dutifully and humbly take Grey's brusque rejection of your appeal.

Poor John Bull is very peevish fish now, his paunch is shrinking and though, like Shakespeare's Welshman, he is full of "Pravevorts" his feet are getting very, very cold.

As far as I can gauge opinion our people are still imagining a vain thing. They believe the military and economic existence of the Central Powers can be crushed. You know of course that Demos, blind in one eye, sees the roseate vision thrown on the screen by his political leaders and the press. No secret is made now of the fact that this country planned the war for one purpose only, the destruction of German trade and as the grand corollary its seizure by the capable (alien) hands of the British merchant.

I would submit respectfully the following questions: First, what man would give 35 per cent. for a Pound, and second, what man would destroy his best customer's means of living? Every 20 days we spend \$500,000,000 in an absolutely unremunerative way. What we have already wasted only God knows and He won't tell us yet.

It is a fact that Central Europe paid hundreds of millions per annum for goods produced or sold by Great Britain. After the destruction of this trade, who will supply the deficit? The Senegalese negro and Servian I suppose. What sane merchant would contemplate with joy the destruction of his best customer, and can this country expect to emerge solvent from such bankruptcy proceedings. Another year and our buccaneer bankers will be playing the "Dead March" for their insolvent clients. A 25 per cent. income tax is now on, fancy, one quarter of your net income cast into a bottomless pit! This tax is driving many firms abroad.

The Press is now working overtime with hysterical, outpourings. Horrible tales are being issued too about Hindenburg's possible march into London and mysterious allusions to the brutal treatment of some noble Greek lady by a bold, bad German Prince. All quite in the old time style of story once so popular with your juveniles. But this is our culture and it runs no risk of being destroyed.

Yes, we live in stirring times. When we are not hiding in coal cellars from Zeppelin bombs we are busy in our offices writing to the papers demanding

that other citizens should at once enlist, holding out the inducement to the unwilling ones that they will be able to learn a new language when kept as prisoners in Germany. Some Heroes!

The old gods of finance are passing. Men are realizing that the Morgan type and method must give away to more honest and humane concepts. So far no country, save Germany, has recognized or practiced this rule of salvation. Come weal, come woe, German methods thus have hacked their way through the jungle of stupid and wild custom and will yet dominate the intellectual world. Brute force and money don't fool all the people all the time. Brains plus ideals must finally win. What they are aiming at now at home is a government *a la Russe*. I wonder how Bonar Law enjoys all this. He is only a puppet, the accident of an accident, tolerated because he serves as a buttress between two rival forces. Three men rule England to-day, Lloyd George, Lord Lansdown and Carson. No one else counts. All of the other politicians only count their wages. With the exception of Sir William Lever, there is no outstanding personality in sight.

Another thing which you might bear in mind is that the people who engineered this war against Germany, will be the people who will sign the treaty of peace. What the terms must be if Germany is defeated are well known. One word suffices, "annihilation." If this result so much prayed for by our prelates should come to pass I should abandon my conception of a just God as a myth.

Labor troubles on the Clyde have been common, and are not over yet. Clyde men are deeply dissatisfied with the labor laws of the government and they have no confidence in their leaders. All the material is here for a social revolution, but no such spirit can rise in the realm of Flunkeydom. We have become a race of ostriches. Zeppelins never did any damage. They were invented to teach Englishmen how to save coal oil and live without too much outward show. The Peace movement is growing, however. Large meetings in Scotland listen quietly and attentively to speakers who advocate the cessation of hostilities. Six months ago they would have been assaulted. The feeling against conscription is more bitter than before. Privileged finance and the shop keeping element are staking their last money on the successful ending for them of this war. Patriotism may be defined as the art of getting someone else to pay the costs. There is an egregious ass now stumping Great Britain in the sacred cause of self and boodle. This is Hughes, the nominal premier of Australia. Let your friends know that this man represents no one but himself and the snobs of Australia. The governing and elective parties of Australia, which are the labor and trade bodies, are dead against him. Though nominally chief he is losing every election he contests. When the times comes for a general election he will be put back in the dust heap of oblivion. He is a nominee of jingoes and the money spinners.

The siege of Verdun goes on methodically. It is a military axiom that the besieged fortress must fall provided the attacking force can work out the attack in safety. The French resistance is crumbling, the human supply is running short and Heaven help the Frenchman when he has to depend on British troops to back him up.

# Is Germany Right and Britain Wrong?

Excerpts from a Speech by Clifford Allen, Later Reprinted in England, Running Through Several Editions Previous to its Suppression.

By Courtesy of Frank P. Illsley.

**I** PROPOSE to-night to express certain individual opinions with regard to the European War, and I therefore appeal to you for a real exhibition of tolerance whilst I handle what must prove to be a very thorny and delicate subject.

I hope you will permit me to express my convictions quite frankly, however widely you may differ from my point of view. I have no intention of indulging in wild excesses of anti-patriotism, nor on the other hand do I wish to arouse mere cheering by attempts to say what I imagine you will readily agree with.

## German Aggression.

Let us now devote our minds to the most plausible argument that has swayed men's minds in this matter. Is Germany the Aggressor?

This seems to be the one question which is burdening not only the minds of the unthinking, who are convinced because they do not think, but is even exercising the conscience of the Socialist. Practically all the Labor members answer this question in the affirmative.

Now, the first point that comes naturally to our minds is this: The argument of German aggression is used not so much by Socialists as by our capitalist government itself and by the men and women who believe in that government. With this very important fact in mind, assume that Germany is the Aggressor. Is then England to cast the first stone? Look at the map and note how much of it is painted red. (They always paint the British Empire red; I suppose to recall the blood that has been shed in building it.) Does your survey ease your conscience? Read the speeches of the members of the Navy League. Do you ever sing "Rule Britannia?" I hope not. Then ask if our country which lays so much emphasis on Germany's aggression can boast in this matter.

Bernhardi is only saying what Lord Roberts and leaders of English thought and the builders of our Empire have been saying much more clumsily but successfully for years.

Can France, our ally, cast a stone? Have you ever heard of Napoleon, whose end was wrought by the Prussians and ourselves in alliance?

Consider then the utter folly of capitalist Britain condemning the aggression of Germany after we and France—the two great colonial empires—have "cornered" the world.

But take the argument a step farther and suppose two or three blacks do not make a white:—let us examine the question of Germany's aggressiveness upon its own merits, and see if it is justified.

## Germany's Geographical Position.

As a believer in and a lover of your own country and her national safety, try and visualize your national sentiments as a German. Don't think of the aggressiveness of Britain, strong in her island fortress, think of Germany's geographical position. She occupies the most unfortunate geographical position in Europe, encircled on all sides by great nations, and with an almost landlocked seaboard.

Assuming the ordinary ideas which govern our country, would you not justify Germany at least in defending herself? I think you will assent to that.

But apart from a mere necessary defense, examine the bearing of European policy upon her. Try and view the matter dispassionately for a moment.

## Germany's Political Position.

Germany must secure one safe frontier and she must find some ally. To which country is she most closely allied? To Austria. She allies to her. Is there anything unusually wicked about alliances. But why with Austria? Have you ever heard of Russia?—She is our ally! Russia, the great overpowering, sinister, tyrannous, ever-growing Russia. Russia, with her theory of Pan-Slavism, sweeping on to the westward, bringing the Balkans northwest with her. Does not that justify some alliance? Should we not defend ourselves if Russia was our immediate neighbor?

But more than this. France on the other side. France, which under Napoleon had stampeded through Europe, and brought the Franco-Prussian war upon herself by a generation of restlessness. Think of Germany's position. The menace of Russia and Pan-Slavism on the one side and a revengeful France, Russia's ally, on the other. Would you not call Germany mad if she was not well defended?

But something more! Britain's shadow clouds the background, pursuing a foreign policy which threw Europe eventually into war, because it was shrouded in uncertainty.

Can you wonder at least at Germany's defense?

But once admit that and you will have to face a still stronger case for Germany. Surely the defense of a man, surrounded, is often possible only if it becomes aggressive.

Assuming the theories which govern all nations, including our own, Germany's bounden—indeed only—duty was to make herself feared.

## Germany, the New Nation.

I have spoken to you already of the splendor and vigor of Germany's culture, art, philosophy, literature and science, which some people say has ceased since militarism took root. Germany is a nation of vigor and strength, she is a new nation, she is a growing nation; and such a nation (we were thus once—we are now a comfortable world-empire) needs to stretch its limbs. Do we want to crush new national vigour whenever it appears in the world's history?

What did this young nation find? Herself surrounded on all sides. Her expansion forbidden. What has been the result of the foreign policy of our capitalist rulers? It is we who have forced all this German vigour into the wrong channels. Passive defense is no good to her. So jeopardized is her national safety that she must stir the spirit of her people to endure—no, to rejoice in military preparedness. Defense to her must be interpreted in terms of aggression, and such justifiable aggressiveness inevitably results in bombastic aggressiveness. She must plan to attack in order to defend.

A nation's history and geographical position create her philosophy, literature and temperament. Germany's natural vigor has already produced a great literature and science. Remember that there is a military cast in every nation, but it can only secure a position of predominance if it is provided with the right kind of geographical and political environment. We have helped to give it its chance in Germany. Can you wonder at the foolish bombast of a nation—so vigorous and yet so surrounded, geographically and politically?

Such was Germany's position at home, but she has had yet more difficulties. Her chances of imperial expansion were infinitely worse. Her population was growing, her commerce spreading, and yet she had no place in the world for expansion.

Let me quote a passage from the Prime Minister's speech delivered a few days ago in Cardiff. What does he say—

We do not covet any people's territory, we have no desire to impose our rule upon alien populations. The British Empire is enough for us.—All that we wish for is to be allowed peaceably to consolidate our own resources, to raise within the Empire the level of common opportunity, to draw closer the bond of affection and confidence between its parts, and to make it everywhere the worthy home of the best traditions of British liberty.

Does it not follow from that that nowhere in the world is there a people who have stronger motives to avoid war?

What does all that mean? Simply this: We are first in; we have "cornered" the world. It is the old capitalist philosophy to which I referred a few moments ago. "No change because no advantage for us."

Empires may be foolish and wrong, but they exist, and should we then cast the first stone?

Can you wonder now at Germany's defense? Can you wonder at the spirit of those who dominate her life? They are the natural products of the strength and the vigour which might have produced the world's greatest civilization, had it not been perverted by our policy.

Have Socialists, who support the war, or the general public, have those who rejoice in the British Empire and cherish national safety ever placed themselves in the position of a German?

#### Did Germany Cause This War?

Take the foreign policy of Europe for the last ten years and examine the facts that immediately preceded the war.

The mobilization of Russia menaced Germany. Remember the grave military and geographical position of Germany in Europe and place yourselves as the British Government in Germany's shoes with Russia mobilizing on our border. What did Germany say? "If I allow Austria to go down before Russia, my one ally in Europe will be gone and my position, with the growth of Pan-Slavism, a hundred times worse than before."

Bear in mind that when Russia accepted the intervention of the Powers, she did not stop mobilising, but only consented to adopt a "waiting attitude." What would this general preparation for war mean to Germany? It meant that if, whilst this talk of, and perhaps the Conference itself were going on, Russia mobilized, all nations would be prepared to strike, and Germany's advantage from rapidity whilst the others were preparing, would be lost and her national life ruined.

Should we with our national life at stake refuse to take the necessary action? Europe was too well armed to provide time and opportunity for the preservation of peace.

Ah, but you say, why judge the nations by capitalist standards? Why?

What is the result of our enquiry?

#### Summary.

1. That all governments (like Austria) crush small nationalities.

2. That all governments (like Russia) refuse to allow other governments to crush their particular small kindred nationalities.

3. That Germany's only possible military campaign upon which depended her national life, which she cherished as dearly as every nation cherished her own, would have been smashed had she delayed.

4. That Governments have kept the world too well armed to allow for peace negotiations.

In other words, no one nation is responsible; each nation has done what any of its opponents would have done under similar circumstances, and every thing goes to demonstrate the futility of Sir Edward Grey's policy and his vain attempt to put out the fire when his policy had ignited the conflagration.

#### Britain's Part.

Should, however, our own country be involved in this war? I say unhesitatingly, No!

Let us examine this foreign policy of ours.

What has been its keystone? The theory of the Balance of Power in Europe. We have ranged Europe in two camps. Above all we have entwined ourselves in ententes by secret and undemocratic diplomacy, which makes it impossible for the public to influence our policy. It does more, it makes it essential for our enemies, or possible enemies, to assume the worst as a basis for their preparations. We have believed as lovers of expediency, in the vague entente, instead of the avowed alliance.

What is the result of this theory of the Balance of Power? The dragging of this country into every European complication that may arise. This grouping of the nations in hostile camps means that some murder away in the east implicates this country in a great European struggle. It has forced Europe to become an armed camp; it has inspired the armaments race.

What happened then, when the danger of war loomed ahead? The Prime Minister had told us and the Foreign Secretary had confirmed his statement, that we were under no secret alliance with any nation, yet when it came to the point, it became perfectly clear that we considered ourselves under an honourable obligation to France far more binding than Italy's share in the Triple Alliance. Over and over again this has been emphasized since the outbreak of war. We could not leave our neighbor, France, in the lurch, having put her fleet in the lurch long before Belgium was violated. We eventually gave her an undertaking to protect her coasts.

Now let us be perfectly definite about this business. The question of Belgian neutrality has been raised with all ingenuity as the great and honorable pretext for our participation in this war. Had that been the only reason, it could have been discussed upon its merits, and upon those merits it could certainly claim a far higher place than any other pretext. But let us make no mistake about it. Belgian neutrality or no Belgian neutrality, Britain would have been involved in this war. Why? Accepting our foreign policy and our view of the Balance of Power, it was to our interest to join in.

#### France and Our Honor.

We could not allow France to be smashed. We could not allow her to be the embarkation stage for Germany. But need France in this case, have been a source of danger? She too was only involved because of the network of the Balance of Power, because her ally, Russia, was involved in the Servian question in the east.

It was then this question of the crushing of France that was at stake. Could we have saved this, and so prevented ourselves from being embroiled? Most certainly yes.

### Belgium's Neutrality.

I think we can agree that we did not go to war over Belgian neutrality, though this has been put forward as the factor that has made our cause a righteous one. Are we to consider it seriously?

Firstly let me remind you that Germany has sworn that she had it on the most unimpeachable authority that France also intended to ask for right of way through Belgium. Both countries desired to avoid forcing a passage through each other fortified frontiers. I sometimes wonder if this supposed knowledge by Germany prompted the ultimatum 48 hours after a renewed affirmation of Belgian neutrality.

More than this. Three years ago, it is admitted that we knew of Germany's preparations towards Belgium. Had we then publicly declared that we should take the field against that country—Germany or France—which eventually might break the Belgian Treaty, we could have saved Belgium. By being involved in the Triple Entente, instead of the unpledged upholders of international morality, we have forced the violation of Belgian neutrality instead of saving it.

Secondly, who are we that we should pose as the respecter of treaties? Have we not branded on our souls the grim lesson of Russian atrocities in Persia (worse than any of the supposed German atrocities in Belgium)—after we had guaranteed through our consul the independence and integrity of that country?

Has our occupation of Egypt nothing to teach us in this matter? Did we go to war because of the violation of the neutrality of Luxembourg, which was guaranteed, every bit as strongly as that of Belgium? No, it did not affect our interest so closely.

But let me emphasize one other point regarding the Belgian business. Remember, that Belgium was armed to the teeth. There is only one end to a neutral or any other country which is armed, the demand that those arms should be used.

Let me venture further into this matter of neutrality and the high morality of nations.

There are few nations that I know of at whose door cannot be laid broken treaties. The keeping of treaties is only asking for honor amongst thieves. Treaties are made between strong nations and weak nations, between old and new nations. And conditions change.

Germany realized that her safety as a nation was seriously menaced by Belgium, and that her safety demanded that it should come to an end. Look for a moment at the military necessity placed upon her by the encircling of the allies that we have already discussed.

She was surrounded by countries with many more millions at their disposal than herself, with the strategic Russian railways nearing completion, and she was menaced by isolation by the British Navy.

Her Chancellor was right when he stated that upon rapidity of action depended Germany's very life. I cannot help but think that there is something rather splendid about the bold, frank statement of the German Chancellor in the Reichstag—

Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is contrary to the dictates of international law. \* \* \* The wrong—I speak openly—that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military goal has been reached. Anybody who is threatened, as we are threatened, and is fighting for his highest possessions has only one thought—how he is to hack his way through.

Is it not refreshing to read these words after the

cant of the British Empire with its stained honor and its clever confusion of its interest and its duty? Let those who cherish Britain's national safety ponder a little over those splendid frank words of the German Chancellor.

Belgium alone could save the German nation, and you who love your country, consider for a moment what that demands from any nation. Assuming that all nations are moral, which we know they are not, assume that no nation has or would ever break a treaty, which we know they all will and have, what could Germany do to save her life? Give notice years ago to the world that she intended in the event of war to pass through Belgium, in view of the change in the world since the treaty was made? In such a case the British nation would have had too much sense to allow their government the privilege of morality. To announce withdrawal from that treaty, even though confirmed a few years ago, would have been equivalent to bringing the whole of Europe about her ears before she was prepared to protect herself.

The German nation has for years been in jeopardy and was bound to be involved in war, possibly on this very question.

You are probably wearied to death by the famous statement respecting treaties uttered by Mr. Gladstone, but for all that, it is worth while quoting again:

"I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held in this House what plainly amounts to an assertion that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to it, irrespective altogether of the peculiar position in which it will find itself when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises."

Does not this show that all governments under similar circumstances take the same view?

I tell you we have forced the violation of Belgian neutrality by our policy; I tell you that we cannot pose as the upholders of the morality of nations; I tell you we are in this war for our own interests, and that the interest is dictated by the imperialism that dominates those who rule us. It is geography that dictates the morality of nations.

## WANTED

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Please co-operate with us and send such clippings to: Frank Koester, Hudson Terminal Building, New York City.

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# Issues and Events

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## POLITICALLY DEAD.

Generally speaking, the country feels relieved by Roosevelt's defeat because the dangerous influence is removed from American political life. Only a man blinded to the point of mania by conceit could behave as Roosevelt did lately. The use of improper means to gain the presidency is not elevating to American thought. For years past the writer pointed to the essential shallowness and lack of knowledge and of sound fundamental thought of Roosevelt and these lines are not written merely to throw stones at the defeated man. We would like to praise him as an old warrior but his cheap bluffs and ugly threats restrain us. Probably the worst act by him or on behalf of him was that horrid advertisement in Chicago papers slandering the best American citizens. Roosevelt's greed for power was his undoing. Without the slightest regret he leaves even the Progressive party in the lurch. Roosevelt cared not for party or people but only for Roosevelt. His statement that he is out of politics will not be taken any more seriously than his promise concerning a third term. He has been unable to control his temper and his conceit is unlikely to change in the future.

## THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION.

The Republican party is to be congratulated on the nomination of Hughes. His poise, dignity, and reservation are the very opposite of adventurous, self-seeking politicians, and it is to be hoped that his judicial mind and quiet manner will have a sobering effect on President Wilson's egotism, an influence in the direction of dignity and refinement which is sorely needed. It is also to be hoped that his method of campaigning will not drag politics to the street gutter but elevate the election campaign to a higher level. The expressed fear that he will cater to Roosevelt and his doctrines in his anxiety to beat Wilson, we hope to be groundless because he took no such steps during these tempting weeks. To describe Hughes nomination as machine-made is stupid. There were a dozen candidates with their workers in the

field. Hughes did not seek nomination, never spent a dollar for it and never said a word about it. To all who were present in Chicago previous and during the convention, it is evident that deliberations were free and open. Hughes may not have been a favorite with shouting youngsters in the gallery, but he is the choice of all thinking men in the Republican party. So far he has done very well.

## FREEDOM TO VOLUNTEER.

CONSIDER the implications of Mr. Wilson's statement that the army bill "bristles with interrogation points"—because nobody can tell whether a certain class among us will be so good as to give the rest of us "freedom to volunteer."

Oh! Mr. Wilson, how could you frame such a phrase? "Freedom to volunteer"—so terribly suggestive of the truth that a wage-earner's voluntariness is likely to be servile and subordinate, needing enfranchisement from the yoke of "our business men."

That phrase deserves to be remembered because of its very unconsciousness—revealing to the historian of these times, great depths.

The phrase should be treasured also as an "acid test."

We shall know that we have passed from under the shadow of our plutocracy on the day when "freedom to volunteer" becomes a joke "in our best circles."

## JUSTICE—DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN.

Is it not a fact, grounded in the nature and constitution of the mind, that the nation that is more just at home than any of her neighbors, must necessarily be more just to them than they are to her, or to each other?

## THE PREPOSTEROUS MR. ROOSEVELT.

PREPOSTEROUS is the word—getting things wrong end foremost—the cart before the horse.

We have said that Mr. Roosevelt has no just notion of the relation of "industrial justice"—or the sound organization of national working forces—to war power. And now comes his long syndicated essay on "The Need of Industrial Preparedness" which undertakes to show that he **does** understand the relation of working forces to fighting forces—but which in fact proves conclusively that he does not understand.

The topsy-turveyism of this essay proceeds from its primary assumption that first-rate working-power can be arrived at, as a by-product if we rivet our minds steadfastly on our need of fighting power. This is not true at all. It is the opposite of the truth. It is the

truth standing helpless on its head and kicking its futile heels in the air.

What is true is that a nation absorbed in the improvement of its working processes—for the economy of life and the mastery of materials and natural forces—**will achieve first-rate fighting power as a by-product.**

The thing that Mr. Roosevelt recommends, in such a loud masculine voice, involves a complete understanding of the laws of social health and well-being. His state of mind is ancient. It has played a role of disaster and disappointment through the ages. He is now serving a useful purpose as the devil's advocate—representing in his compact person that inveterate stupidity of the human race against which hitherto the gods themselves have struggled in vain.

It is useful to American democracy that we should have a completely impossible Roosevelt ready at hand to illustrate to us **how not to do it.**

In the past the Rooseveltian figure has been somewhat blurred. There have been times when he has seemed to be half modern and democratic. But now—in his entire identification with the arbitrary paternalism of the Financial District—he is at last clearly lined and featured as the Undemocratic Type—the peculiar Tempter of these times.

Of course Mr. Roosevelt is only an ordinary man of extraordinary expressiveness. It may be presumed that he means well. We should even be thankful to him for dramatizing to us the universal American smartness that passes for competency, the brag that passes for self-possession and the caution that poses as courage.

### THE CULT OF CAUTION.

**I**MAGINE what would happen to us if our superficial national foolishness were to deepen down to the profound levels of Mr. Roosevelt's folly. Conceive what feebleness and futility we should arrive at if now, in this critical trial-time, the majority of us should elect in all seriousness to become devotees of the Rooseveltian Cult of Caution—and should undertake to reconstruct our social and industrial system with a single eye to the frightening of foes.

Do you think that any family could develop a bold, generous and high-spirited social life or achieve exceptional in art and science—if its abiding thought at work-time, prayer-time and play-time were, How can we kill the neighbors quickest if we have to fight?

There have been races of Vikings and buccaneers who have achieved a degree of skill, courage and comradeship, by making rapine their regular business, the thing they worked

at every day. But there is no record of any brave free city that civilized and socialized itself by trying to be so formidable that it would never have to fight.

The point is that the power to sail ships, handle tools and build cities makes people formidable to their foes; but the desire to be formidable has never been known to improve anybody's courage or craftsmanship.

Effectual courage and fighting power are things that get into the hearts and nerves of careless, unanxious men who are absorbed in the earth-struggle, for ends that are generous and human. The Cult of Caution—the fear that some day one may have to fight—has never yet made a shipmaster or a good mechanic.

And so when Mr. Roosevelt tells us, in this pallidly thoughtful essay on Industrial Preparedness that the American people are going to "try to" abolish child labor because they are going to find, in their pursuit of preparedness, that grinding up infants in mills amounts to a waste of ammunition—we feel bound to record our observation that human nature has never been known to work that way.

Arguing in his curious back-handed fashion, Mr. Roosevelt thinks that munition-plants would be made patriotic if the government gave them enough "education orders" for things that the government didn't need; and that this "government encouragement could also be used to secure as one of its features those things for labor which it is most necessary to secure—proper working and living conditions and provisions for insurance, compensation against sickness, accident and old age."

So there you have it! Fixed fear of the foreigner—government buying endless educational bomb-shells—factory-owners deeply moved and moralized by the generous conduct of the government—proper working conditions secured for operatives—the good life for all and a serene old age! The stick begins to beat the dog, the dog begins to bite the pig—and the dear old woman gets home in time for supper.

### THE POIGNANT ISSUE.

**Q**UITE apart from the personality of presidential candidates it seems to have been written in the scroll that the American people should in the year 1916 meet the decisive test of the reality of their democracy.

Rooseveltism is the alluring form in which the reactionary and undemocratic tendency happens now to present itself.

Rooseveltism, stripped to the bone, is plutocratic militarism. And that is militarism at its basest and feeblest!

The strength of militarism is an historical illusion, derived from a misunderstanding of

the cause of the strength of Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar and Napoleon. The strength of the old-world soldier systems was due to the fact that social technology—or the machine-process—was first developed for war-uses, not for peace-uses. The army had a monopoly of the peculiar kind of power that comes from wide social co-operations in the handling of tools and materials.

Before the development of a grand-scale socialized technology for the uses of peace—an event of the last century—pure militarism was strong. It was strong not because it was arbitrary and undemocratic—but in spite of being arbitrary and undemocratic. It was strong because it embodied the social power of the machine.

Now large-scale social co-operation in the use of machinery can generate its high voltages only in an atmosphere of democratic freedom. It is impossible for ten million men to co-operate with efficiency in the working of the complicated machinery of modern life, under the arbitrary and centralized authority that is the quintessence of militarism.

In order to get the best out of the complex machinery of modern civilization **there must be nothing machine-like in the social organization of the men that run it.** The bottom reason why the machinery works badly at present in the United States is that our social organization is too mechanical. It is plutocratic. And the curse of plutocracy is that it is arbitrary, militaristic. It is no accident that Wall Street should be the champion of Militarism. For plutocracy is in its very nature a sociological throw-back, a revival—or survival of the spirit of the soldier-state. Our plutocracy is incapable of managing our modern machineries without terrible disasters and convulsions—because the machineries have become so vast and so intricate that only a free and self-reliant people, obeying the intrinsic laws of art and science and scornful of all arbitrary laws, can possibly control them. The machinery is so difficult to manage and requires correlations of mental forces so swift, spontaneous and sensitive that high efficiency can be obtained only where every engineer, chemist, electrician and artisan is allowed a considerable margin of personal initiative and discretion and is made to feel a keener dread of violating the intrinsic and self-revenging laws of the working process than of incurring the displeasure of any social superior or shoulder-strapped official.

High-tensioned working power or fighting power has become impossible to any people among whom the plutocratic or militaristic principle is predominant. Such power is possible only to a people that is essentially democratic in the upstanding pride and personal freedom of its engineers and masters of ma-

chines. It is possible to make a soldier out of a first-rate mechanic; but it is not possible to make a first-rate mechanic out of a soldier.

Here is the unescapable issue of the present political campaign. **It will be the issue whether we see it or not.** Our blindness will settle it wrong if our sight does not settle it right. We are to choose whether we will take the Rooseveltian course and go in for general soldierdom, in the hope of achieving fair play and productive efficiency as a by-product; or whether on the contrary we will make a grand drive for democracy, expecting to get unprecedented power for peace or war by breaking the servile yoke of plutocratic militarism.

### DEMOCRATIC ARMAMENT.

**T**HE first business of American democracy is to keep itself free from militarism of the Roosevelt kind. Its second business is to open up fraternal communications with all other nations, by enforcing the freedom of the ocean roads.

In order to keep itself free from militarism the enlarged Federal Army of the United States should never be usable against the people of the United States. Its operations should be limited by law to coast defence and frontier service.

In order to command the freedom of the seas we should evince our intention of building a Navy and a public Merchant Marine as large as may be necessary to carry our goods to every port and **protect them on the passage.**

We should not yield to any nation whatever in sea power. We are rich enough to out-build any other nation. And our manifest intention not to be overruled, would force that democratizing of the seas which will never be got by diplomacies.

### LIFE VERSUS PROPERTY.

**T**HE Secretary of State, speaking at great length before a County Bar Association, declares that people who say that British offences against America should be resented and resisted in even pace with German offences, are afflicted with fatty degeneration of the moral sense. His point is of course that lives have been lost in one case and only property in the other.

It is surprising and, to some of us, shocking that Mr. Lansing should thus speak on the moral sense of Americans, as if it were limited in its operation to political boundaries. For surely there can be no question that many more lives of German children and invalids and wounded men languishing in hospitals, have been lost because of the illegal stoppage of Red Cross supplies and food-stuffs destined for non-

combatants, than have been sacrificed by the illegal use of German submarines. It may be necessary for our American official to concern himself more about the loss of one American life than of a hundred Germans. But it is hardly seemly that a Secretary of State, specially charged as he is with the maintenance of relations of comity and courtesy with all friendly nations, should put this preference on moral grounds; or charge with moral baseness those whose sympathies go out to a foreign people. It is perhaps fair to assume that Mr. Lansing did not mean to do this—did not realize the implication of his words.

Even so, his distinction between life and property is shallow and merely specious—a false application of a principle that everybody agrees to.

Nobody has denied that the life is more than meat and the body than raiment. But a statesman ought to understand that national economic questions are really and literally vital. They are questions of life and death for the mass of the people—the poor. There can be no doubt that the death rate in the United States, as well as in Germany, has been materially affected by the violent, unjust and illegal interruption of commerce between this country and the Central European powers.

To treat industry and commerce as if they were sordid concerns that ought not to be mentioned in the same breath with vital statistics, is to expose the intellectual nakedness of a prosperous middle-class man with a comfortable bank account, a sentimental academic culture and merely formal notions of political economy.

#### KITCHENER.

**K**ITCHENER is dead. The British Empire has lost the man in whom it had vested the greatest power ever entrusted to one man. Whether or not Great Britain has suffered a real loss cannot be ascertained as yet. Some people saw in Kitchener a genius of will power and organizing ability, whilst others consider him a vastly overrated individual who accomplished his ends by brutality, although these ends could have been obtained more readily and better by applying just that knowledge and skill which Kitchener, though credited with, did not possess.

Kitchener's career prior to the outbreak of the European conflict was distinctly that of an English General in Colonial service. He was a true believer in the principle of frightfulness. Wherever he went, his coming was preceded by terror, his presence spelled blood and murder, and behind him he left tears and broken hearts. Such a record no man can hanker after, no matter how great in the eyes of man the reward may be.

Kitchener's achievements in India and the Soudan

are well known and criticism of his actions and methods was not wanting, not even in England. The part he played in the South African campaign, culminating in the cold blooded murder of 23,000 Boer women and children, will attach everlasting disgrace to his name. War is a stern business and men who faint at the sight of blood should better keep away from it. Yet "soldier" does not imply "murder," and war, though generally accompanied by an unavoidable loss of life and property, is not supposed to be waged with the only object of killing the enemy and devastating his property. Yet this has been Kitchener's conception of warfare.

None of his successes can be traced to superior strategy or that fine sense of tact which prompts the conquered enemy to throw himself at the mercy of the victor, thus paving the way for reconciliation.

When the European war broke out the leading men in London were well aware of the enormous strength of Germany. Whatever pretext was put forward for public consumption, from a German attack to the violation of an ancient treaty, the real cause for Great Britain's entrance into the war, was England's inability to hold her own in the world's markets against the more and more successful German competition. England's object, therefore, was not only to beat Germany, but to cripple her commerce. England's war is not one of conquest in the ordinary sense of the word, but a war of extermination. A competitor who cannot be beaten by legitimate means is stabbed in the back, the main object being the removal of a dangerous neighbor.

Kitchener's record fitted the task to perfection, but—the Germans are no Arabs or Egyptians, and not even Boers, whose only preparation for war was their love for their country. The English artillery and machine guns that had slaughtered thousands and thousands in the Soudan were more than matched by the productions of the Krupp Works and the repetition of the South African Starvation policy was prevented by an efficient system of husbanding and distributing the supplies on hand. The lists of starved women and children sent to the fighting Boers, though a devilish piece of cruelty, finally made the Boers surrender to save their beloved ones, and nothing would have pleased Kitchener better than to be able to make similar lists find their way into the German trenches. Fortunately, there was no occasion for Kitchener to employ his favorite method to "beat" fighting men.

For the first time in his life the great man and organizer was confronted with a European power, for the first time he could measure his strength with an equal on nearly equal terms and his results spelt failure. His regular armies were beaten and wiped out and his millions of volunteers made themselves conspicuous by their absence. The compulsory service was not to the taste of the Englishman who is prepared to pay for his wars but not to fight them. In Russia Kitchener's system of brutality might have been more successful. Maybe some kindly mine or torpedo saved the future historians the writing of a further chapter of unheard-of cruelty and bloodshed.

# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### THE NAVAL BATTLE NEAR HELGOLAND.

By Em Quad.

This description of the naval battle near Helgoland, published in the "Japan Herald," Sept. 5, 1914, compares admirably with some of the accounts of the engagement off the Jutland coast.

On the British side we have a "strong force of British destroyers, light cruisers, battl cruisers and submarines." On the German side, three small cruisers and a number of destroyers. The Mainz, it appears, had the honor of having a whole British squadron to herself, and the Köln even a whole battle cruiser squadron. The name of the third German little cruiser is not given. And these ships kept two powerful British squadrons at bay for eight hours! They kept their flag flying until they sank. In all the three big volumes of my "History of British Battles on Land and Sea," I can find no record of a similar naval engagement against such heavy odds. I think the British squadrons—unless they were too busily engaged in repairing damages or in attending to their wounded—must have saluted those two brave little ships as they went down with their colors flying.

And the third little cruiser? "She disappeared in the mist with a heavy list in a sinking condition." The two British squadrons of battle cruisers, light cruisers, destroyers and submarines, although they did not suffer any serious damage or loss of life, could not go after that one poor lame little duck and catch or sink it! And the other two, fast ships as they were, had not run away. They fought for eight long terrible hours under a hail of shot and shell and threatened by submarine attack, until they sank. There is more between the lines of the story, but this is all that can or need be brought out at present.

The occasion being so propitious, it seems strange that the first attack was not followed up, i. e., that the two strong British squadrons did not go a little further ahead to see whether there was any more sea fowl of the same kind to be caught in the neighborhood. For surely one little bat-

tered sinking cruiser could not keep off two British squadrons of battle cruisers, other cruisers and war craft. It appears to me that we have not yet heard the most interesting part of the story. That is evidently kept back for a select few with a trained mind, unless there is a concealed cipher in the message. In the meantime, when it comes to discovering a goldfishy taste in stories of this kind, I know the address of an intimate friend of mine—the best I have in the world—who is 90 per cent. of the Trouble Trust.

Then there is a story which would admirably lend itself to a new edition of Muenchhausen, the report to the effect that the German fleet was "Fleeing to its base." Where from, and why? To what base? And if it was fleeing, why was the British fleet not after it? Surely British Admirals and Commanders have not received their sea training in a candy store.

### GERMANY VS. BIAS.

To the Editor of Issues & Events:

I see in the telegrams from Berlin that one speaker in the Reichstag declared that Germany would never accept the United States as mediator in this war. Did any sane man suppose she would? Every day the United States is sending huge quantities of ammunition to kill the Teuton soldiers. It would be the most inconsistent thing ever known for the United States, while doing this, to offer her services to mediate or make peace. Do people think that the central empires have no spirit, no sense of honor to their soldiers?

For common decency's sake let there be no talk of the United States making peace until the export of the ammunition is stopped.

Everybody admits that the war would have been over months ago, and that it would stop now if the United States did not furnish ammunition to kill Teutons. And in the face of the fact that she is keeping the war going, for United States to offer to mediate! Was ever such cool piece of effrontery known among men? J. E. PECK.

Murfreesboro, May 25.

### PRESIDENT WILSON AND GERMANY.

It is not possible for any American, whose first interest in this country, to avoid regretting the course the President is taking with regard to Germany. Those who are more concerned about England than America easily can do so. Their regret is that Mr. Wilson did not pick a quarrel with Germany

## JUSTICE IN WAR TIME

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at the very outset of the war, and throw the weight of this country on the side of the Allies. They think we have no right to abstain from interference, as they look upon the fate of the British Empire as the one important issue in the present quarrel. But in this they are hopelessly in the minority. All Americans, outside what I have often called "our Anglicized Fringe," were with the President in his earlier purpose to keep America away from entanglements with European disturbances. They must regret that he has abandoned that eminently patriotic course, and has threatened Germany with a suspension of diplomatic relations.—Richard Ellis Thompson.

### GERMANY'S FATE SEALED.

The "Japan Mail" writes:

How can the financial strength of Germany cope with that of Great Britain and France? The fate of Germany is now sealed, however strong her military strength may be. It is not very difficult to infer the possible results of the conclusion of peace, though it is impossible to tell at this moment on what conditions the war



will be brought to a close. It is a question whether Germany will be forced to capitulate, but it is certain that we shall arrive at the conference of peace sooner or later.

It goes without saying that Japan is to gain reasonable remuneration in return for the part she played in the war, but we must admit that Japan's position in the present war is different from that of her allies in Europe. Great Britain and her allies in Europe have fought even at the risk of losing their countries, while the sphere of Japan's activities has been restricted to the Orient. Should the Japanese people expect too much from the peace conference they will be disappointed. Nevertheless Japan has participated in the war and has done her best in the cause of the Allies, and must endeavor to gain proper results from the war.

#### HON. JAMES M. BECK AND WIRE TAPPING.

It is a long time that we have heard something from the Hon. James M. Beck who, a year and a half ago was good enough to constitute himself the Supreme Court of civilization, prosecuting attorney and judge at the same time. He analyzed the Belgian situation and condemned Germany's actions bitterly. But when later on his attention was called to the fact that statements in the British White Book condemned Great Britain morally much more than Germany, because Great Britain had provoked the invasion, then Mr. Beck was not inclined to see his error.

But the old proverb is still true, "murdered will out." Now we learn by sheer accident why Mr. Beck is so fearfully against all sense of justice. Mr. Beck is defending Mr. Egan who is defending Mr. Morgan of the Morgan firm, who directed Burns to break into another man's office and desks, and to "nose" around for valuable information. Also to tap wires by the meanest kind of sneak-thief methods.

This gives us another indication of Mr. Beck's conception of Justice of Supreme Court and Civilization, to say nothing of good manners.

#### TO DRIVE DULL CARE AWAY

##### ROMANCE VS. REALISM.

"How did Jack come to break with Miss Sweetleigh? He used to say that she was as good as gold."

"Yes, but you see he's got acquainted with a girl who has gold."

##### ABOUT DUE.

"I understand," said Mrs. Twickembury, "that Germany has invented a new and powerful expletive."

##### A SUBTLER GALLANTRY.

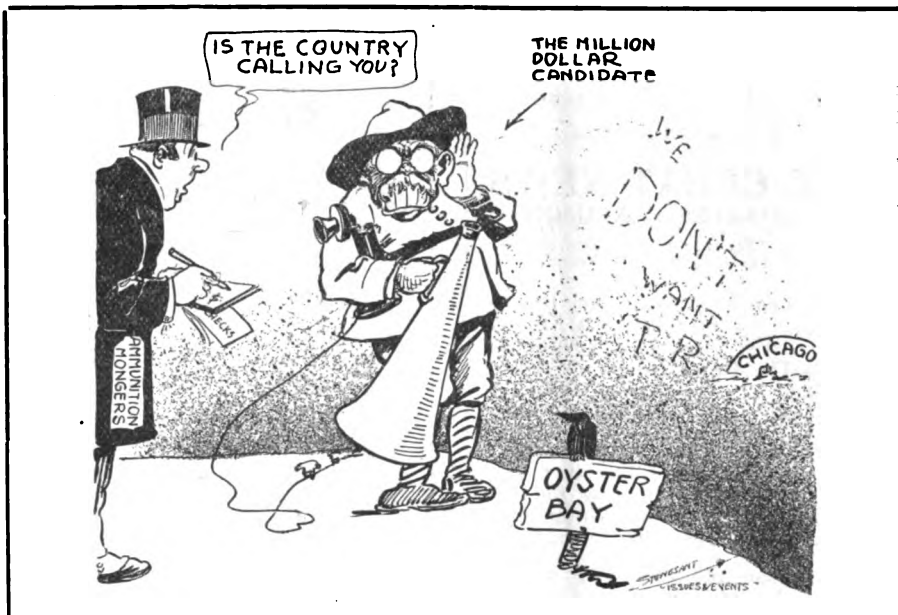
"Before we were married you used to send around a dozen roses every week," said she.

"Roses are easy," replied he. "This week I'm going to send around two tons of coal and a rib roast."

##### THOUGHTFUL PROVIDENCE.

Bacon.—The giraffe is said to be the only animal in nature that is entirely dumb, not being able to express itself by any sound.

Egbert.—It's just as well, for if it could speak it would talk over everybody's head.



#### NO MORE GEOGRAPHIES UNTIL WAR IS ENDED.

Because they believe Germany will occupy the major portion of Europe after the war, German-American members of the Board of Education of West Hoboken voted down a resolution to purchase several hundred new school geographies at a meeting held recently.

"All Europe will be German after the war," said Trustee Frederick Hensel. Other members of the board were dubious about it, but Trustee Charles Rauh agreed with Hensel, and as a result the school children will get along with their old geographies until the present war is ended.—*The Evening Review*.

#### BUSY.

"What are the duties of an American soldier in Mexico?"

"If the press dispatches can be relied on, a day's work consists of hunting for Villa one hour, hunting for water five hours, and the rest of the time hunting for lost American aviators."

A bachelor of wealth was much sought after by many of the charming young women of the town. A pretty maiden was sure she had brought him to the point of a proposal.

"What was the happiest moment of your life?" she asked, while they were enjoying the theater together.

"The happiest moment of my life," he answered, "was when a jeweler once took back an engagement ring and gave me some cuff links instead."

#### NONE LEFT!

Son—Papa, you remember you said you had hunted tigers in West Africa? Well, Captain Defoe says that there are none there!

Papa—Quite right, my boy, quite right: I killed them all!

#### CONSISTENCY.

"Charley, dear," said young Mrs. Torkins, "did you forget to bring the things I told you to bring from the store?"

"No. This is one time I carried out instructions to the letter. Here's the whole bundle."

"Oh. I'm so sorry. I've changed my mind about wanting them. I was sure you'd forget, as usual. It's so hard to depend on a man!"

#### JARRING.

"Don't you hate to have a man tell you the same story twice?"

"Yes; especially if it's the one that I told him."

#### NOT MUCH.

A little bit of life  
A little bit of love,  
A little bit of happiness,  
And money; just to shove  
Up the hill and over  
To make our journey sweet—  
And yet we do not ask much  
We say to all we meet;  
Not much, not much,  
Only all there is  
Of richness and of beauty  
In a world like this?

## England OR Germany

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Current Literature for January gives a full-page editorial to it. And the January Review of Reviews closes a column-long discussion with the remark that:

"Ferguson ploughs deep where writers like Norman Angell only skim the surface of the obvious."

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The Submarine Merchant Man.  
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## THE CONTRIBUTORS:

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to many other wars with equally satisfactory results. The reason that I have stood aloof from the great mass of people who talk solely against Germany, is because at the very outset of the war I applied this formula, which showed clearly that Germany could whip England and Russia, or France and Russia, and could nearly handle all three. However, my interest in the case is not so much in regard to who will win, as that the peace terms be on a basis coinciding with what statistics on growth signify. This formula when applied to the present European war gives results as follows: (In order to make these results as accurate as possible instead of resorting to the short-cut formula  $\frac{P^2}{A}$ , the original formula,  $\frac{P \times E}{A}$ , is used, E being the number of persons officially reported as being able to read and write.)

	Total Population	Population per sq. m. (Density)	Area	Per cent of Population Able to Read and Write
Germany .....	65,000,000	312.5	208,000 sq. m.	99
British Isles .....	45,000,000	375	120,000 sq. m.	94
France .....	40,000,000	193.2	207,000 sq. m.	95
Russia .....	150,000,000	75	2,000,000 sq. m.	22

"By the application of the above formula, it will be seen that Germany's strength figures out 20,109 units, England's 15,862 units, France's 7,341 units, and Russia's 2,475 units. Thus, ignoring standing armies and fortifications, but considering simply the fundamental relative strength of these nations, it will be readily seen that Germany easily has more units of strength than France and Russia combined or of Great Britain and Russia combined, and that she is not far behind the united strength of Great Britain and France, which amounts to 23,203 units, against 20,109 units for Germany alone. By adding Austria's units to those of Germany, and the units of Belgium and Japan to those

of the Allies, of course the predominance of strength is still more in favor of the Allies; but there is no such difference as most people think.

"In whatever way these figures may be combined and used, it is most apparent that Germany has not been given proper representation in the council of nations, in the enactment of trade laws, and in the development of colonies. Instead of Germany demanding more than what belongs to her, statistics clearly show that it is England and France who are endeavoring to retain more than what belongs to them; and can not we best help along the cause of peace by manfully acknowledging the facts which statistics on destiny, death rate, criminology, and illiteracy clearly demonstrate? Let us, therefore, cease to talk along the popular anti-German lines of the day, but rather work to have people understand these two facts:

"(1) Satisfactory peace conditions can be established only with the frank acknowledgment by all interests of Germany's high density and efficiency, and the adoption of peace terms which allot territory, indemnity, and trade opportunities in accordance with the relative deserts of nations as shown by statistics on destiny and efficiency.

"(2) Disarmament can be brought about only by the substitution for war of an International Relations Council wherein each nation will have a vote varying in accordance with the product of its density and efficient population. *In other words, war can be eliminated only by substituting for war something else which will accomplish the same result.* Competition between races must continue for many centuries to come; but I do dream of the day when nations will fight with statistics instead of with arms.

"In the meantime, the very best service the United States can render to the cause of peace is to preserve an attitude of benevolent neutrality in word and deed."

## Amazing Confessions of an English Spy

The United States England's Staunchest Ally.

**T**O the Right Hon. Sir Edward Grey, K. G., Bart. Sir:—I have the honour to report that I have now brought to a conclusion the investigation which your Excellency instructed me to make. Follows a brief summary of the results obtained: the details are duly listed in the accompanying schedules.

### The General Sentiment of the American People.

Washington may still be classed as completely on our side. The Administration has been packed so carefully with British sympathizers that the strongest social pressure can be, and is being, brought to bear upon neutrals. Members of Congress who are recalcitrant are being brought to a proper sense of their duty by feminine and social influence. The policy is full of hope, and should be crowned with complete success in a short period. These facts are, of course, already well known to your Excellency, and are only inserted here to complete the document.

Boston, Providence and New England generally may be described as favorable. Here cultural and racial considerations reinforce the social. Our consul in Providence is in constant touch with Mr. John Revelstoke Rathom. It seems that the other side has investigated his past to a considerable extent. The facts unearthed by them in connection with a poison candy scandal in San Francisco have considerably impaired Mr. Rathom's usefulness in Washington. \* \* \*

In this connection I cannot urge too strongly upon your Excellency to take some action that would check the injudicious partisanship for our cause shown by the New York Tribune. By being more British than

His Majesty's Government itself the Tribune has practically destroyed its usefulness. I suggest a policy far more subtle in quality such as is revealed by a study of editorial columns of the New York Times. While backing the interests of Great Britain in every vital matter, the New York Times has not hesitated at times to attack us vigorously. This establishes for that excellent paper a reputation for fearlessness and independence that is invaluable to us. On the other hand, I suggest that means be found to suppress such articles as the editorial in the Journal of Commerce in which the statement is made that we cannot starve Germany into submission. Admissions of this nature are fatal to our credit. \* \* \* They are very damaging to our cause, and I urge that the strongest social pressure be used upon the publishers to prevent similar outbreaks. I do not understand why the censor permits dispatches as to the unpatriotic attitude of our Welsh miners to reach the United States, and in view of the strong prohibition element the stress laid on the part which the drink question plays in England is highly injurious.

In fact, it must be conceded that our publicity work in the last few months has not been very happy. If it were not for the total lack of organization on the part of the Central Powers, we would be in a distinctly disadvantageous position. The Cavell campaign was excellently managed. \* \* \* It is also evident that we have them badly frightened. I suggest that we keep up by all means the prosecutions of their consular officers wherever possible under any pretense whatso-

ever. The Baralong matter acted strongly against us, in spite of your Excellency's straightforward and convincing rejoinder.

The great section of the country which is centralized in Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Topeka and Denver, may be called actively hostile to our propaganda. In all these cities the intelligent and prosperous classes make no secret of their sympathy with the enemy. In these districts the Chicago Tribune and The Fatherland are potent organs of opinion. The Hearst press has also much more power than in New York.

\* \* \* \* \*

The agricultural states in general are truly neutral. The only feeling is detestation of war in general, and a determination not to be dragged into one at any cost. This disposition is to be regarded as unfriendly to your Excellency's hopes.

The South is still bitterly antagonistic to the East, or North, as they term it. They are fanatically opposed to the Morgan interests, and the effect of the blockade upon cotton, in spite of the "statistics" which we have published through Wall Street channels, has made them extremely hostile toward England.

The situation may be summed up finally by saying that with the exception of the individuals who have been, and are being influenced by social or financial considerations, the country is either against us altogether, or would become so in the event of active decision being necessary. Such feeling as is for us is mostly sentimental, and would disappear if it were a question of war. The press campaign on which so much money has been spent, must therefore, be considered to have failed. It has not, therefore, been useless; on the contrary, it has been invaluable as permitting Washington to claim that public sentiment as shown by the newspapers was vehemently on our side and thus to defy the will of the people, who have by this means been made to appear inarticulate. It must not therefore be supposed that Washington itself is under any misapprehension; the party bosses are well aware of the facts of the situation, and their private reports are conclusive. (See Schedules A 23-42, inclusive.) Your Excellency has therefore every reason to fear the most complete "volte-face" on the part of Washington. The various notes to Germany, to Austria, and to H. B. M. Government may be regarded as electioneering addresses and no more.

The publication of the von Papen correspondence was distinctly unfortunate. Even so friendly a paper as the Springfield Republican took us to task for our treatment of the Captain, forgetful of the fact that the Germans are not gentlemen, but pirates, and deserve to be treated as such. The letter by von Skal on the Ambassador has made the position of the latter more solid with the Administration.

\* \* \* \* \*

The entire publication strikes me as a boomerang.

Too certain of our hold on the Administration, we have been somewhat neglectful of Congress. I suggest that the mail of the Senators, especially of those who favor an embargo on arms (see Schedule XO) be carefully supervised. While the ammunition interests are strong we must not underestimate the approach of the elections. The problem of the "hyphen" also is more sinister than ever. The President, while still with us, is deeply offended because of the attacks on him in the British press. Especially the poster "Are you too proud to fight" rankles deep. Even if he has not protested against the German "atrocities" he has gone as far as he could without actually participating in the war on our side. The slurs on him which are promptly republished here, must strike him as the basest ingratitude. I should not be surprised if his attitude toward us would stiffen considerably in con-

sequence. Inasmuch as American ammunition still is absolutely essential to our success, I suggest that your Excellency permit the Administration to obtain a "diplomatic victory" of some kind over us. It is not necessary to sacrifice essential principles, but I would urge that a slight concession now and then would be gratefully appreciated in Washington. At present it is best to humor them. They are childish, and it is so easy to please them. The attitude of Washington for the next few months will depend entirely upon the results of the party conventions. It is extremely unfortunate that Mr. Roosevelt so injudged public sentiment. It will, I most respectfully submit, be wiser to withdraw support from this quarter, which is in any case hopeless of success. Had it not been for Mr. Bryan's resignation, we could have been certain of Mr. Wilson's reelection, which, all things considered, would have been satisfactory. In the event of new lease of power being granted, he would have fallen even more completely under the thumb of the Morgan interests.

I respectfully urge your Excellency to regard the political situation here as most precarious; in my humble opinion, the best and only method is to prepare some incident which would drag the country into war before the conventions, as if by stampede. This is, however, subject to the remarks in Section B. of this report, which render it hazardous and even desperate. The alternative is to trust the money interest to elect another weak and wooden President.

\* \* \* \* \*

The present policy of endeavoring to keep all trouble at a minimum is sound; but in the case of the volte-face of Washington which is above indicated as a possibility, it would, I repeat, doubtless become desirable to throw the sword into the scale, and to trust to reap our advantage later. This must in any event be arranged for as soon as possible after the war; for otherwise the balance of wealth must become intolerable. Since repudiation must come, it had better come all round; we can then reconstruct civilization on a fair basis. Unless America is completely disintegrated, Europe must lie at her mercy for centuries to come. It is evident that we may rely upon the co-operation of Japan in this task. \* \* \* But by adroitly fomenting the elements of race hatred in America, the continent may yet be reduced to chaos without our risking a military expedition other than one of occupation and administration. President Wilson's great speech in Congress, even more than all the efforts of our press, has sown the dragon's teeth, in my humble opinion, beyond the power of any man to pluck up, and we have merely to await the due season for the crop of armed men to rise up and slay each other.

Feeling in this country is very strongly sympathetic with France; to abandon her would unite American sentiment against England as nothing else could do. On the other hand, there is practically no pro-Russian feeling; an understanding between France, Germany and ourselves as against Russia would be popular, as tending to relieve the tension, and do away with the deadlock. This would be signally the case if it were concerted that after the fall of Russia, the next task were to be the humiliation of Japan. Such an arrangement need not, and should not, prove incompatible with the design upon America itself indicated above. Germany may be offered South America as compensation for acceding in full to such desires as France might express in reference to the terms of peace.

I hope that your Excellency may be pleased with the main results of this investigation, and pardon the frankness which I have deemed it necessary to use in making this communication.

I have the honor to remain,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

# From Convention to Campaign

By WILLIAM KENNEDY.

THE Democratic Party is preparing to attempt to double-cross the American people. They are imitating a disreputable commercial trick known as "substitution of goods." They are trying to sell something by sample and deliver something which is not up to sample. Their campaign is a masquerade—but fortunately for the country the Candidate persists in pulling off the mask so carefully fitted to him by the Convention, disclosing the sinister features which threaten the honor and safety of the nation.

The Democratic Convention, when it met at St. Louis, was very anxious to placate the German-American and Irish-American vote. That we learn from the New York World, which knows whereof it speaks. Editorially, The World denounces as an abominable traitor any man of German blood who dares vote against Woodrow Wilson; in its news columns The World accurately reflects the serious concern which the party leaders feel over the prospect that millions of German-Americans, yes, and millions of Irish-Americans, will register at the polls their anger and their contempt for the present Administration. The party has, indeed, taken extraordinary steps to delude the so-called Hyphenate voters. Hyphenates are quite all right if they can be induced to vote the Democratic ticket. So ex-Governor Martin H. Glynn was set up to make the keynote speech at St. Louis. Mr. Glynn is an Irish-American; he is a Catholic; he runs a newspaper which has always been fair to Germany. Evidently he was designed to play the part of stalking-horse to effect a re-entrance for Democracy into the hearts of the Irish, who behold their ancestral land crushed and bleeding because of the treachery of the Wilson Administration; into the hearts of the Germans, who behold the commerce of England freed from the strangulation of the German U-boat through the unwarranted intervention of Woodrow Wilson; into the hearts of Catholics, who behold religion crucified in Mexico by the libertines, thieves and murderers whom the Administration upholds.

Mr. Glynn, constrained by that false party-loyalty which has led so many good men into bad places, made a speech which was excellent in everything but truth and accuracy. It asserted that Woodrow Wilson had kept the country out of war; that Woodrow Wilson had enforced neutrality. Poor Democracy; What a badly-scared aggregation it is! Mr. Glynn profoundly asserts these things which he knows to be the very opposite of the truth; leaders like Senators Kern and Stone, like Champ Clark and Mr. Bryan, all of whom know that such statements are the very opposite of the truth, hasten to endorse his words. There is no question at all that men like Glynn, Kern, Stone, Clark and Bryan are in favor of honorable peace and of real neutrality. There is no doubt that they hope to constrain Mr. Wilson, with his Lansings, Lanes, McAdoos and Bakers, to abide by their views. And upon the chance that they may be able to accomplish that, they dare go before the country with the solemn assurance that to elect Wilson means to preserve neutrality and avoid war!

And all the while the solemn disclosure of Senator Gore, uttered in the United States Senate, that Woodrow Wilson endeavored to lead the country into war last spring, stands unrefuted! Senators Kern and Stone must hear, ringing in their ears while they utter their campaign platitudes, the echo of the diabolical words which they heard at that White House confer-

ence. Mr. Bryan must remember how, just before the McLemore Resolution was voted on, he rushed to Washington and went into secret conference with certain Senators and Representatives, arranging for a pitiless public upheaval if Wilson's war plans were brought to the point of consummation. 'Champ Clark must remember how he stood ready, if the danger-point were reached, to rush into the breach with all his eloquence and influence, courting all the abuse which would be heaped on him, but determined to save us from war and dishonor. And now these gentlemen go before the country to urge the re-election of Woodrow Wilson as an apostle of peace and neutrality! Ah, gentlemen, what gall and wormwood politics makes a man swallow!

Governor Glynn's speech is being lauded as an unanswerable argument that the Wilson policies with regard to Mexican murderers and English thieves have been correct, and is supported by the record of past Administrations. It would be far beyond my humble powers to answer Mr. Glynn, but I may venture to show that facts and reason answer him and indeed reduce his high-sounding defense of the President to a pitiable confession. Mr. Glynn pointed out that on various occasions in the past other Presidents have settled vexatious matters of foreign affairs without recourse to war; and on this ground he justifies the course pursued by Woodrow Wilson.

He points out that President Grant kept us from going to war with Spain when the Spaniards shot 53 Americans, crew and passengers of the *Virginius*; but he overlooks the fact that at that time the *Virginius* incident was not part of a continuing series of outrages, and the further fact that, as the outrages did thereafter continue for years, we eventually did go to war with Spain!

He cites the fact that Lincoln kept us from war while England, France and Spain outraged our rights; but he omits to mention the minor fact that we were at the time engaged in the death-grapple of a civil war, brought on by the Democratic Party, which had so weakened us that England, France and Spain were actually only kept from making war upon us by the friendly disposition toward us of Russia and Prussia.

Mr. Glynn cites a number of minor instances in which our difficulties with foreign nations were settled by arbitration; but he does not pretend that these were as serious matters as those we have to deal with to-day.

Finally he refers to the fact that Washington, Adams and Jefferson endured the intolerable outrages on our commerce perpetrated by England and France without going to war. Poor Mr. Glynn! Did he ever hear that we were actually at war with France for a considerable period of that time? Did he ever hear that immediately after the three Presidents he mentioned, came another President, Mr. Madison, who did make war on England for the very reasons he has mentioned? Why did Mr. Glynn stop just short of 1812? Mr. Glynn has been in Congress. Why did he not remember, before he told us how Mr. Adams refrained from war with France, although France committed over 2,300 outrages on our commerce, that in every session of Congress, even to-day after 116 years, there is presented a bill known as the French Spoliation Claims Bill, designed for the relief of the heirs of American citizens whose fortunes were wiped out by French depredations, and who went to their graves beggared by those acts which their government was unable or

unwilling to prevent? Does Mr. Glynn really advocate that this government to-day, mighty as it is, should be similarly negligent of its duty to its citizens and its commerce?

#### Wilson's Vicious Snarl.

The false face which the troubled and well-meaning leaders of the Democracy tried to put upon the party was ruthlessly torn off in the very act by Woodrow Wilson. While Mr. Glynn in his speech and the Platform Committee in its councils were trying to spread sweet phrases before the gaze of the real American people—"molasses to catch flies," so to say—the man whom the Party is compelled to nominate emitted a vicious snarl, which will warn millions away from him and his Party. Appalled by the shadow of defeat already cast across his future by the stalwart figure of Mr. Hughes, frightened by the thought that for all the backing of Wall Street he cannot win without the votes of those American citizens whom he has insulted and outraged, the essential littleness of his nature got the better of his discretion; and, standing under the shadow of the flag which should mean the union of all Americans, after a "preparedness" parade, he once more insulted millions of his fellow-citizens. He declared that there is disloyalty active in the United States. He declared that unpatriotic citizens were trying to levy political blackmail by ordering the government to do what they desire "in the interest of foreign sentiment," under the threat of vengeance to be taken at the polls.

These would be splendid words if they had any relation to those men and forces which have been trying to pervert the Government of the United States to the service of foreign causes; the Morgans and Dodges, the Putnams and Leons, Elliots and Choates. But Mr. Wilson does not refer to them; he refers to the German-Americans who have long signified their intention of voting against Mr. Wilson because Mr. Wilson, as known to every statesman in Washington, tried to get us into war with Germany; because Mr. Wilson has used the power of America to save England from the punishment of her crimes; because Mr. Wilson has applied International Law in one way to Germany, in another to England; because Mr. Wilson has degraded America in the eyes of the world by permitting England to put a stop to our expanding commerce, to rob and ruin our merchants and manufacturers, to invade the sanctity of our mail, and to dictate our foreign relations. These men have not attempted to use the United States to support Germany. But as American citizens, as good Americans as any other class, they are called upon to make their decision as to how to vote in the Presidential election. If they were to vote for Mr. Wilson, they would be unimpeachable patriots; but because they are going to vote against him, they are "disloyal." Oh, Hypocrisy, thou hast found a new synonym!

Nothing could better illustrate the hold which Wall Street has over the press and the parties than the effort which is being made to make the issue of the campaign "Americanism." The people evidently are expected to overlook the fact that both parties are thus fighting on precisely the same leading issue. The campaign under these circumstances would degenerate into a contest of lung-power and abuse.

But what is the hidden power, what is the supernatural authority which dares tell the American people that there is need of defining Americanism, need of purifying patriotism? When since the Civil War has there been any question of the Americanism of the American people, at least all of them North of Dixie and most of them in the South? Where, indeed, has an un-American sentiment been uttered? Only by the American Rights Committee, so-called, and by a handful of Anglo-maniacs who have reviled their own coun-

try for not rushing to share the shame of the British Empire, dripping with the blood of a score of nations, of millions of victims. Is the issue of Americanism directed against these men? They are too insignificant to notice. Is it directed then against Americans who are organized, not for political purposes, along ancestral lines, and who, in this day, moved by a common impulse, have suddenly become a legitimate force in politics? Let the parties beware of trying to define Americanism in a way to insult millions of Americans. The Democrats have had their fine phrases turned into a mockery by the latest snarl of their candidate. The Republicans have been saved from the catastrophe of Roosevelt by the hints of the German-Americans and the threat of a third party under Henry Ford. Let both parties remember that there is a Socialist ticket in the field headed by a brilliant man, who has, after all, despite his Socialism, much real Americanism in his personality and his principles.

#### The Democratic Party Turns to Knownothingism.

The Democratic Party has raised the banner of Knownothingism, and has inscribed on it:

"No Germans wanted!

"No Irish need apply!

"No Scandinavians tolerated!"

Doubtless it will be the turn of other races soon. But following quickly on the dismissal of Ernest Bruncken and Shaemas O'Sheel from the service of the Government in Washington, it has become known that Secretary of War Newton D. Baker has ordered the dismissal from the service of the War Department of all men engaged in certain work who are not native-born Americans. A score of inoffensive Danes, Finns and Norwegians have been deprived of a livelihood under this order.

Thus for the first time in American history, the undying spirit of bigotry has triumphed in an actual government act. Knownothingism is supreme. Nativism has the saddle. The Constitution of the United States is in this case, as in so many other cases where the Wilson Administration has been concerned, a mere scrap of paper. For Mr. Newton D. Baker, ordering the dismissal, from government auxiliary vessels under the War Department, of all men who were not citizens, wrote immediately afterward, "By citizens is meant native-born citizens of the United States." Thus a stripling cabinet officer undoes the labors of the makers of our Constitution, and makes a sort of neuter gender of all those millions who have given up their allegiance to other governments and pledged their lives to the Republic.

And at the same time Secretary of Labor Wilson has decided that a native-born American who turns his back on his country and swears allegiance to King George does not lose his citizenship! Thus we see that the test of American citizenship is really its original or adopted British character!

#### As Mr. Hughes Might Define Americanism.

Mr. Hughes will be so much barked at by the New York World because the German-Americans are going to support him that he will probably have to define his Americanism once more. Perhaps he will say that to him all American citizens who perform their duties and exercise their rights conscientiously, with a thought solely of American honor, are Americans, whether they are of stock rooted here for ten generations, or of stock that came here but one generation ago; that every hyphen is justified if it means the bringing into American life of something valuable from the Fatherland or Mother country; and that he will not be swayed either to condemn Germany and excuse England, or to condemn England and excuse Germany, by any clamor, any abuse, any threat, but will uphold American rights against all.

# The Elsewhere Empire

THE British Empire is no northern oak tree. It is a creeping, climbing plant that has fastened on the limbs of others and grown great from a sap not its own. If we seek an analogy for it in the vegetable and not in the animal world we must go to the forests of the tropics and not to the northland woodlands. In the great swamps at the mouth of the Amazon the naturalist Bates describes a monstrous liana, the "Sipo Matador," or Murdering Creeper, that far more fitly than the oak tree of the north typifies John Bull and the place he has won in the sunlight by the once strong limbs of Ireland.

Speaking of the forests around Para, Bates says: "In these tropical forests each plant and tree seems to be striving to outvie its fellows, struggling upwards towards light and air—branch and leaf and stem—regardless of its neighbors. Parasitic plants are seen fastening with firm grip on others, making use of them with reckless indifference as instruments for their own advancement. Live and let live is clearly not the maxim taught in these wildernesses. There is one kind of parasitic tree very common near Para which exhibits this feature in a very prominent manner. It is called the "Sipo Matador," or Murderer Liana. It belongs to the fig order, and has been described and figured by Von Martius in the Atlas to Spix and Martius's Travels. I observed many specimens. **The base of its stem would be unable to bear the weight of the upper growth; it is obliged, therefore, to support itself on a tree of another species.** In this it is not essentially different from other climbing trees and plants, but the way the Matador sets about it is peculiar and produces certainly a disagreeable impression. It springs up close to the tree on which it intends to fix itself, and the wood of its stem grows by spreading itself like a plastic mould over one side of the trunk of its supporter. It then puts forth, from each side, an arm-like branch, which grows rapidly, and looks as though a stream of sap were flowing and hardening as it went. This adheres closely to the trunk of the victim, and the two arms meet at the opposite side and blend together. These arms are put forth at somewhat regular intervals in mounting upwards, and the victim, when its strangler is full grown, becomes tightly clasped by a number of inflexible rings. These rings gradually grow larger as the Murderer flourishes, rearing its crown of foliage to the sky mingled with that of its neighbor, and in course of time they kill it by stopping the flow of its sap. The strange spectacle then remains of the selfish parasite clasping in its arms the lifeless and decaying body of its victim, which had been a help to its own growth. Its ends have been served—it has flowered and fruited, reproduced and disseminated its kind; **and now when the dead trunk moulders away its own end approaches; its support is gone and itself also falls.**"

The analogy is almost the most perfect in literature, and if we would not see it made perfect in history we must get rid of the parasite grip before we are quite strangled. If we would not share the coming darkness we must shake off the murderer's hold before murderer and victim fall together. That fall is close at hand. A brave hand may yet cut the "Sipo Matador," and the slaver be slain before he has quite stifled his victim.

If that hand be not an European one, then may it come, bronzed, keen and supple from the tropic calm! The birds of the forest are on the wing.

Regions Caesar never knew, including Hibernia, have come under the eagles, nay, the vultures, of imperial Britain. But the Lion's maw is full.

At length the overgorged Beast of Prey, with all the

diseases in his veins that overeating brings, finds that his claws are not so sharp as they were, that his belly is much heavier when he tries to leap, and that it is now chiefly by his Voice he still scares his enemies.

The Empire of England dates from Tudor times. Henry VIII. was the first John Bull. With the conquered Irish and the wealth derived from their rich country England set out to lay low every free people that had a country worth invading and who, by reason of their non-imperial instincts, were not prepared to meet her on equal terms. India she overran by the same methods as had given her Ireland.

Wholesale plunder, treachery and deceit met at her Council Board under a succession of Governors and Viceroy, whose policy was that of Captain Kidd, and whose ante-room of State led every native prince to the slippery plank. The thing became the most colossal success upon earth. No people were found able to withstand such a combination. How could peoples still nursed in the belief of some diviner will ruling men's minds resist such attack?

For one brief space Napoleon reared his head; and had he cast his vision to Ireland instead of to Egypt he would have found out the secret of the Pirate's Stronghold. But the fates willed otherwise; the time was not yet. He sailed for Alexandria, lured by a dream, instead of for Cork; and the older Imperialists beat the new Imperialist and secured a fresh century of unprecedented triumph. The Pyramids looked down on Waterloo; but the headlands of Bantry Bay concealed the mastery, and the mystery, of the seas.

With 1815 was born the Era of Charles Peace, no less than of John Bull—on Sundays and Saints' days a Churchwarden, who carried the plate; on week days a burglar who lifted it. Truly, as John Mitchel said on his convict hulk, "On English felony the sun never sets." May it set in 1916.

From Napoleon's downfall to the battle of Colenso, the Empire founded by Henry VIII. has swelled to monstrous size. Innumerable free peoples have bit the dust and died with plaintive cry to heaven. The wealth of London has increased a thousand fold, and the giant hotels and caravansaries have grown, at the millionaire's touch, to rival the palaces of the Caesars.

"All's well with God's world"—and poet and plagiarist, courtier and courtesan, Kipling and cant—these now dally by the banks of the Thames and dine off the peoples of the earth, just as once the degenerate populace of imperial Rome fed upon the peoples of the Pyramids. But the thing is near the end. The "secret of Empire" is no longer the sole possession of England. Other peoples are learning to think imperially. The Goths and Visigoths of modern civilization are upon the horizon. Action must soon follow thought. London, like Rome, will have strange guests. They will not pay their hotel bills. Their day is not yet, but it is at hand. "Home Rule" assemblies and Indian "Legislative Councils" may prolong the darkness; but the dawn is in the sky. And in the downfall of the Tudor Empire, both Ireland and India shall escape from the destruction and join again the free civilizations of the earth.

The birds of the forest are on the wing.

It is an Empire in these straits that turns to America, through Ireland, to save it. And the price it offers is—war with Germany. France may serve for a time; but France, like Germany, is in Europe, and in the end it is all Europe and not only Germany England assails. Permanent confinement of the white races, as distinct from the Anglo-Saxon variety, can only be achieved by the active support and close alliance of the American people. These people are today, unhappily, repub-



licans and freemen, and have no ill-will for Germany and a positive distaste for imperialism. It is not really in their blood. That blood is mainly Irish and German, the blood of men not distinguished in the past for successful piracy and addicted rather to the ways of peace. The wars that Germany has waged have been wars of defense, or wars to accomplish the unity of her people. Irish wars have been only against one enemy, and ending always in material disaster, they have conferred always a moral gain. Their memory uplifts the Irish heart; for no nation, no people, can reproach Ireland with having wronged them. She has injured no man.

And now, today, it is the great free race of this common origin of peace-loving peoples, filling another continent, that is being appealed to by every agency of crafty diplomacy, in every garb but that of truth, to aid the enemy of both and the arch-disturber of the old world. The jailer of Ireland seeks Irish-American support to keep Ireland in prison; the intriguer against Germany would win German-American good will against its parent stock. There can be no peace for mankind; no limit to the intrigues set on foot to assure Great Britain "the mastery of the seas."

If "America" will but see things aright, as a good "Anglo-Saxon" people should, she will take her place beside, nay, even a little in front of John Bull in the plunder of the earth. Were the "Anglo-Saxon Alliance" ever consummated it would be the biggest crime in human history. That alliance is meant by the chief party seeking it, to be a perpetual threat to the peoples of Europe, nay, to the whole mankind outside the allied ranks. And, instead of bringing peace it must assuredly bring the most distracting and disastrous conflict that has ever stained the world with blood.

John Bull has now become the great variety artist, one, in truth, whose infinite variety detection cannot stale any more than Customs officers can arrest the artist's baggage.

At one moment the "Shirt King" being prosecuted for the sale of cheap cottons as "Irish linen" in London; the next he lands the "Bloater King" in New York, offering small fish as something very like a whale. And the offer in both cases is made in the tongue of Shakespeare.

That tongue has infinite uses: from China it sounds the "Call for prayer," and, lo, the Book of Dividends

opens at the right text. Were Bull ever caught in the act, and put from the trade of international opium-dosing to that of picking oakum and the treadmill, we should hear him exclaim, as he went out of sight, "Behold me weaving the threads of democratic destiny as I climb the Golden Stair!"

The roles are endless. In Ireland, the conversion of Irishmen into cattle; in England, the conversion of Irish cattle into men; in India and Egypt the suppression of the native Press; in America, the subsidizing of the non-native Press. The tongue of Shakespeare has infinite uses. He only poached deer—it would poach Dreadnoughts. The emanations of Thames sewage are all over the world, and the sewers are running still. The penalty for pollution of the Thames is a high one; but the price for the pollution of the Mississippi is higher still: the fountains of the deep, the mastery of the great waters, these are the things John Bull seeks on the shores of the "Father of Waters."

The sunset of a fading Empire would turn those waters into blood. The British Empire was not founded in peace; how, then, can it be kept by peace, or ensured by peace treaties? It was born of pillage and bloodshed, and has been maintained by both; and it cannot now be secured by a common language any more than by a common Bible. The lands called the British Empire belong to many races, and it is only by the sword and not by the Book of Peace or any pact of peace that those races can be kept from the ownership of their own countries.

The "Anglo-Saxon Alliance" means a compact to ensure slavery and beget war. The people who fought the greatest war in modern history to release slaves are not likely to begin the greatest war in all history to beget slaves.

Let the truth be known in America that England wants to turn the great Republic of freemen into the imperial ally of the great Empire of bought men, and that day the "Anglo-Saxon Alliance" gives place to the Declaration of Independence.

The true alliance to aim at for all who love peace is the friendly Union of Germany, America and Ireland. These are the true United States of the world.

Ireland, the link between Europe and America, must be freed by both.

Denied today free intercourse with either, she yet forms in the great designs of Providence the natural bond to bring the old world and the new together

## Militarism---Has it Arrived?

THE militarists—beg pardon, militarists live only in Germany—we mean the Preparedness Patriots—declare loudly that the Army Bill just passed by Congress is woefully inadequate. We suspect that the gentlemen are using their handkerchiefs so ostentatiously to wipe away tears of joy, though they would fain have us believe them tears of sorrow. For the new Army organization will be a peril such as has never threatened this Republic before.

To be sure, the maximum force prescribed for the regular Army is never likely to be recruited. But suppose it is; suppose it is approximated; suppose the enlistment steadily increases, until in a short time the limit is raised again? A valid scheme of a national citizen army is proper and healthful for any nation; but a huge regular army is a menace, whether it amounts to 250,000, as some read the new law, or only to something over 175,000. As the grip of the capitalist classes

closes on the country; as more and more millions of people become more and more subject to the tyranny of the economic masters; there will be more and more frequent strikes, food-riots and other disorders. Then the value of the huge standing army will be proved; then its real use and purpose will be disclosed; the question as to why it has been increased will be answered in the volleys which shoot down the helpless ranks of a once-free people.

But the regular army might be quite inadequate to such a task. And so it has been provided that the militia of the several states shall henceforth be put on the Federal payroll—and, naturally, under Federal orders. But that is not all: Federal orders means, by the oath taken by the militiaman, the orders of ONE MAN—the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. Thus 450,000 citizens are attempted to be made the obedient gunmen of a politician temporarily in power. We can only hope that the attempt will somehow fail.

# Issues and Events

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### THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION.

**P**RESIDENT WILSON has nominated himself in the Democratic Convention; there can be no other short analysis of the results at St. Louis.

The Democratic Party might have advocated another and better executive for the affairs of the nation, but unfortunately these men were not as strongly in the limelight as President Wilson, as a present head of the party. The party therefore had to accept President Wilson as the standard bearer for the present campaign. Whether he will be an asset or a liability to his party only the future can show. There is no doubt that he has proved to be exceedingly clever in imposing his will, but it is unquestionable that in this his power of patronage has helped him a great deal. It is easily possible that he has over-estimated his own inherent personal force.

Theorizing, which is President Wilson's force, will not always do where practical work has to be done. In theorizing, the theoretician deals with exact quantities, but in practice, it is extremely difficult to even approximately estimate the quantities. And President Wilson has not been a good "guesser."

The Democratic platform contains two extraordinary planks. The one is an insult to the Republican Party, when it says: "We condemn any political party, which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy." If this is meant as a personal insult to Mr. Hughes, referring to his retirement from the Supreme Court, then we suggest the following two defences:

1st—That Justice Hughes' resignation is less important than the new nominee for the Supreme Court which President Wilson has to propose to the Senate, and less scandalous than the rumors which are rife in Washington as to his reasons for making his recent appointment. The implication that Justice Hughes broke a rule, law or precedent, is incorrect and unfair, although a few arguments might be advanced against the withdrawal of Supreme Court Jus-

tices. 2nd—Against this, a much stronger reproach can be laid on the shoulders of Mr. Wilson if the following pledge of the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, 1912, is held out to him. It read: "We favor a single Presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution making the President of the United States ineligible for the re-election, and we **PLEDGE THE CANDIDATE OF THIS CONVENTION TO THIS PRINCIPLE.**"

President Wilson ran on that platform, pledged himself to it, and it would thus be an open breach of promise, not only to the party, but to the nation, especially as it helped him to be elected, precisely because many people voted against Mr. Roosevelt for running as presidential candidate against his pledge.

The second is a so-called anti-hyphen plank. Even the Democratic Party—and President Wilson, who is supposed to be the author of this plank—have not been able to differentiate between the sentiments of citizens and a political loyalty. It is absurd for a great political party to discuss in such a pompous way the point that there might be a few disloyal people in the United States. If such be the case, the possible harm they could do would be extremely small. Much greater is the harm of those who openly represent foreign monarchies as financial and purchasing agents for the sake of private gain, pervert the meanings of such words as neutrality, honesty, sincerity, and thereby undermine the morals of the people. It is well to point out in this place that President Wilson's understanding of neutrality has been called peculiar not only by one set of citizens alone, but by a large majority of the American nation. There is evidence that he himself is in doubt, but invariably he favored "the beloved little island."

President Wilson, by preaching that sort of an American, rather urges American schism.

### THE SUBMARINE-MERCHANT-MAN.

**T**HE QUESTION whether or not a German Submarine Liner will arrive in New York or some other Atlantic port is not one of practicability but of practicality.

The capability of the German Submarine to evade the vigilance of the British watch-dogs has been proven a hundred times. The fact that a War Submarine could carry enough fuel to make the trip from the North Sea to the Dardanelles disposes of the question of distance. That the size of Submarines can be increased within certain limits no one doubts and besides that the peaceful character of the vessel would provide all that space for cargo which is ordinarily filled with the dismal implements of war.

It is, therefore, perfectly possible that a Ger-

man Submarine may dock here some day, and if it does not it can be taken for granted that the benefit to be derived for Germany from the experiment is not worth her while.

There is, however, another even more interesting side to the possible appearance of a German Submarine in American waters. Supposing the boat arrives with one of the famous "Lansing Guns" mounted on her deck and—horrible thought—this gun is taken care of by German Mariners! We know that an Italian Liner left New York Harbor with a gun crew belonging to the Royal Italian Navy, but—well, you know, a German gun crew is something quite different, you see the difference, don't you? We can also imagine thousands of things an under-water craft may bring to or load in one of our harbors that would unbalance the self-contented mind of our State Department but we have every confidence in the ingenuity of Mr. Lansing who, with the able co-operation of the self-nominated Democratic Candidate, will dig out some rusty law that can be made to operate against the Germans.

### THE RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE.

THE offensive movement of the Russian Army has set in at a time most inopportune for the Central Powers. With Germany needing every available man around Verdun and Austria concentrating her strength on the Italian border the Russian offensive, surprising as it came, was bound to be successful at least for some time.

To say that the Russian offensive has not served some very important purpose, however,

would be drawing the wrong conclusion. In the first place, it has had its moral effect. It is a well known fact that the spirit of a soldier has a great influence on his effectiveness, and the Russian reports, after having passed through the British "magnifying, glorifying and beautifying department," must have acted as a real tonic on the spirit of the poor French lads who are hoping against hope.

The Austro-Germans have also paid dearly in men and material. The latter would not matter so much, because the Central powers can produce all they want and more, but the loss of men they can ill afford. Unlike to taking Russian prisoners—which is like killing mosquitoes—every German or Austrian captured represents an important part of a complicated whole and his loss is felt. Yet the figures reaching us via London are undoubtedly very much exaggerated. The formation of the Galician terrain is such as to allow only comparatively small bodies to engage in battle. A force of 150,000 or more men therefore would have sufficed to check the Russian advance before it had time to develop and it appears that the Russians claim to have taken more prisoners than there were soldiers opposing them when the offensive started.

There is one more trifle yet to be mentioned that the Russians have accomplished, viz.: the flotation of a \$50,000,000 loan, and it would not be surprising at all if this was their prime consideration so that an offensive in Galicia resulted in a victory in America, the victors capturing the round sum of \$50,000,000 of American money.

## Mr. Roosevelt's Idea of Permanency in the White House

The Illinois Staats-Zeitung prior to the Convention held at Chicago explained to its readers why Roosevelt is "inconsistent to a lamentable and dangerous degree" and should not be nominated as candidate for the Presidency.

The following sheds new light on T. R.:

Washington.—An odd document bearing the initials "T. R." which was reproduced in the Congressional Record some years ago has come to have a new significance in view of the announcement that Theodore Roosevelt has again aspired to be candidate for President, as he was in 1912. While Mr. Roosevelt was an incumbent of the White House there arose the question as to how permanent executive offices might be provided for the President and the official architects advised that a structure be erected on the site of the old White House tennis courts. This document seems to indicate that Mr. Roosevelt possessed a desire to be President, not temporarily, but permanently, despite Mr. Roosevelt's clear statements recently reproduced in these letters to the effect that he would not accept an additional term for President: That is, in addition to the term which was completed March 4, 1909.

This document consisted of a memorandum on the

executive offices proposition. One paragraph of it read:

### "TEMPORARY EXECUTIVE OFFICES."

"The problem of the location of a permanent building for the offices of the President involves many considerations as to the amount of accommodation needed and the scope and variety of the functions to be carried on in such a building. Provision for temporary quarters for the Executive offices is comparatively a simple matter. A building of brick one story high, and containing from 50 to 75 per cent. more room than the offices now occupy, can be constructed in the grounds of the White House, opposite the entrance to the Navy Department. The building would take the place now occupied by a brick wall, which screens a number of hothouses and forcing beds for plants—functions which may be provided for elsewhere, in connection with the propagation gardens."

This memorandum was on letter paper of ordinary size, but there was a liberal margin of white paper on the side. In this margin and just opposite the underscored word "temporary" was this in Mr. Roosevelt's handwriting:

"To be permanent during my (underscored) lifetime! T. R."

Mr. Roosevelt has frequently referred to the fact that he was a follower of the precepts of Abraham Lincoln. Yet it was Lincoln who in several notable speeches warned the people of the United States against the dangers to be met growing out of the ambition of men. In a speech at Springfield, Illinois, on January 27, 1837, he said:

"It is to deny what the history of the world tells us is true to suppose that men of ambition and talents will not continue to spring up amongst us. And when they do, they will naturally seek the gratification of their ruling passion as others have done before them. The question then is: Can that gratification be found in supporting and maintaining an edifice that has been erected by others? Most certainly it can not.

"Many great and good men, sufficiently qualified for any task they should undertake, may ever be found whose ambition would aspire to nothing beyond a seat

in Congress, a Gubernatorial or Presidential chair; but such belong not to the family of the lion or the tribe of the eagle. What, think you, these places would satisfy an Alexander, a Caesar or a Napoleon? Never. Towering genius despises a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. It sees no distinction in adding story to story upon the monuments of fame erected to the memory of others. It denies that it is glory enough to serve under any chief. Is it unseasonable, then, to expect that some man possessed of the loftiest genius, coupled with ambition sufficient to push it to its utmost stretch, will at some time spring up among us? And when such a one does, it will require the people to be united with each other, attached to the government and laws, and generally intelligent to frustrate his designs. Distinction will be his paramount object, and although he would as willingly, perhaps more so, acquire it by doing good as harm, yet that opportunity being passed and nothing left to be done in the way of building up, he would set boldly to the task of pulling down." M

## The New York Tribune Becomes Hyphenated

ON June 9 the Chicago Tribune printed as a full page advertisement an editorial of the neutral-pro-ally New York Tribune of June 6. Said editorial, under the caption "Re-electing Wilson," was written with much malice aforethought. In this editorial the "neutral" N. Y. Tribune says:

"Mr. Hughes has been designated by the Hyphens as their agent to punish Mr. Wilson for his partial refusal to comply with Potsdam orders. No German-American has made the smallest concealment of the purpose of the Hyphens to use Mr. Hughes to enforce German wishes at Washington. \* \* \* The German-Americans have indorsed Mr. Hughes. The Republican convention seems prepared to accept the dictation of these Hyphens, Mr. Hughes seems quite ready to receive the nomination at such hands, but The Tribune does not believe that the people of the United States will ever ratify such a bargain or accept a candidate nominated under such circumstances.

"If the Republican National Convention accepts the German-American candidate and Mr. Hughes consents to be the German-American candidate even for purposes of obtaining the Republican nomination, Woodrow Wilson will be re-elected."

It is evident from this editorial of the patriotic New York Tribune that it will oppose the Hyphen or any

one supporting or supported by the Hyphen. This patriotism of the pro-ally Tribune is highly laudable and commendable. The New York Tribune deserves great credit for upholding the Constitution of the United States and counteracting all the efforts of the Anglo-Americans or other hyphens as well as opposing such who favor the Hyphen.

The New York Tribune has assumed the sacred obligation of fighting the Hyphen and the candidate put up by the Hyphen. According to the Tribune Mr. Hughes obviously is the candidate of the Hyphen, hence the Tribune must logically oppose Mr. Hughes and work for Wilson's re-election.

But alack! the sad inconsistency of the New York Tribune. On June 12 the New York Tribune prints as its leading editorial:

### Where We Stand.

The Tribune will loyally support Charles E. Hughes.

\* \* \* The Tribune purposes to support Mr. Hughes because it believes that in all other respects Mr. Hughes is the stronger man and will make a better President.

There is hence only one logical conclusion possible, the New York Tribune has joined the ranks of the Hyphen.

## American Rights Must Yield to English Needs

THE incredible depths of degradation to which American honor has been dragged by Wilsonism are shown in an unmistakable light by an incident which has just been made known to the public. The American citizen who suffered from the arrogance of England and the complacency of Anglo-maniac Americans in this instance is an humble sailor, but he is none the less an American, entitled, if Americanism means anything, to all the rights of his nationality. Yet this American citizen was impressed into the service of the English navy as if the War of 1812 had never occurred; his person was seized and abused, his life endangered, his citizenship scoffed at. He experienced the ineradicable hate of England for America when he heard an English officer abuse all Americans in profane language; and when, having knocked said officer down, he was arraigned in an English court and

knocked senseless by a brutal officer, striking him, characteristically, from behind, he experienced English "justice."

By the irony of fate, this young American seaman's name is Wilson. He has asked the Senators from his home state of Indiana to take up his case, and it is to be hoped that they can spare time enough from their labors to convince the hyphenated-Americans that Woodrow Wilson is their real friend to secure reparation for Edward E. Wilson—an apology and damages from England, and punishment for the American consular and diplomatic officers whose conduct damns them as more English than the English themselves. The full story was given by Mr. Wilson to The Evening Star, of Washington, D. C., and was printed on June 8th. The press of the rest of the country, which would have eagerly scrambled to reproduce a false and malicious slander against Germans originating in

the Providence Journal, have somehow failed to give wide publicity to this story, which is in full as follows:

Square of jaw, blue of eye and with his cheeks burnt to a healthy brown which bespoke a life at sea, Edward E. Wilson, seafarer hailing from Indianapolis, Ind., recently walked into The Star office and told a story of adventure during the past three years which would have made Robert Louis Stevenson blush could he have heard it. This story, sworn to in the form of an affidavit by Mr. Wilson, is herewith repeated.

It transpired that on the 8th of February, 1913, Mr. Wilson left Pensacola, Fla., on a three-masted bark bound for South America. After a three-month trip he took service with the British Royal mail ship Demara, sailing between Buenos Aires and Liverpool, subsequently changed to the McIver line, and then to the Johnson line between Liverpool and Baltimore.

#### Left Penniless in Peru.

The real story starts with his taking service on a branch line plying between Liverpool and the west coast of South America. Taken sick in Callao, Peru, he was put ashore at Chile and left in the hospital at Talachauana. According to Mr. Wilson, he spent two months in the hospital and on being dismissed went to George W. Steele, the British consul in that town, and endeavored to obtain from him his pay and his clothes, etc. He was informed that nothing had been left for him.

Without funds, he was forced to remain in South America until July, 1914, when he went to Valparaiso, where he signed articles with the British steamship California in South American trade. Arriving at Antofasto, Chile, the crew was informed that they would be expected to stay aboard at Valparaiso. Having been paid off, he made a futile effort to get ashore and finally at 1:30 o'clock in the morning got away from the ship in a small boat. Reporting to the American consul and telling him his story, he was advised by him to go back and join his ship.

#### Forced on English Ship.

To pick up the narrative in Mr. Wilson's own words: "I told him I had no desire to sail on an English ship and demanded my rights as an American citizen. The consul grew angry and called his negro porter to throw me out of the office. I threw him out; told the consul I would do the same with him if not accorded a more courteous hearing and after a few more words left of my own free will.

"I was arrested upon the street by the Chilean police as a deserter and proved in court my right to leave the ship. I then remained in Valparaiso when, being once more without funds, I signed with the British ship Myrtle Branch on August 1. After signing the articles, I discovered that war had been declared and declined to go. I was arrested by the police, placed on board in irons and kept a prisoner below decks until we went to sea.

"Three days out from shore I was released, brought on deck before Capt. Williams and told by him to do my work. I did as ordered and on September 20 we arrived at Liverpool, where I was taken before the Board of Trade and placed on record as a British subject who is trying to avoid H. M. S. service. All my protestations that I was an American citizen proved fruitless and after using up all the money I had and trying to get a ship to the United States, I went back to the Board of Trade and was told by them to go to work on the India, a commercial ship bound for the west coast of South America. I made the round trip voyage with this ship, though I tried to escape at a South American port.

#### Torpedoed in the North Sea.

"A ten-day leave of absence was granted the crew when we returned to England, and when I came back to the ship after this period I found that she had been equipped with six twelve-inch and two three-inch guns. I tried to get away, but could not, and we left London on the 12th of October, took on stores at Glasgow and sailed out under sealed orders.

"The North Sea was our destination, and for forty-two days we did patrol duty, in the course of which we sank one submarine and sighted two which got away. We also sighted the Annie M. Reed, flying the American flag, a bark bound for New York city, which was fired upon and then ordered to stop. I protested against firing, was locked up in irons and not released until we returned to Glasgow, December 18.

"On Christmas Eve we went out again to the North Sea patrol duty. Twelve days out we were sighted by two submarines, torpedoed and were sunk in latitude 56 north and 12 west-southwest. I was one of the twenty-one saved out of a total crew of 249 souls. We were picked up by a trawler and taken by her to England, where I was paid \$50 for the loss of my belongings. Once more I insisted that I was an American citizen, and this time I was pronounced a lunatic. I went to the American Ambassador seeking assistance and was referred by him to the consul at Liverpool.

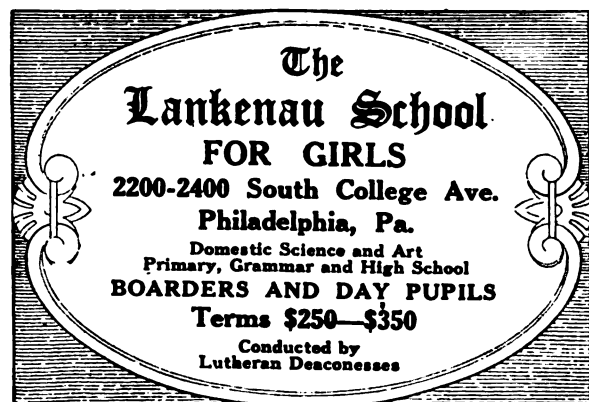
#### Left to His Fate in London.

"This representative of the United States informed me he could not help me. Seated in a saloon with some sailors or friends, I was despairing of ever getting back to America, when a British officer came in and referred to all Americans in violent profane language. I knocked him down and was forthwith arrested and maltreated by the police. I asked that the American consul be sent to me and was refused. I was tried, and when I told the judge that if he or the King of England used similar terms in reference to Americans as were employed by the British officer I would attempt to stop them in the same way I was knocked senseless by a court attendant standing behind me.

"When I came to I found that I had been sentenced to three months' hard labor for striking an officer. I again demanded to see the American consul and was refused. I served out my three months, was discharged, went to the consul at Liverpool to express doubt as to whether I was an American or not, and he told me he had no jurisdiction in my case. I convinced him I was an American and demanded my rights. I was then ordered out of the office as a nuisance and threatened with arrest.

"I stowed away on a tramp steamer bound for Norfolk, Va., and arrived in that port on the 22d of May. I then came to Washington to see Senator Taggart of Indiana and also Senator Kern, and asked them whether I had received my rights as an American citizen.

"I have seen Senator Taggart, who has promised to take the matter up. He says he does not think I did get my rights. What do you think?"





# Issues and Events that Should Not Fade

## Some Interesting Tit Bits of Information

### WHAT MANKIND KNOWS ABOUT WHAT MR. WILSON MEANS.

The New York Press of June 15 writes:

In his address to the West Point cadets President Wilson declared:

"And mankind is going to know that when America speaks she means what she says."

Well, it depends on what man in the White House voices the meaning of America. When it is a Woodrow Wilson who, speaking to the Nation and to the world for America, says that a thing is going to be white, nobody—American, German, Mexican or anybody else—knows whether it is going to be black, vermilion, saffron or drab.

But everybody in the whole wide world knows now, after more than three years of the Wilson Administration and its shifts, evasions and vacillations with foreign policies and home issues, knows to a dead certainty, from our Mexican policy, our German policy, our every policy, that the one thing the color absolutely is not going to be, is white.

### SONS OF THE UNION JACK.

New York, June 13, 1916.

Dear Delegates, Alternates and others to the Democratic National Convention:

We wish to congratulate you on the apparent certainty of the nomination of Mr. Wilson, our true friend. As a Southern man he knows what a great obligation the South is under to England for the thousand or more millions of money furnished it in a trying period while the Huns and barbarians were buying the Northern bonds, and he is doing his best to discharge this debt of honor, an evidence of the highest principles of integrity.

We cordially recommend to you the passage of resolutions embodying the following points:

1. Approval of Mr. Wilson's previous pro-British policy.
2. Condemnation of Germany and Austria as barbarians, Huns, monsters and devils.
3. Condemnation of the Irish traitors who were deservedly shot in Ireland.

4. An alliance with England, including military and financial support.

5. Approval of the Japanese demand so as not to embarrass us.

6. Confiscation and surrender of German shipping to England.

7. Approval of the Russian fight against German autocracy and barbarism.

8. Approval of President Wilson's sound statesmanship in warning Americans from Mexico but not from dear old England's ammunition ships.

9. A big Army and Navy to aid your dear friends in England.

10. Unstinted condemnation of the German hyphen and approval of our Tory friends.

These wise suggestions are in line with the policy of the Administration, hence these confirmatory resolutions will show that the party is harmonious and unanimous in supporting your good English friends.

Sincerely yours,

THE SONS OF THE UNION JACK.

JAS. Reid, Secretary.

### PRINCE REFORMER DESERTS BRITONS.

Raja Mahindra Pratap Singh of Brindaban, Hathras, a Hindu province, has joined the German army in Berlin, and was given an audience by the kaiser, according to news received in San Francisco.

Munshi Ram, governor of Gurukula Aryan University, Hadawar, makes the announcement in his paper, Sataya Dharma Pachark of Delhi, saying he has received the information from the highest British officials.

The defection of the prince apparently took place some time ago but was carefully guarded by the British censor.

Raja Mahindra Singh was looked up to by all classes in India and in a recent number of the Daily Himalaya of Lahore is referred to as "a great patriot and a man of light and learning." He was founder and president of Brindaban Aryan University and a leading social reformer.

At the outbreak of the war he was

refused a passport to leave India, as the British did not trust his loyalty. He escaped later, made his way to Italy, and from there went to Berlin.

### JAMES H. MAURER.

James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, who has been in constant touch with large organizations of laboring men, spoke before the Committee on Military and Naval Affairs for the working classes, and charged that the present call for arms was inspired by those who were making immense profits selling ammunition and who at the close of the European war would want a large army and navy to enforce the collection of the money owed them by bankrupt nations.

"The working people will not consent to fight such a war," he said. "Instead of spending more money I think Congress had better investigate the money already spent. The people have believed we were prepared. We were told we were the greatest power on earth. Less than two years ago we were told we could beat Germany and Mexico at the same time. Now, suddenly, we are told our boats are old tubs, our army helpless. There were no rumors of war two years ago when Germany and Austria were in the best condition of their history. If I felt now that those dying nations could thrash us I would be ashamed to admit I was an American."

"We or the working classes who must fight these battles want to know what you know of them. President Wilson tells us there may be a great conflagration tomorrow. The American people want to know what danger they are in."

"If we fear Great Britain, why permit our American capitalists to continue to equip that nation with arms? The workingmen will refuse to be cannon fodder for their wars and then be called on to pay the bills, too. If it is right to take the workingman's life it is right to take the rich man's fortune. What is there for the West Virginia coal miners to fight for?"

"The only way you can get the workingmen to enlist is to provide each one with the best possible rifle and a thousand rounds of ammunition and let them keep their arms in their homes. Then I'll promise there will be no invasion."

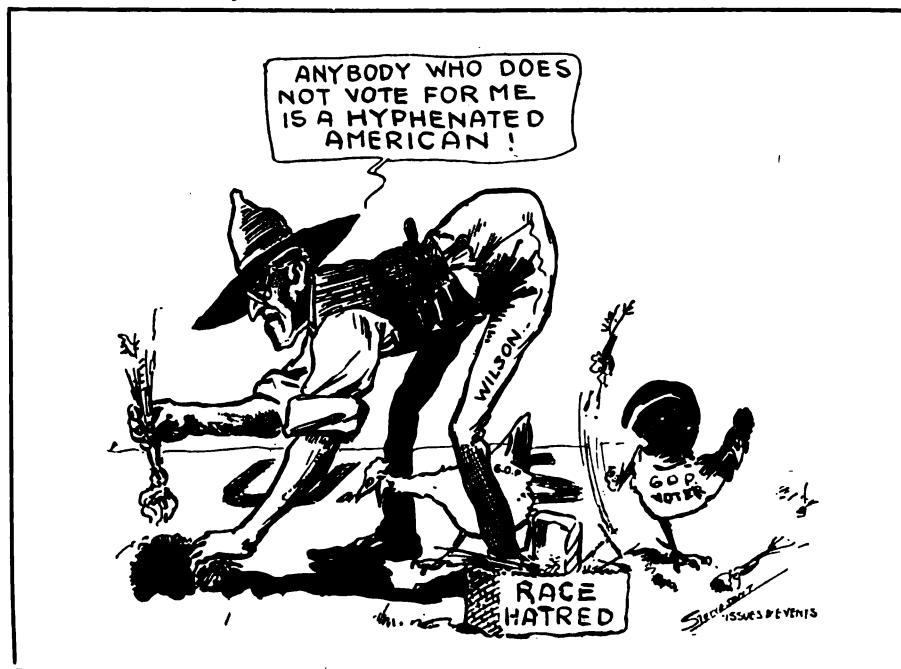
I am sickened by this talk of patriotism. Patriotism for what? I want to be a patriot, but if it comes to fighting I want to know that I am fighting for wife and children—for those dear to me. I won't fight for a country where I can't make a decent living."—National Defense Digest.

### RUSSIA'S VICTORIES WON WITH GUNS FROM THE U. S.

Geneva—Information received from the Austro-Swiss frontier indicates that the successes obtained by the Russians in their offensive have been due largely to American supplies of ammunition and guns, large quantities of which have been imported by Russia in the last four months.

Japanese transports are aiding greatly in bringing in these supplies.

The Military Journal, published in Austria, confirms these reports.



**RUSSIA PUTS BAN ON MEAT.**

London—The Russian Duma has adopted a bill calling for the abstention from eating meat four days in each week, says a dispatch from Petrograd.

**THE MOUSE IN THE PANTRY POLITIC.**

With our possessions comes a noblesse that obliges us to live up to our appearances. A bright badge turns a hoodlum devastator into a boy policeman partisan for law and order. An outcast is a predatory animal made by society.

A jobless man is a bedbug on the body social, a mouse in the pantry politic.

Government is the fairy godmother with whose wand or word of power the hunted mice-men may be turned into sleek, well-fed and caparisoned creatures whose co-ordinated powers draw the coach of state.

Let government place every creature in his proper relation to society as a responsible, well-paid helper, and poverty, crime and ignorance will dissolve like magic. Henry Ford has proved it.

And it is all so easy. "Real money is a vital force generated by society," with which society pays its bills for services rendered to society. It is society's plain duty to set every man to work and to pay him generously and good willingly. A little efficient organization will do it.—Nautilus.

**WILSON'S SPEECH VAGUE.**

Berlin.—President Wilson's peace formula, made public in his speech before the League to Enforce Peace, has aroused much discussion here, but the press generally regards his suggestions as idealistic and somewhat vague.

The majority of the newspapers applaud his reference to the freedom of the seas, but there is a suspicion that in referring to the sovereignty of small nations President Wilson was hitting at Germany's course in Belgium.

**TO DRIVE DULL CARE AWAY****HEARD IN THE TRAIN.****The Shirker Nation.**

Angry Passenger (casting newspaper aside with disgustful gesture).—Pah! These Yankees will soon have a reputation almost as unenviable as the Germans themselves.

Yankee Passenger.—Now look here, mister, I'd better tell you, before you go on to say something real nasty, that I am an Amurrican, and don't reckon to sit quiet and hear my country maligned.

Angry Passenger.—I don't care who you are! What's that to me? I've never seen you before in my life, and don't know that I want to see you again. We are allowed to speak our mind openly in this country, sir. We say what we think, sir. And I think your President Wilson is a snivelling pseudo-philosopher and a dampfool, sir!

Yankee Passenger.—That's your opinion. Waal, as I'm an Amurrican, and a top-speed supporter of Woodrow Wilson, p'raps you'll tell me why?

Angry Passenger.—Why? Why? Have you not read the report of his speech to a crowd of newly-naturalized Americans, largely Germans, to the effect that America was too proud to fight? Too proud to fight! Ye gods!

Yankee Passenger.—Waal, I reckon



there's some horse sense in that. We're a vurry proud people.

Angry Passenger.—You must be thundering proud if you are too proud to fight for the protection of your own women and children. Suppose Belgium had been too proud to fight! Suppose France had been too proud to fight! Suppose we had been too proud to fight! What then?

Yankee Passenger.—Waal, I guess Germany would have had a walk-over. But Amurrica ain't consarned like you here in Yurrupe.

Angry Passenger.—What! Are you not concerned about the murder of peaceful American citizens by the bloody piratical Huns? Don't you realize that you are the only section of the Anglo-Saxon race that is standing aloof whilst the rest of civilization is grappling with the foulest monster the earth has ever produced? Too proud to fight! You ought to be damned well ashamed of yourselves for standing out!

Yankee Passenger.—Say, that's pretty strong, mister. I don't want you to raise my dander more'n you kin help, 'cause I've gotter temper that's reckoned fairly warm.

Angry Passenger.—What does that matter, so long as you are too proud to fight? Thank God, in this case we British were too proud not to. We could not stand by and see little Belgium overwhelmed by the Berlin bully. You can look on calmly and see your own women and children slaughtered by the Huns. Because you are too proud to fight! It would make me laugh if it did not make me sick.

Yankee Passenger.—See here, mister, we couldn't do any good if we came in. Our army ain't ready.

Angry Passenger.—Neither was ours when the war started. But in six months we raised and trained two million men. Our population is forty-five millions. Yours is double that. What could you do in six months?

Yankee Passenger.—We haven't got enough ships to transport a big army.

Angry Passenger.—There are all those German merchantmen interned in your harbors, and the British navy has swept the seas of German warships as much for your benefit as our own, so you would have a safe passage across. Not that we are over-keen on your coming in, mind you. We shall win through without.

Yankee Passenger.—Waal, the Presi-

dent said we air too proud to fight, and I guess he's measured up the situation.

Angry Passenger.—You were not too proud to fight Spain, were you? You boasted no such sentiment when you went for the Filipinos. And you had not received such provocation from them as you have from the Huns. Look here; Yankee Doodle was one of your national heroes, was he not? He stuck a feather in his cap, if I remember rightly. It must have been a white one. Too proud to fight! Good lord! And —good-day!—John Bull.

**ANCESTRY.**

Jerry—I have traced my ancestry back to an Irish King.

Pat—Sure, that's aisy. What chanst has a dead man to defend himself?

**MADE HIM NERVOUS.**

A crowd of dirty-faced urchins were playing dangerously near the edge of Providence pier. Suddenly an old salt, who had been a fidgety onlooker from the cabin of his boat, emerged from his favorite post and proceeded to soundly thrash one of the lads in question.

Some passer-by, surprised by his actions, stopped to question the old tar thereon.

"Waal, I'll tell yar," said the old fellow as he regretfully ceased his hold on the lad's collar. "Taint as I care a hang whether they fall in or whether they don't, but it's the danged uncertainty about it that I can't stand."

**ANOTHER ITEM.**

"All men are born free and equal."  
"And inclined to act a little superior now and then."

**SERVICEABLE.**

Among the clerks in the office of one of the cabinet members at Washington is a very dull young man who seems never to be able to do anything without making mistakes.

"Why do you keep that fellow?" asked a colleague one day. "He seems a perfect fool."

"Well," said the other, "the fact is, he is one of the most useful clerks I have. Before I issue an order I always have him read it. If he can tell what it means I am sure that there can be no chance that any one will misunderstand it."

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The author tries to show that: "The Liberty to be a liar and the freedom to be a bum" is not the Equality for which Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln gave their lives, nor are the principles of democracy safe in the hands of any man or money trust, who plays golf while the ship of state runs on the rocks.

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Commit Suicide Four Times,  
Wounded Six Times, Gone Insane  
Once, Buried in Berlin Once and in  
Potsdam a Week Later, and Finally  
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